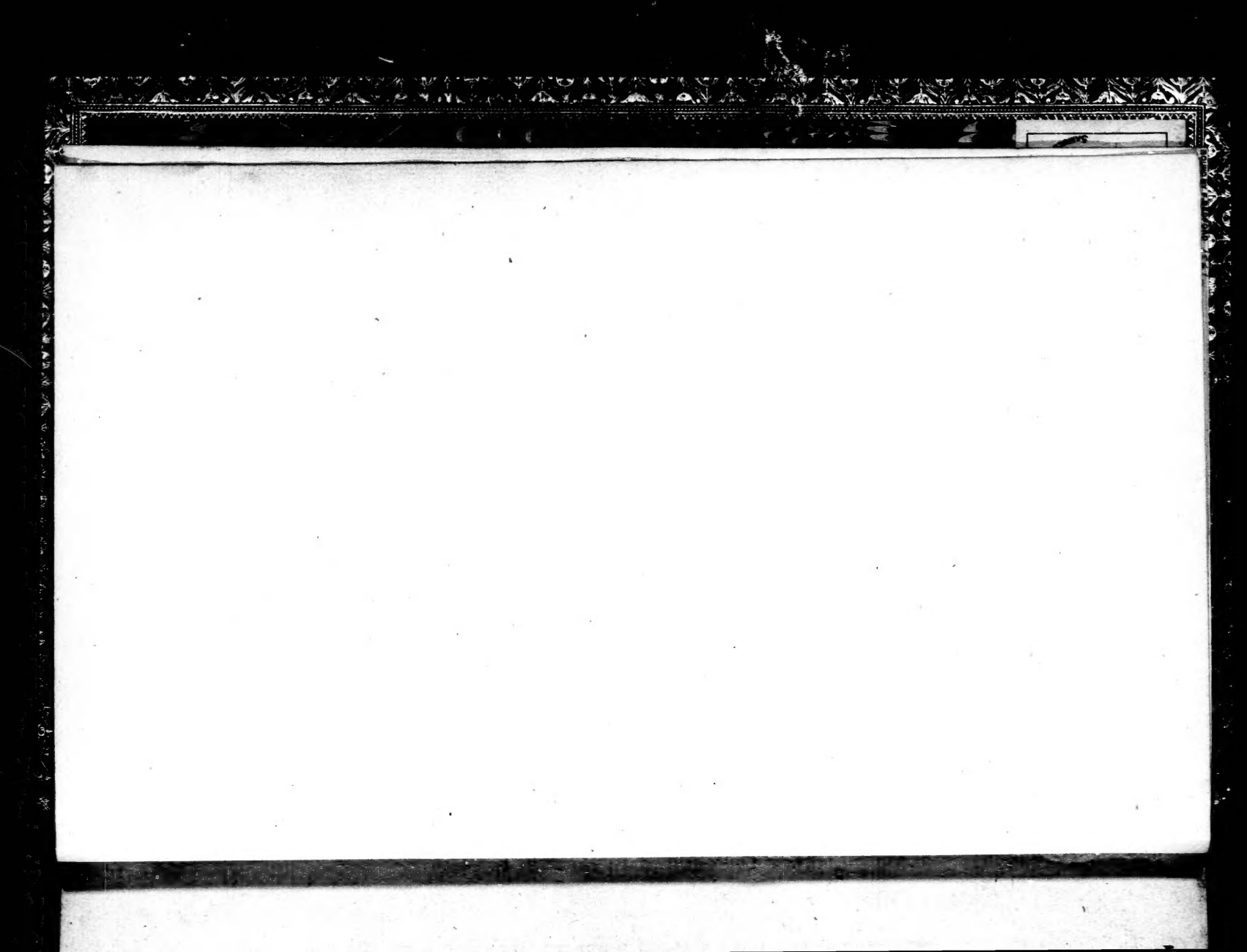

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS, VOIAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE English nation, made by Sea or ouer Land,

to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse

of these 1500. yeeres: Deuided into three seuerall parts, according to the positions of the Regions whereunto they were directed.

***

The first, conteining the personall trauels of the English vnto *Iudaa, Syria, Arabia*, the riuer *Euphrates, Babylon, Balsara*, the *Persian* Gulfe, *Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, India*, and many Islands adioyning to the South parts of *Asia*: together with the like vnto *Egypt*, the chiefest ports and places of *Africa* within and without the Streight of *Gibraltar*, and about the famous Promontorie of *Buona Esperanza*.

The second, comprehending the worthy discoueries of the English towards the North and Northeast by Sea, as of *Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia*, the Baie of *S. Nicholas*, the Isles of *Colgoieue, Vaigats*, and *Noua Zembla* toward the great riuer *Ob*, with the mightie Empire of *Russia*, the *Caspian* Sea, *Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar* in *Bactria*, & diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria*.

The third and last, including the English valiant attempts in searching almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of *America*, from 73. degrees of Northerly latitude Southward, to *Meta Incognita, Newfoundland*, the maine of *Virginia*, the point of *Florida*, the Baie of *Mexico*, all the Inland of *Noua Hispania*, the coast of *Terra firma, Brasill*, the riuer of *Plate*, to the Streight of *Magellan*: and through it, and from it in the South Sea to *Chili, Peru, Xalisco*, the Gulfe of *California, Noua Albion* vpon the backside of *Canada*, further then euer any Christian hitherto hath pierced.

Whereunto is added the last most renowmed English Nauigation, round about the whole Globe of the Earth.

By Richard Hakluyt Master of Artes, and Student sometime of Christ-church in Oxford.

Imprinted at London by GEORGE BISHOP and RALPH NEWBERIE, Deputies to CHRISTOPHER BARKER, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

1589.

5-5-780

TO THE RIGHT HONO-
RABLE SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM
Knight, Principall Secretarie to her Maieſtie, Chancellor *of the Duchie of Lancaſter, and one of her Maieſties moſt honourable Priuie Councell.*

IGHT Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maieſties ſcholars at Weſtminſter that fruitfull nurſerie, it was my happe to viſit the chamber of M. *Richard Hakluyt* my coſin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Coſmographie, with an vniuerſall Mappe: he ſeeing me ſomewhat curious in the view therof, began to inſtruct my ignorance, by ſhewing me the diuiſion of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better diſtribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration alſo of their ſpeciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourſe of merchants, are plentifully ſupplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Pſalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verſes, where I read, that they which go downe to the ſea in ſhips, and occupy by the great waters, they ſee the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my couſins diſcourſe (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me ſo deepe an impreſſion, that I conſtantly reſolued, if euer I were preferred to the Vniuerſity, where better time, and more conuenient place might be miniſtred for theſe ſtudies, I would by Gods aſſiſtance proſecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a ſort) were ſo happily opened before me.

According to which my reſolution, when, not long after, I was remoued to Chriſt-church in Oxford, my exerciſes of duety firſt performed, I fell to my intended courſe, and by degrees read ouer whatſoeuer printed or written diſcoueries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spaniſh, Portugall, French, or Engliſh languages, and in my publike lectures was the firſt, that produced and ſhewed both the olde imperfectly compoſed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other inſtruments of this Art for demonſtration in the common ſchooles, to the ſingular pleaſure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reaſon principally of my inſight in this ſtudy, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefeſt Captaines at ſea, the greateſt Merchants, and the beſt Mariners of our nation: by which meanes hauing gotten ſomewhat more then common knowledge, I paſſed at length the narrow ſeas into France with ſir *Edward Staffford*, her Maieſties carefull and diſcreet Ligier, where during my fiue yeeres aboad with him in his dangerous and charg eable reſidencie in her Highnes ſeruice, I both heard in ſpeech, and read in books other nations miraculouſly extolled for their diſcoueries and notable enterpriſes by ſea, but the Engliſh of all others for their ſluggiſh ſecurity, and continuall neglect of the like attempts e-

ſpecially in ſo long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiouſly reported, or exceedingly condemned: which ſingular opportunity, if ſome other people our neighbors had beene bleſſed with, their proteſtations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwiſe haue vſed. And that the trueth and euidence heerof may better appeare, theſe are the very words of *Popiliniere* in his booke called *L'Admiral de France*, and printed at Paris. *Fol. 73. pag. 1,2.* The occaſion of his ſpeech is the commendation of the Rhodians, who being (as we are) Iſlanders, were excellent in nauigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the Engliſh ſhould not ſurpaſſe in that qualitie, in this ſort: *Ce qui m'a fait autreſfois rechercher les occaſions, qui empeſchent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'eſprit, de moyens, & valeur aſſez, pour s'aquerir vn grand hõneur parmi tous les Chreſtiens, ne ſe font plus valoir ſur l'element qui leur eſt, & doit eſtre plus naturel qu'à autres peuples: qui leur doiuent ceder en la ſtructure, accommodement & police de nauires: comme i'ay veu en pluſieurs endroits parmi eux.* Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not ſeeing any man to haue care to recõmend to the world, the induſtrious labors, and painefull trauels of our countrey men: for ſtopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my ſelfe being the laſt winter returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her paſſing good behauior highly eſteemed in all the French court, determined notwithſtanding all difficulties, to vndertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leaſure, or want of ſufficient argument, whereas (to ſpeake truely) the huge toile, and the ſmall profit to inſue, were the chiefe cauſes of the refuſall. I call the worke a burden, in conſideration that theſe voyages lay ſo diſperſed, ſcattered, and hidden in ſeuerall huckſters hands, that I now woonder at my ſelfe, to ſee how I was able to endure the delayes, curioſity, and backwardneſſe of many from whom I was to receiue my originals: ſo that I haue iuſt cauſe to make that complaint of the maliciouſnes of diuers in our time, which Plinie made of the men of his age: *At nos elaborata ijs abſcondere atq; ſupprimere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.*

Plinius. lib. 25. cap. 1. Naturalis hiſtoria.

To harpe no longer vpon this ſtring, & to ſpeake a word of that iuſt commendation which our nation doe indeed deſerue: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they haue bene men full of actiuity, ſtirrers abroad, and ſearchers of the remote parts of the world, ſo in this moſt famous and peerleſſe gouernement of her moſt excellent Maieſty, her ſubiects through the ſpeciall aſſiſtance, and bleſſing of God, in ſearching the moſt oppoſite corners and quarters of the world, and to ſpeake plainly, in compaſſing the vaſte globe of the earth more then once, haue excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Maieſty, had theyr banners euer ſeene in the Caſpian ſea? which of them hath euer dealt with the Emperor of Perſia, as her Maieſty hath done, and obteined for her merchants large & louing priuileges? who euer ſaw before this regiment, an Engliſh Ligier in the ſtately porch of the Grand Signor at Conſtantinople? who euer found Engliſh Conſuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balſara, and which is more, who euer heard of Engliſhman at Goa before now? what Engliſh ſhippes did heeretofore euer anker in the mighty riuer of Plate? paſſe and repaſſe the vnpaſſable (in former opinion) ſtraight of Magellan, range along the coaſt of Chili, Peru, and all the backſide of Noua Hiſpania, further then any Chriſtian euer paſſed, trauers the mighty bredth of the South ſea, land vpon the Luzones in deſpight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Iſle of Iaua, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, ariue at the Iſle of Santa Helena, & laſt of al returne home moſt richly ladẽ with the cõmodities

modities of China, as the ſubiects of this now floriſhing monarchy haue done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his hiſtorie *de geſtis Romanorum* recordeth as a wonderfull miracle, that the *Seres*, (which I take to be the people of *Cathay*, or *China*) ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome, to intreate frindſhip, as moued with the fame of the maieſty of the Romane Empire. And haue not we as good cauſe to admire, that the Kings of the *Moluccaes*, and *Iaua maior*, haue deſired the fauour of her maieſtie, and the commerce & traffike of her people? Is it not as ſtrãge that the borne naturalles of *Iapan*, and the *Philippinaes* are here to be ſeene, agreeing with our climate, ſpeaking our language, and informing vs of the ſtate of their Eaſterne habitations? For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further fauour both vnto vs and them: to them eſpecially, vnto whoſe doores I doubt not in time ſhalbe by vs caried the incomparable treaſure of the trueth of Chriſtianity, and of the Goſpell, vvhile vve vſe and exerciſe common trade with their marchants. I muſt confeſſe to haue read in the excellent hiſtory intituled *Origines* of *Ioannes Goropius*, a teſtimonie of king *Henrie* the viij. a prince of noble memory, vvhoſe intention vvas once, if death had not preuented him, to haue done ſome ſingular thing in this caſe: vvhoſe vvords ſpeaking of his dealing to that end with himſelfe, he being a ſtranger, & his hiſtory rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: *Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Kneuetto Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua conuenerat, Regio ſumptu me totam Aſiam, quoad Turcorum & Perſarum Regum commendationes, & legationes admitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Aſiæ principibus facilè ſe impetraturum ſperabat, vt non ſolùm tutò mihi per ipſorum fines liceret ire, ſed vt commendatione etiam ipſorum ad confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, ſed tanta erat principi cognoſcendi auiditas, vt nullis pecunijs ad hoc iter neceſſarijs ſe diceret parſurum. O Dignum Regia Maieſtate animum, O me fœlicem, ſi Deus non antè & Kneuettum & Regem abſtuliſſet, quàm reuerſus ab hac peregrinatione fuiſſem, &c.* But as the purpoſe of Dauid the king to builde a houſe and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: ſo I make no queſtion, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforeſaid moſt renowmed prince may ſeeme no leſſe worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reſerued for the perſon of our Salomon her gratious Maieſty, whome I feare not to pronounce to haue receiued the ſame Heroicall ſpirit, and moſt honorable diſpoſition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

Ioa. n's Goropij Becani originũ lib. 5. pag. 494.

Now wheras I haue alwayes noted your wiſdome to haue had a ſpeciall care of the honor of her Maieſty, the good reputation of our country, & the aduancing of nauigation, the very walles of this our Iſland, as the oracle is reported to haue ſpoken of the ſea forces of Athens: and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull ſort how honorably both by your letter and ſpeech I haue bene animated in this and other my trauels, I ſee my ſelfe bound to make preſentment of this worke to your ſelfe, as the fruits of your owne incouragements, & the manifeſtation both of my vnfained ſeruice to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I haue done with the leſſe ſuſpition either of not ſatisfying the world, or of not anſwering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath paſſed the ſight, and partly alſo the cenſure of the learned phiſitian M. Doctor Iames, a man many wayes very notably qualified.

Plutarch in the life of Themiſtocles.

And thus beſeeching God, the giuer of all true honor & wiſdome to increaſe both theſe bleſſings in you, with continuance of health, ſtrength, happineſſe, and whatſoeuer good thing els your ſelfe can wiſh, I humbly take my leaue. London the 17 of Nouember.

Your honors moſt humble alwayes to be commanded RICHARD HAKLVYT.

Richard Hakluyt to the fauourable Reader.

I Haue thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee briefly with the Methode and order which I haue vsed in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee vnderstand by whose friendly aide in this my trauell I haue bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true then ingenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoscere per quos profeceris, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indeuours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoeuer testimonie I haue found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I haue recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I haue first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoeuer els, and thereunto in the next roome haue annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall trauellers might reape that good opinion and iust commendation which they haue deserued, and further, that euery man might answere for himselfe, iustifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those weare volumes bearing the titles of vniuersall Cosmographie which some mẽ that I could name haue published as their owne, beyng in deed most vntruly and vnprofitablie ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring vs to the certayne and full discouerie of the world.

Moreouer, I meddle in this worke with the Nauigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done, yet are they none but such as either faythfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the trauels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I haue receiued more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians could afoord me in this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered, that I stand not vpon any action performed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not vpon that victorious exploit not long since atchieued in our narow Seas against that monstrous Spanish army vnder the valiant and prouident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not vpon the good seruices of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not vpon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales vpon a great part of the enimies chiefest shippes, the other neere the Ilands vpon the great Carrack of the East India, the first (though peradventure not the last) of that imployment, that euer discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowmed countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discouerie of strange coasts, the chiefe subiect of this my labour.

Thus much in breuitie shall serue thee for the generall order. Particularlie I haue disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I haue martialled all our voyages of any moment that haue bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards vs: For I find that the oldest trauels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Iudea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for deuotions sake according to the time, although I read in Ioseph Bengorion a very authenticall Hebrew authour, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to the siege and fearefull sacking of Ierusalem vnder the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men haue pierced further into the East, haue passed downe the mightie riuer Euphrates, haue sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselues are herein to be read. To these I haue added the Nauigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within, to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the citie of Marocco, to the Riuer of Senega, to the Isles of

Cape

Cape Verde, to Guinea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as farre as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I haue produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our trauailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that haue bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Vnder this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Nauigations of our Brittish Kings, as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna vnder the north pole: next to them in consequence, the discoueries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoiene, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Noua Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towardes the riuer of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome, and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange iourney of Master Ienkinson to Boghar in Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleuen hundred verstes vp against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda: thence one hundred, and foure score verstes by land to Yeraslaue standing vpon the mighty riuer of Volga: there hence aboue two thousand and fiue hundred verstes downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship ouer the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels vnto Georgia, Armenia, Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscouie Marchants to the perpetuall honor of their Citie, and societie, haue performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers, and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action, not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I haue concluded this second part.

Touching the westerne Nauigations, and trauailes of ours, they succeede naturallie in the third and last roome, forasmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales, in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince giuen to Iohn Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discouer & conquer in his name, and vnder his Banners vnknowen Regions: who with that royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompained with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant raigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discouerie: for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Maiesties selfe, do approoue and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Noua Hispania. Then immediatlye ensue 3. voyages made by M. Iohn Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: vpon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal aduantage. The next leaues thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake vpon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is ioyned an action more venterous then happie of Iohn Oxnam of Plymmouth written, and confessed by a Spanyard, which with his companie passed ouer the streight Isthme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe ouer Master Frobisher and his actions, which I haue also newly though briefely printed, and as it were reuiued, whatsoeuer Master Iohn Dauis hath performed in continuing that discouery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I haue faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry haue risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that courageous Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Nauigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the proofe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose entrance vpon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seriously followed, as it was cheerefully vndertaken. I could not omit in this parte

Robert Fabian.

the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in diuers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of Master Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Francis Drake, so in relation of the Philippinaes, Iapan, China, and the Isle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therfore the want of the first made by Sir Francis Drake will be the lesse: wherein I must confesse to haue taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to haue inserted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or preuent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the services of that worthie Knight into one volume, I haue yeelded vnto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedinges, to those intended discourses.

Now for the other part of my promise, I must craue thy further patience frendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen, and others which partly for their priuate affection to my selfe, but chiefely for their deuotion to the furtherance of this my trauaile, haue yelded me their seuerall good assistances: for I accompt him vnworthy of future fauours, that is not thankefull for former benefites. In respect of a generall incouragement in this laborsous trauaile, it were grosse ingratitude in mee to forget, and wilfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and loue, and that is Master Edward Dier, of whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his frendly meanes haue bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars haue much steeded me. More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with diuers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrough, Clarke of her Maiesties nauie, and Master Anthonie Ienkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and obseruations in the north Regions, haue much pleasured me in the second part. In the third and last besides myne owne extreeme trauaile in the histories of the Spanyards, my cheefest light hath bene receiued from Sir Iohn Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singuler delight haue bene as it were rauished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserued with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Vsher to the right Honourable and most prudent Counseller (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasourer of England.

Nowe, because peraduenture it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceiued of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I haue contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, vntill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoueries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for diuers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson.

The excellent newe Globe of M. Mullineux.

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour haue bene in bringing these rawe fruits vnto this ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order. Farewell.

ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΚΗΝ ΠΟΝΗΜΑ
Ριχάρδου τοῦ Ἀκλύτου, Τιμοῦ Βενεφάτου.

Ὅσσοι γαῖαν ἔχουσι βροτοὶ ὑπὸ ἐκπάγλου
οἰκίδνηλα ἰδεῖν ἔθνεα ῥάκεα φύσει,
Οὐ τῷ δ' ἀλλήλοισι μεταπάσσειν ἰδέα πλέξεως,
ἤπειρ μιμνάζοντ' ἀξιάγαστα ἔργα.
Ἔσχεν Βρεττανὶς οἷ πάντων χειότατ' ἐφάπτειν,
ἰλύος ἀλλοδάπην φῦλα κολυμπάεθλα.
Γνῶς ἰατρίδιε ἠδ' ἰάσεις Λιβυστικὰ τε,
ἠδ' Μάγνε, ἠδ' πάντ' ἐρατεύοντα γάνη.
Τάσσον σ' ἔα μέλπειν κλυτὰ, κλυτὲ Ἀκλύτε
γεγάθειν ἀείσεσθαι, μιῆς σοὶ ἐσόμεθα.

DI MARC' ANTONIO PIGAFETA GENTIL'HVOMO VICENTINO.

I Gnota mi ſtarei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oſcure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con ſpeſa et arte
Non haueſſe hor ſcoperto il mio ſplendore.
Ramuſio pria pieno d'ardente amore
Manifeſtò le mie piu riche parte,
Che ſon là doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange ſcorre.
Hakluyto poi ſenza verun riſguardo
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà inſieme,
Ciò c' hà potuto hauer da Typhi Ingleſi.
Onde vedraſſi e doue bella ſguardo,
V la Duuma agghiaccia, e l'Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben paleſi.

In eximium opus R. Hakluyti de Anglorum ad diſiunctiſſimas regiones nauigationibus Guilielmi Camdeni Hexaſtichon.

ANglia quæ penitus toto diſcluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.
Nunc cùm ſepoſitos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.
At quid Haklute tibi monſtranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

In pulcherrimam & præſtantiſsimam nauigationum Anglorum συναξιν. D. Richardi Hakluyti ſummo ſtudio & fide elaboratam, Philippi Ioneſij *Epigramma.*

HIſtorias veterum celebres ætate ruentes,
Suppoſitis fulcit viribus Aſinius:
Nempè vt ſalua forent tot priſca volumina, Romæ
Inſtruitur ſumptu Bibliotheca ſuo.
Aſinium Conſul ſequitur poſt Appius, annis
Impar, par ſtudijs ingenióq; fuit:
Martia Romulidum Bellonæ ancilia dicat:
Sic vixiſſe putes quos perijſſe priùs.
Approbat hunc illúmq; pij cenſura Senatus:
Laus ſua ſors illi eſt, Appie palma tibi.
Scilicet ingenia amplecti non vltima virtus:
At magnum eſt vrbem quicquid honeſtat opus.
Eccè alio tandem ſimilis contingere viſa eſt
Nomine materies, iudiciúmq; ſubit.
Quæ feciſſe olim conſtat, benè fecit Edenus:
Vtilis illa Decas proſtat vbíq; ſua:
Splendida magnanimûm profert incepta virorum
Occiduis nacti qui ſibi nomen aquis.
Illáq; dum profert peccat: námq; extera profert:
Externúmq; decus prædicat illa Decas.
Hinc Haklute tuus ſurgit doctiſſime maior
Splendor, quò patrij eſt maior honoris amor.
Centurias nobis Neptunia facta: Britanni
Illa quidem noſtri ſoláq; facta ſoli.
Quæq; diù ſqualidis latuere occluſa tenebris
Lumine fœlici tota recluſa patent.
Quæq; diu foliis manſere inſcripta ſolutis,
In proprias claſſes tota coacta placent.
Tota coacta placent, quid torue ſuperbis Ibere,
Improba vicinis gens macerata bonis?
Intrepidæ Anglorum claſſis quæ nauita, Dúxq;
Præſtitit, hic oculis ſunt manifeſta tuis.
Quæ quoque facturos iterúmq; iterúmq; lubentes,
In promptu præſens vaticinatur opus.
Commoda prætereo: ſenſatus ſingula lector
Sentiet: atque vltrà quicquid ineſt placidi.
Denique de lectis ſit iudex æquus: Edenus
Præmia, ſed primas Hakluyt iſte feret.

Eiuſdem diſtichon.

ILle modò Hiſpanus tumidus qui tempſerit Anglos,
Anglorum attonitus nunc videt iſtud opus.

The order of all the voyages compriſed in this whole worke in *generall, together with the names of the perſons, the Authours of them,* and the annotations of the courſe of yeeres and quarters of the worlde, wherein they were perfourmed.

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1 He voyage of Helena, the Empreſſe, daughter of Coelus King of Britaine, and mother of Conſtantine the great, to Ieruſalem. Anno 337. Pagina 1.2

2 The voyage of Conſtantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine, into Greece, Egypt, Perſia, and Aſia. An. 339. 2.3

3 The voyage of Pelagius Cambrius vnder Maximus King of the Britaines into Egypt, and Syria. An. 390. 3.4

4 The voyage of Iohn Erigen vnder Alphred to Athens. An. 858. 4

5 The voyage of Andrew Whiteman, alias Leucander, vnder Canutus the Dane to Paleſtina. An. 1020. 5

6 The voyage of Athelarde of Bathe vnder H. the firſt to Egypt, & Arabia. An. 1130. 5

7 The voyage of William Archbiſhoppe of Tyre, vnder Henrie the firſt to Hieruſalem, and the cittie of Tyre in Phœnice. An. 1132. 5.6

8 The voyage of Robert Ketenenſis vnder King Steuen, to Dalmatia, Greece, and Aſia. An. 1143. 6

9 The voyage of Richard the firſt King of England into Aſia for the recouerie of Ieruſalem out of the hands of the Sarracens. Anno. 1190. 6

10 The voyage of Baldwine Archbiſhop of Canterburie, into Syria and Paleſtina with king Richard. An. 1190. 14

11 The voyage of Richard ſurnamed *Canonicus*, vnder king Richard into Syria and Paleſtina. An. 1190. 15

12 The voyage of *Guilielmus* ſurnamed *Peregrinus*, vnder king Richard alſo into Paleſtina. An. 1190. 15

13 The voyage of Hubert Walter, biſhop of Sarum, vnder king Richard alſo into Syria An. 1190. 16

14 The voyage of Robert Curſon a noble man of England, and cardinall, vnder Henry the third to Damiata in Aegypt. An. 1218. 17

15 The voyage of Rainulfe Glanuill a valiant noble man, and Earle of Cheſter, vnder Henrie the third to Damiata in Aegypt alſo. An. 1218. 17

16 The voyage of William Longeſpee, in Engliſh Longſword, a noble man of England into Aegypt and Aſia, with Lewes the French king. An. 1248. 17.18

17 The voyage of prince Edward, the ſonne of king Henrie the third into Aſia. An. 1270. 20

18 The voyage of Robert Turneham, vnder ỹ ſayd Prince Edward into Syria. An. 1270. 23

19 The voyage of Iohn Mandeuil knight in Latin, begun in the raigne of Edwarde the 2. Anno. 1322. continued for the ſpace of 33. yeeres, and ended in the raigne of Edward the 3. from England to Iudea, and from thence to India, China, Tartaria, and as farre as 33. degrees to the ſouth of the AEquinoctiall. 25

20 The voyage of Macham, the firſt diſcouerer of the Iſland of Madera, vnder Edward the third. An. 1344. 80

21 The voyage of Thomas Windam vnder Edward the 6. to Guinea, and the kingdome of Benin. An. 1553. 83

22 The voyage of Robert Gaynſh vnder Queene Mary to Guinea. An. 1554. 89

23 The voyage of William Towerſon marchant of London, vnder Queene Mary to Guinea. An. 1555. 98

24 The voyage of William Towerſon aforeſaid, the ſecond time to Guinea, and the Caſtle of Mina. An. 1556. 112

25 The voyage of William Towerſon aforeſayd, the third time to the coaſte of Guinea, and the riuer of Seſtos. An. 1557. 120

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38 The late voyage of Anthonie Ingram and his companie, to the kingdome and cittie of Benyn in Africa. An. 1588. 818.

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THE FIRST PART OF THE principall voyages, trauailes and diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the South and South-eaſt quarters of the world, with the letters, priuiledges, diſcourſes and treatiſes appertaining thereunto.

The trauaile of Helena.

ELENA Flauia Auguſta, ſereniſſimi Coeli Britannici Regis Hæres, & vnica filia, Magni Cõſtantini Cæſaris mater, incomparabili decõre, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, Euſebio etiam teſte, per totum reſplenduit orbem: Inter omnes ætatis ſuæ fœminas, nulla inueniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in inſtrumentis muſicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copioſior. Innatam habebat ingenij claritudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum ornatiſſimam compoſitionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia ſobole (inquit Virumnius) quę Regni ſolio potiretur. Illam propterea his inſtrui fecit per optimos præceptores, vt eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, Conſtantius Clorus Cæſar illam duxit in vxorem, atque ex eâ filium in Britanniâ genuit Conſtantinum Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum Annâ illâ Euangelicâ, in ſanctâ viduitate perdurauit ad vltimum vitę diem, tota Chriſtianę Religioni dedita. Sunt enim Authores, qui narrent per iſtam, ceſſante perſecutione, pacem Eccleſijs datam: Ad tantam cœleſtis Philoſophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt poſt agnitum Euangelium peruenisſe, vt olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucuſque à Pontico ſupereſſe perhibentur. Viſionibus admonita Hieroſolymam petijt, & omnia ſaluatoris loca perluſtrauit. Romæ tandem octogenaria fœliciter in Chriſto quieuit. 15. Calendas Septembris, filio adhuc ſuperſtite, Anno ſalutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non minimâ nunc curâ venetijs ſeruatur.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

HElena Flauia Auguſta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus ſometime the moſt excellent king of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Conſtantine the great, by reaſon of her ſingular beautie, faith, religion, goodnes & godly Paieſtie (according to the teſtimonie of Euſebius) was famous in all the world. Amongſt all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberal Arts more learned, or in inſtruments of muſicke more skilfull, or in the diuers languages of nations more abundant then herſelfe. She had a naturall quickenes or excellencie of wit, eloquence of ſpeach, and a moſt notable grace in all her behauiour. She was ſeene in the Hebrue, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to ſucceede in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore cauſed her to be inſtructed in theſe things by the beſt teachers, that thereby ſhee might the better in time gouerne the Realme: ſo that by reaſon of her paſſing beautie, and other her excellent gifts of body and minde, Conſtantius Chlorus the Emperour married her,

and had by her a sonne called Constantine the great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceasing at Yorke, this Helena (no otherwise then Anna of whome mention is made in the newe Testament) continued a vertuous, and holy widow to the ende of her life.

There are some writers which doe affirme, that persecution ceased, and peace was graunted to the Christian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Gospel, she grewe so skilfull in diuinitie, that shee wrote and composed diuers bookes, and certaine Greeke verses also, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by some visions shee went to Ierusalem, and visited all the places there, which Christ had frequented. She liued to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then dyed at Rome the 15. day of August, in the yeere of our redemption 337. Octauius being then King of Britaine, and her sonne Constantine the Emperour then also liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully preserued at Venice.

The life and trauels of Constantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

FLauius Constantinus cognomento Magnus post Genitorem Cōstantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæsar Augustus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificæ suæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hispanis, & Francis, eorumque Regibus pro spectaculo bestijs obiectis, Galliam subiectam tenuit: Tres Helenæ matris auunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris semper fidentiores habuerat in suis fortunis, Italis à Maxentij tyrannide fœlicitèr liberatis, in Senatorū ordinem Romæ promouit. Innumeræ in eo (vt Eutropius habet) claruêre tam animi, quam corporis virtutes, dum appetentissimus esset gloriæ militaris, successu semper in bellis prospero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Christianissima matre Helena Christi fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philosophia Christiana vitam reclinassent. Vnde ab Oceani finibus nempè Britannis incipiens, ope fretus diuina, Religionis curam in medijs superstitionum tenebris cœpit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ spem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo studijs, noctes trahebat insomnes, & quæsita scribendi diuerticula per otium fræquentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Christianæ disciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuitijs omnibus, atque adeò ipsi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falsorum Deorum euersor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, & Ægyptum, Persiam, Asiam, & vniuersam ditionē Romanam, repetitis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Christū coli, Euangelium prædicari sacrum, Ministris honores, & alimenta dari, atque idolorum vbique destrui templa. Et vt fidei forma cunctis videretur, Euangelium Iesu Christi ante se semper ferri fecit, & Biblia sacra ad omnes prouincias destinari, diademaque Monarchicum primus Britannis Regibus dedit: Ecclesijs infinita præstitit, agros, annonam, stipem egenis, ægris, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibusque vt pater sollicitus. Eusebium, Lactantium, & similes, familiarissimos habuit, & hanc ad Deum orationem indies ipsis in eius vita testibus fudit. Vnum te Deum esse nouimus, vnum te Regem intelligigimus, appellamus adiutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Aduersarium fudimus, &c. Pro delicijs habuit, vt Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum studia colere, bonas artes fouere, legere, scribere, meditari: composuit Græcè & Latinè multos libros & Epistolas. E vita Nicomediæ discessit Senex, ætatis suæ Anno 66. & Imperij 32. à Christi verò incarnatione 339. Constantinopoli sepultus, Octauio in Britannijs regnantè. Eius vitam in quatuor libris Eusebius Cæsariensis Græcè scripsit, & Ioannes Portesius Gallus in Latinum transtulit sermonem.

¶ *The same in English.*

FLauius Constantine, syrnamed the great, King of the Britaines after his father, and Emperour of the Romanes, borne in Britanie of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his natiue countrie partaker of his singular glorie, and renoume.

Hauing conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a spectacle throwne out to wilde beastes, he held France it selfe as subiect vnto him: and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, hee preferred 3. of his mothers vncles, all Britaines, namely Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull vnto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the minde and body also, and that hauing a pleasure in the practise of warre, and in the iust commendation of Martiall

prowesse,

prowesse, he neuer pitched fielde but his successe in the battell was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena hauing instructed him in the faith of Christ, although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he perfited speciall honor to those that spent their time in the studie of Diuinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne native soyle of Britaine, and crusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes of superstition was most thicke, then hee vndertooke a care of Religion, stirring vp innumerable nations from the West as farre as India it selfe, to the hope of eternall life.

Hee passed many nightes without sleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine studies: and whensoeuer his leasure from greater affaires did permit him, his vacant times should be spent in the vse of writing & other good exercises, assuring himselfe that his kingdoms & Empire were to be continued & strengthened to him by prayer and holy workes: and oftentimes taking vpon him as it were ỳ person of a notable preacher of Christian discipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that godlines was to be preferred before riches, yea, before ỳ Monarchie of all ỳ world.

He ouerthrew the false gods of the Heathens, and by many lawes often renued, he abrogated the worshipping of Images in all the countreis of Greece, Ægypt, Persia, Asia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped, the sacred Gospell to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be honoured and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euery where to be destroyed.

Whithersoeuer he went hee caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be still caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to apperteine generally to all nations.

He was the first that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was most beneficiall to all Churches, bestowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpon the poore, sicke persons, widowes and orphanes, corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father.

He vsed learned men most familiarly, as Eusebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witnesses that this was his vsuall prayer to God. O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are sure that thou art the onely King, and we call vpon thee as our helper: through thee we haue gotten the victorie, and by thee we haue ouerthrowen the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greatest delight to imbrace the studie of learning, to fauour good Arts, to reade, write and meditate, and that he composed many bookes, and Epistles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then 66. yeres of age, in the 32 yere of his reigne, and in the 339. yeere after the Incarnation of Christ, and was buried at Constantinople, Octauius being then King of Britaine: whose life Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea hath written in Greeke in 4. bookes, which afterwards were translated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Portes a French man.

The life and trauailes of Pelagius, borne in Wales.

PElagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniæ parte oriundus, famati illius Collegij Bannochorensis a Cestria non procul, præpositus erat, in quo Christianorum philosophorum, duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Christo cõmoditatem militabant, manuum suarum laboribus, iuxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Postquam plures exhibitos, pro Christiana Repub. labores, vir eruditione insignis, & tum Græcè, tum Latinè peritus, vt Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum lacessitus iniurijs, grauatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Gallijs, in Aegyptum, & Syriam aliasque orientis Regiones demum peruenit. Vbi ex earum partiũ Monacho præsul ordinatus, sui nominis hæresim fabricabat: asserens hominem sine peccato nasci, ac solo voluntatis imperio sine gratia saluari posse, vt ita nefarius baptismum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his & consimilibus impostricis doctrinæ fecibus in patriam suam reuersus, omnem illam Regionem, Iuliano & Cælestino Pseudoepiscopis fautoribus, conspurcabat. Verum ante lapsum suum studia tractabat honestissima, vt post Gennadium Bedam, & honorium alij ferunt authores, composuitque multos libros ad Christianam vtilitatem. At postquam est Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit hæresi succurrentes, & ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, vnde erat a suis Britannis in exilium pulsus, vt in Epistola ad Martinum quintum Valdenus habet. Claruit anno post Christum incarnatum, 390. sub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

¶ The same in English.

PElagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head or gouernour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Chester, wherein liued a Societie of 2100. Diuines, or Students of Christian philosophie, applying themselues to the profite of the Christian people, and liuing by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and skilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian, after his long and great trauailes for the good of the Christian Common wealth, seeing himselfe abused, and iniuriously dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter so grieuously, that at the last he relapsed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and hauing gone through France, he went therehence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countries of the East, and being made Priest by a certaine Bishop of those partes, he there hatched his heresie, which according to his name was called the heresie of the Pelagians: which was, that man was borne without sinne, and might be saued by the power of his owne will without grace, that so the miserable man might take away Lapch and baptisme. With this and the like dregges of false doctrine, he returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two false Pelates Julian and Celestine, who fauoured his heresie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apostasie from the faith, he exercised himselfe in the best studies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authours doe report him, and wrote many bookes seruing not a little to Christian vtilitie: but being once fallen into his heresie, he wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honest, and sincere: whereupon at the last his owne Countreymen banished him, as Walden testifieth in his Epistle to Pope Martin the first. He flourished in the yeere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine.

The life and trauailes of Iohn Erigena.

IOannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Meneuia vrbe, seu ad fanum Dauidis, & patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis molestarent, ac omnia illic essent tumultibus plena, longam ipse peregrinationem Athenas vsq; susceptt, annosq; quamplures, literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, & Arabicis insudauit: omnia illic inuisit Philosophorum loca, ac studia, imo & ipsum oraculum Solis, quod Aesculapius sibi construxerat. Inueniens tandem quod longo quæsierat labore in Italiam & Galliam est reuersus vbi ob insignem eruditionem, Carolo Caluo, & postea Ludouico Balbo acceptus, Dionisij Areopagitæ libros de cœlesti Hierarchia, ex Constantinopoli tunc missos Latinos fecit, Anno. Dom. 858. Profectus postea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, & suorum liberorum factus est præceptor, atque ipso mox ad hortante, inter ocia literaria e Græco transtulit in tres linguas, scilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Latinam, Aristotelis moralia, de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquisitum. In Malmsburiensi cœnobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia se contulerat, inter legendum a quibusdam discipulis maleuolis interimebatur, An. Christi, 884.

¶ The same in English.

IOhn Erigene a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. Dauid in Wales, seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruel Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time vndertooke a long iourney, euen as farre as Athens, and there spent many yeeres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Æsculapius had built vnto him selfe. And hauing found at length that which he had with long trauell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singuler learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita concerning the Heauenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this he came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemaster vnto Alphred then King of England, and to his sonnes: and vpon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristocles Morales of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmsburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them misliking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

The

The trauailes of Andrewe Whiteman, alias *Leucander, Centur. 2.*

ANdreas Leucander alias Whiteman (iuxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas Rameſienſis Cœnobij tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus ſtudio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies inuigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Acceſſit præterea & ardens quoddam deſiderium, ea proprijs & apertis oculis videndi loca, in quibus Seruator Chriſtus redemptionis noſtri miſteria omnia conſummauit, quorum prius ſola nomina ex ſcripturarum lectione nouerat: vnde & ſacram Hieroſolymorum vrbem, miraculorum, prædicationis, ac paſſionis eius teſtem inuiſit, atque domum rediens factus eſt Abbas. Claruiſſe fertur anno nati Seruatoris, 1020. ſub Canuto Dano.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ANdrewe Leucander, otherwiſe called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profeſſion a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbie of Ramſie: he was exceedingly giuen to the ſtudie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and profited greatly thereby. And amongſt all other things, he had an incredible deſire to ſee thoſe places with his eyes, wherein Chriſt our Sauiour perfourmed and wrought all the myſteries of our Redemption, the names of which places he onely knewe before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his iourney, and went to Ieruſalem a witneſſe of the miracles, preaching and paſſion of Chriſt, and being againe returned into his Countrey, he was made the aforeſaide Abbat. He floriſhed in the yeere of Chriſt, 1020. vnder Canutus the Dane.

The trauailes of one Athelarde an Engliſhman, *recorded by maſter Bale. Centur. 2.*

AThelardus Bathonienſis Cœnobij monachus, naturalium rerum miſteria, & cauſas omnes, diligentiâ tam vndecunque exquiſitâ perſcrutatus eſt, vt cum aliquibus veteris ſeculi philoſophis non indignè conferri poſsit. Hic olim ſpectatæ indolis Adoleſcens, vt virente adhuc ætate iuuenile ingenium fœcundaret, atque ad res magnas pararet, relicta dulci patria longinquas petijt regiones. Cum verò Aegyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura inueniſſet, quæ eius deſiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam tum demum reuertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

AThelard a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe, was ſo diligent a ſearcher of the ſecretes, and cauſes of naturall things, that he deſerueth worthely to be compared with ſome of the auncient Philoſophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being deſirous to increaſe and enriche the ſame with the beſt things, and to prepare himſelfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and trauailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he deſired to his owne priuate contentmẽt, and the profite of good letters generally, and ſo being ſatiſfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he floriſhed in the yeere 1130. Henry the firſt being then King of England.

The life and trauailes of one William of Tyre, *an Engliſhman. Centur. 13.*

GVlielmus, Eccleſiæ Dominici ſepulchri Hieroſolymæ Regularium Canonicorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus cõmendabilis, Anno. Dom. 1128. poſtquam Tyrorum Ciuitas fidei Chriſtianæ reſtituta eſt a Guimundo Hyeroſolymorũ patriarcha, eidem vrbi primus Archiepiſcopus præficiebatur. Eſt autem Tyrus Ciuitas Antiquiſsima, Phenicię vniuerſæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ prouincias, & bonorum omnium penè cõmoditate, & incolarum frequentia primum ſemper obtinuit locum: poſt conſcripta quædam opuſcula, & Epiſtolas, ad Dominum migrauit, An. Chriſti 1130. quum duobus tantum ſediſſet annis, & in Tyrenſi Eccleſia ſepelitur.

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrenſis claruit ſub Henrico primo.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

WIlliam the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Ieruſalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Engliſhman borne, and of a vertuous and good behauiour.

After that the Citie of Tyre was restored againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Ierusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phenicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefest Prouince of Syria, both for fruitfull commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William hauing in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130, hauing bene Archebishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The trauailes of a certaine Englishman, whom *master Bale remembreth in his 2. Centurie, and calleth him* Robertus Ketenensis.

RObertus Ketenensis natione & cognomine Anglus, degustatis primùm per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum artium elementis literarijs, vltramarinas statim visitare prouincias, in animo constituit: Peragratis ergò Gallijs, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum peruenit in Asiam, vbi non paruo labore, ac vitæ suæ periculo inter Sarracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea nauigio traductus, circa fluuium Hiberum Astrologicæ artis studio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni sui itineris comite se totum dedit. Claruit anno seruatoris nostri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Papilonæ sepelitur.

Claruit sub Stephano.

¶ *The same in English.*

THis Robert Ketenensis, was called an Englishman by synname, as he was by birth: who after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Vniuersities of England, determined to trauaile to the partes beyond sea: and so trauayled through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where hee liued in great danger of his life among the cruell Sarracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwards he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the riuer Iberus, gaue himself wholy to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143 Steuen being then King of England, and was buried at Papilona.

The worthy voyage of Richard the first, King of England *into Asia, for the recouery of Ierusalem out of the handes of the* Saracens, drawen out of the booke of Actes and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. Iohn Foxe.

KIng Richard the first of that name, for his great valoure and courage synamed Cœur de Lion, the sone of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had vndutifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French King to take his voyage with him for the recouerie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land: whereupon the said King Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towardes his iourney, vsed diuers meanes to take vp summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make threescore and ten thousand poundes, and the Iewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Hauing thus gotten sufficient money for the exploit, hee sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in minde of his promise made for the recouerie of Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens handes: To whome he sent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solemne othe, deposing vpon the Euangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainely prefixed to addresse himselfe toward that iourney, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to be ready at the terme aboue limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete together.

In the yere therefore 1190. King Richard hauing committed the gouernment of this Realme in his absence to the bishop of Elye then Chancelour of England, abuanced forwarde his iourney, and came to Turon to meete with Philip the French king, and after that went to Vizeliace, where

where the French king & he ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, assured themselues by solemne othe, sweering fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whose oth was this.

That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of life, members & worldly honour, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French king should ayde the King of England in defending his lands and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were besieged: and that Richard King of England likewise should ayde the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwise then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan if it were besieged, &c.

¶ The othe of fidelitie betwixt King Richard, and the French king.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by King Richarde for his Naule, the forme thereof was this.

The disciplyne and orders of the King.

1. That whoso killed any person on shipboard, should be tyed with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tyed with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shalbe convicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shalbe plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reuiling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reuiled, shall pay so many ounces of siluer.

6. Item, a chiefe or felon that hath stollen being lawfully convicted, shal haue his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred vpon his head, and feathers or downe strawed vpon the same, whereby he may be knowen, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast vp.

These things thus ordered, King Richard sending his Naule by the Spanish seas, and by the Streits of Gibraltare, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went as is said to Vizeliace to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the flood Rhodanus for presse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the conueyance of their traines, were constrained to diuideuer themselues for time of their iourney, appointing both to meete together in Sicily: and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Naule to meete him. From thence trolling ouer to Genua where the French king was, passed forward by the coastes of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilia 8. dayes for his Naule which came not, hee there hired 20. Gallies, and 10. great barkes to shippe ouer his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, & partly by the sea, palling to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ships were arriued at Messana in Sicily, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of September entred Messana with such a noyse of Trumpets and Shalmes, with such a route and shewe, that it was to the great wonderment and terrour both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did beare and behold the sight.

To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the 16. of the same moneth of September, and had taken vp the Pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arriuall effsoones resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediatly the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile towardes the land of Jerusalem: but after he was out of the hauen, the winde rising contrary against him, returned him backe againe to Messana. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicily for deliuerance of Ioane his sister (who had bene sometimes Queene of Sicily, and had obtained her to be sent vnto him, the last day of September passed ouer the flood del Fare, and there getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan an other strong hold called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in the mouth of the riuer del Fare, betweene Messana & Calabria, from whence the Monks being expulsed, he repoled there all his stuffe and prouision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Messana seeing that the king of England had wonne the castle and Iland de la Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Grifions, and doubting least the king would extende

his power further to inuade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Isle of Sicily, began to stirre against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, insomuch that the King riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking diuers of their heads, could not allwage their fiercenes, such was the rage of the Englishmen against the citizens of Messana. The King seeing the furie of his people to be such, that he could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of King Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French King, in which meane time the matter was so taken vp by the wise handling of the auncients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the saide moneth of October, came to King Richard the Archbishop of Messana with two other Archbishops also with the French King, and sundry other Earles, Barons, and Bishops, to intreate of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded vpon the peace, the citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went vp vpon ỹ mountaines, some with open force inuaded ỹ mansion or lodging of Hugh Brune an English Captaine. The noice whereof comming to the eares of the King, he suddenly breaking off talke with the French King and the rest, departed from them, and comming to his men, commaunded them forthwith to arme themselus. Who then with certaine of his souldiers making vp to the toppe of the mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaines, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the Kings seruants pursued into the citie, of whome fiue valiant souldiers & twentie of the Kings seruants were slaine, the French King looking vpon, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the King of England: for the French King with his men being there present, rode in the middest of them safely, and without any harme to and fro, and might well haue eased the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

This being knowen to the English host, howe their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themselues in armes, hast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set vp their flags with the English armes vpon the wals: which when the French King did see, he was mightely offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might also be set vp, & ioyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitallaries and Templaries of Ierusalem, til the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together vpon conditions.

Messana won by the English

These things being done the fift and sixt day of October, it followed then vpon the eight day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, first king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their othe and league before made, concerning their mutuall aide and societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforesaid, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in case king Richard should die without issue, should be maried to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings nephew & next heire to his crown, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time vntill February the next yeere, these two kings kept still at Messana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their shippes. And in the aforesayde February, in the yeere 1191. King Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius king of Nauarre, whome he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundusium, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, they founde the kings shippes wherein they sayled to Messana.

In this meane space, king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king first he gaue diuers shippes, vpon others likewise he bestowed riche rewardes, and of his treasure and goods, he distributed largely to his souldiers and seruants about him, of whome it was reported, that he distributed more in one moneth, then any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere: by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but also to his singular vse and profite, as the sequele afterward prooued.

The first day of March following, he left the Citie of Messana, where the French King was,

and

and went to Cathneia, a Citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nightes. On the fourth day when he ſhould depart, the aforeſaid Tancredus offred him many rich preſents in gold and ſiluer, and precious ſtikes, whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche ſword. At length when king Richard ſhould take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him ſo depart, but needes would giue him 4. great ſhippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore he himſelfe would needes accompanie him the ſpace of two dayes iourney, to a place called Tauernium.

Then the next morning when they ſhould take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the meſſage, which the French King a little before had ſent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof was this: That the King of England was a falſe Traytour, and would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the ſaid Tancredus would warre againſt him, or ſecretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would aſſiſt him, to the deſtruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King proteſted againe, that he was no traytour, nor neuer was: and as touching the peace begunne betwixt them, the ſame ſhould neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleeue that the French King being his good lord, and his ſworne Compartner in that voyage, would vtter any ſuch wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth forth the letters of the French King, ſent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the ſaid letters, he was ready to trye it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receauing the letters, and muſing not a little vpon the ſame, returneth againe to Meſſana. The ſame day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to ſpeake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrowe returned to Meſſana againe.

From that time King Richard moued in ſtomacke againſt King Philip, neuer ſhewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was wont: whereat the French king greatly marueiling, and enquiring earneſtly what ſhould be the cauſe thereof, word was ſent him againe by Philip Earle of Flanders from King Richard, what wordes he had ſent to the king of Sicily, and for teſtimonie thereof the letters were ſhewed, which he wrote by the Duke of Burgundie to the King of Sicily: which when the French King vnderſtood, firſt he helde his peace as guilty in his conſcience, not knowing well what to anſwere. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with King Richard, pretending as though he ſought cauſes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therefore he forged (ſaid he) theſe lies vpon him, and all becauſe he by that meanes would auoide to marrie with Aliſe his ſiſter, according as he had promiſed. Adding moreouer that if he would ſo doe, and would not marrie the ſaid Aliſe his ſiſter according to his othe, he would be an enemie to him, and to his, while he liued.

To this King Richard ſaid againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forſomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and alſo had by her a ſonne: for proofe whereof he had there preſently to bring forth diuers & ſundry witneſſes to the Kings face, to teſtifie with him.

In concluſion, though counſell and perſwaſion of diuers about the French King, agreement at laſt was made, ſo that King Philip did acquite King Richard from this bond of marrying his ſiſter, and King Richard againe ſhould be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the ſpace of fiue yeeres, two thouſand markes, with certaine other conditions beſides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28. day of the ſaide moneth of March, the French King launching out of the Hauen of Meſſana, the 22. day after in the Eaſter weeke, came with his armie to the ſiege of Achon.

After the departure of the French King from Meſſana, King Richard with his armie yet remaining behind, arriued Queene Alinor the Kings mother, bringing with her Bernegera the king of Nauars daughter, to be eſpouſed to King Richard: which being done, King Richard in Aprill following, about the 20. day of the ſaid moneth, departed from the Hauen of Meſſana with 150. great ſhippes, and 53. great gallies well manned and appointed, tooke his iourney toward Achon: who being vpon the Seas on good Friday about the 9. houre, roſe a mightie Southwinde with a tempeſt, which diſſeuered and ſcattered all his Nauie, ſome to one place, and ſome to another. The King with a fewe ſhippes was driuen to the Ile of Creta, and there before the Hauen of Rhodes caſt anker. The ſhippes that caried the Kings ſiſter, Queene of Sicily, and Bernegera the king of Nauars daughter, with 2. ſhippes were driuen to the Ile of Cyprus.

The Nauie of King Richard.

The king making great mone for the ſhippes of his ſiſter, and Bernegera his wife that ſhould be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempeſt was ouerblowen, ſent forth his Gallies diligently to ſeeke the reſt of his Nauie diſperſed, but eſpecially the ſhippe wherein his

ſiſter

ſiſter was, and the mayden whom he ſhould marrie, who at length were found ſafe and merrie at the porte of Lymiſem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithſtanding the two other ſhippes, which were in their companie before in the ſame hauen, were drowned with diuers of the Kings ſeruants and men of worſhip, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the Kings Vicechancelour, who was found with the Kings ſeale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus, was then Iſakius (called alſo the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and impriſoned all Engliſhmen, which by ſhipwracke were caſt vpon his land, alſo inueigled into his handes the goods and pilles of them which were found drowned about his coaſtes, neither would ſuffer the ſhippes wherein the two Ladies were to enter within the porte.

The tydings of this being brought to King Richard, he in great wrath gathering his galleies and ſhippes together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he firſt in gentle wiſe ſignifieth to king Iſakius, how he with his Engliſhmen, comming as ſtrangers to the ſuppoſtation of the holy land, were by diſtreſſe of weather driuen vpon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition beſought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy Croſſe, to let goe ſuch priſoners of his as he had in captiuitie, & to reſtore againe ꝑ goods of them that were drowned, which he detayned in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their ſoules. And this the king once, twiſe, and thriſe deſired of the Emperour: but he proudly anſwering againe, ſent the king worde, that he neither would let the captiues goe, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Iſakius made of his ſo humble and honeſt petition, and how that nothing coulde be gotten without violent force, eftſoones giueth commandement throughout all his hoſte to put themſelues in armour and followe him, to reuenge the iniuries receiued of that proude and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their truſt in God, and not to miſdoubt but that the Lorde would ſtand with them, and giue them the victorie. The Emperour in the meane time with his people ſtood warding the Sea coaſtes, where the Engliſhmen ſhould arriue, with ſwordes, billes, and launces, and ſuch other weapons as they had, ſetting boordes, ſtooles, and cheſtes before them as a wall: few of them were harneſſed, and for the moſt part all vnexpert and vnskilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his ſouldiers iſſuing out of their ſhips, firſt let his bowe men before, who with their ſhot made a way for others to followe. The Engliſhmen thus winning the land vpon them, ſo fiercely preſſed vpon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at laſt the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly purſued, and ſlue many, and diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere alſo to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much ſpoile, and great victorie, returning to the porte Towne of Lymiſem, which the Townes men had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle and victuals.

The day after the victorie gotten, Ioanna the Kings ſiſter, and Bernegera the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymiſem, with 50. great ſhips, and 14. galliots: ſo that all the whole Nauie there meeting together, were 254. tall ſhippes, and aboue three ſcore galliots. Then Iſakius the Emperour, ſeeing no way for him to eſcape by Sea, the ſame night pitched his tents fiue miles off from the Engliſh army, ſwearing that the third day after, he would ſurely giue battell to king Richard: but he preuenting him before, ſuddenly the ſame morning before the day of battell ſhould be, iſſueth vpon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being vnawares and aſleepe, and made of them a great ſlaughter, inſomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leauing his tents and pauilions to the Engliſhmen, full of horſes and riche treaſure, alſo with the Imperiall ſtandard, the lower part whereof with a coſtly ſtreamer was couered, and wrought all with gold.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his ſiſter, and Bernegera ſhortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the ſaid moneth, married the ſaid Bernegera daughter of Rancon, king of Nauarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymiſem.

The king of Cyprus ſeeing himſelfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeelde himſelfe with conditions to giue king Richard 20000. markes in gold for amends of ſuch ſpoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, alſo to reſtore all the captiues againe to the King: and furthermore, he in his owne perſon to attende vpon the King to the land of Ieruſalem in Gods ſeruice and his, with 400. horſemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would giue to his hands his caſtles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour ſwearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Ieruſalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Iſakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithſtanding ſhortly af-

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ter he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort preuaile, that the Subiects of the land were constrained to yeelde themselues to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and siluer, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

The Lorde Chamberlaine of King Richard, left gouernour of Cyprus.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe sonne of Godfrye Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of June vpon the fift of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his shippes and gallies toward the siege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French King he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixt day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great barke fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and fiue hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting foorth their flagge with the French Armes, were in deede Sarracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrels of vnknowen serpents to the defense of the towne of Achon, which King Richard at length perceiuing, eftsoones set vpon them and so vanquished them, of whome the most were drowned and some taken aliue: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.

A great ship of Sarracens taken by King Richard.

The next day after which was the seuenth of June, King Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be vndermined and towers ouerthrowen, were driuen by compulsion to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

K. Richard arriued at Achon.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secrete Christian among the Sarracens, who in time of the siege thereof, vsed at sundry times to cast ouer the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwaies his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus sancti, Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much aduantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heauines vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer vnderstand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short narration. Upon the twelfth day of July the peere aforesaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, vpon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

1 That the Kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captiues of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captiues with two hundreth horsemen, whosoeuer they themselues would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would giue vnto the Kings two hundreth thousand Bysants, so that they themselues should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in forty daies the aforesaide couenantes were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

These couenantes being agreed vpon, the Kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richest and best of the citie, to close them vp in towers vnder strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministring vnto them according to their necessities: to whome notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: whereupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward so soone as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterwards commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the saide moneth of July, King Philip of France, and King Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Achon, deuided betweene them all things therein contained as well the people as golde and siluer, with all other furniture whatsoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in deuiding the spoile, were so good caruers to themselues that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to shewe themselues somewhat discon-

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ren, which being knowen of the Kings, they sent them answere that their wils should be satisfied.

The twentieth day of July, King Richard speaking with the French King, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselues by othe to remaine there still in the land of Ierusalem the space of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of these countreys: but hee said he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after King Richard with his wife and sister entreth into the Citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the Kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries, where he continued till the ende of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that hee and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido and Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Ierusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard and all the Princes of the Christian armie with great intreatie desired him to tary, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August departed from Tyrus, leauing the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforesaide Conradus Marques.

The French Kings shamefull returne home.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their couenants made, who neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captiues, sending word to King Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captiues of the Christians, as were in their handes.

Shortly after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limitted for beheading of the captiues to be prorogued, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, whereupon the Saladine caused all the Christian captiues within his possession foorthwith so beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard vnderstoode, yet would not he preuent the time before limitted for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20. day of August: vpon which day hee caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and fiue hundreth, saue only that certaine of the principall of them hee reserued for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captiues.

The captiues of the Sarracens slaine by King Richard.

After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way betweene Athon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings rereward, but though Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriers acquited themselues so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whome the Christians pursued the space of 3. miles, and lost that same day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40. yeeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called Iames Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen.

A notable victory against the Saladine.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Ascalon, where hee found first the Citie of Ioppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming: Ascalon, the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewise forsooke the whole lande of Syria, though all which land the King had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracene Prince entounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atchiuements the said K. Richard sent his letters of certificate as wel into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping þ he God willing should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and moe should haue bene, had not they falling into discorde disseuered themselues, by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within short space: who being returned againe eftsoones inuaded the Countrey of Normandie, exciting also John the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of England in his brothers absence: who then made league vpon the same with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richarde. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next spring following returned also, who in his returne tooke by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the same countrey, and so solde to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small loy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

1193.

King Richard returneth from Palestina.

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

HEnricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator & semper Augustus. Dilecto & speciali amico suo, Philippo illustri Francorum Regi salutem, & sincerę dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria

toria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam latiorem effici, de vniuersis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, & Romanum Imperium honorauerit, & exaltauerit nobilitati tuæ tenore præsentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperij nostri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Anglia, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reuersurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriæ ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Vbi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis enasit.

Quidam itaque fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentius, qualem, Nominatus Rex in terra promissionis, proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipse autem Rege in fugam conuerso, ceperunt de suis octo milites: Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salsburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, vbi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cæpit: Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lympoldus Dux Austriæ, obseruata strata sæpè, dictum Regem iuxta Denam in villa vicinori, in domo despecta captiuauit.

Cum itaq; in nostra nunc habeatur Potestate, & ipse semper tua molestauit, & turbationis operam præstiterit, ea qua præmissimus, nobilitati tuæ insinuare curauimus: scientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita existere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheomtum 5. Kalendas Ianua.

King Richard being thus traiterously taken, and sold to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with vnsperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolued of an othe made against his will and could not obteine it: and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsly imputed by the French King to the King of Englande, there traiterously was taken (as is aforesaide) by Limpoldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king Richard slewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chesse in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and deliuered him (as is saide) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was detained during the time aboue mentioned, a yeere & 3. moneths. During which time of the Kings emprisonment, the French King in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle John the Kings brother, made warre and inuaded England, but the Barons and bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that King Richard should be released for a hundreth and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of Chalices, Crosses, shrines, candlesticks and other Church plate, also with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subiects of the Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remayning, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope, that Priestes might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforesaide money was payd, and the hostages giuen for the ransome of the King, I haue an olde history which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after plagued by God, with 5. sundry plagues. The iust iudgement of God vpon the Duke of Austria.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2. With drowning of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3. By turning all the eares of his corne fielde into wormes.

4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne legges falling from his horse, which legge hee was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwardes died of the same: who then at his death is reported to forgiue King Richard 50000. marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium, declareth that the said Limpoldus duke of Austridge fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus as you haue heard, Richard the King was ransomed & deliuered from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperour, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Christian States, but to the Sarracens the enemies of Christiantie, terrible and dishonourable.

This Historie of King Richards voyage to Ierusalem, is very excellently and largely written in Latine by Gulielmus Neobrigensis our owne countreyman.

The life and trauailes of Baldwinus Deuonius, sometime *Archbishop of Canterburie.*

BAldwinus Deuonius, tenui loco Excestriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philosophus, & ad omne studiorum genus per illos dies aptissimus inueniebatur, Scholarum rector primùm erat: tum postea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac sapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit præterea Cistercienfis Monachus, & Abbas Fordensis Cœnobij, magnus suorum æstimatione, ac vniuersæ eorum societati quasi Antesignanus: fuit deinde Wigornienfis præsul, fuit & mortuo demum Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus, ac totius Angliæ primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus sollicitè inuigilans, egregium se pastorem exhibuit, dominicum semen, quantum patiebatur eius temporis iniquitas, vbique locorum spargens. Richardus Anglorum Rex, acceptis tunc Regni insignijs, summo studio classem, ac omnia ad Hierosolymitarum bellum gerendum necessaria parauit. Secutus est illico Regem in Syriam, & Palestinam vsque Baldwinus, vt esset in tam Sancto (vt ipse putabat itinere) laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Præfuit Cantuarienfi Ecclesiæ ferè 6. annis, & Richardum Regem in Syriam secutus, anno Salutis nostræ 1190. Tyri vitam finiuit, vbi & sepultus est.

¶ *The same in English.*

BAldwine a Deuonshire man borne in Exeter of meane parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact philosopher, and in those dayes very excellent in all kinde of studies. He was first of all a Scholemaster: afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning & wisedome in all his doings. He was also a Cistercian Monke and Abbot of Foorde Monasterie, and the chiefe of all those that were of his order: he grewe after this to be bishop of Worcester, and at last after the death of King Richard he was promoted and made Archebishop of Canterburie, and Primate of all England. In the discharge of which place hee being very vigilant, shewed himselfe a worthy Pastor, sowing the seede of Gods word in euery place as farre foorth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time King Richard with all indeuour prepared a Fleete and all things necessarie for waging of warre against the Infidels at Ierusalem, taking with him the Standerd and Ensignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftsoones followed the King into Syria and Palestine, as one desirous to be partaker of his trauailes, paines, and perils in so holy a voyage. He was Archbishop of Canterburie almost sixe yeeres: but hauing followed the King into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre where he was also buried.

An annotation concerning the trauailes of the said *Baldwine, taken out of Ponticus Virunnius, in his Itine*rarium Cambriæ, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.

INter primos Thomæ Becketi, successor hic secundus, audita saluatoris & salutiferæ Crucis iniuria nostris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce signatus, in eiusdem obsequijs, tam remotis finibus quam propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter assumpsit. Et postmodum iter accipiens, nauigioque fungens apud Marsiliam, transcurso tandem Pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrensi incolumis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum nostrum obsidentem pariter & obsessum Aconem transiuit: vbi multos ex nostris inueniens, & ferè cunctos principum defectu, in summa desolatione iam positos, & desperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame & inopia grauiter afflictos, quosdam verò aeris inclementia distemperatos, diem fœlicitèr in terra sacra clausurus extremum, singulos pro posse vinculo charitatis amplectens, sumptibus & impensis, verbis, & vitæ meritis confirmauit.

¶ *The same in English.*

THis Baldwine being the second successour vnto Thomas Becket, after he had hard the wrong which was done to our Sauiour, and the signe of the Crosse by Saladine the Sultan of Egypte, taking vpon him the Lords Character, hee courageously performed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre distant Countreis as at home. And afterwardes taking his iourney and imbarking himselfe at Marsillis, hauing at length passed the Leuant Sea arriued safely in the Hauen of Tyrus, and from thence went ouer to Achon vnto our armie, besieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) besieged it selfe. Where finding many of our Countreymen, and almost all men remayning in wonderfull penuinenes, and dispaire through the withdrawing of the

the Princes, some of them tired with long expectation, others grieuously afflicted with hunger and penurie, and others distempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing euery one according to his abilitie in the bond of loue, hee ayded them at his costes and charges, and strengthened them with his woordes and good examples of life.

The trauailes of one Richard syrnamed Canonicus.

RIchardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis fanum Londini Regularis, ab ipsa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impensè amauit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem euasit orator, & Poeta, quales ea ætas rarissimos r...riebat. Obid Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem, in Palestinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, suscepit. Vnde in Angliam tum demum reuersus, omnia quæ præsens vidit in vrbibus, agris, ac militum castris, fideli narratione, tam carmine quam prosa descripsit. Neque interim omisit eiusdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis liniamenta designare, addidirque præclaro suo operi, hoc aptissimum pro titulo nomen, scilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis nostræ 1200. sub Ioanne Anglorum Rege.

¶ The same in English.

RIchard syrnamed Canonicus an obseruant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great loue with the studies of good Arts and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at last by his continuall endeuour and long exercise therein, he grewe to be such an Orator and Poet, as few were in that age liuing, by reason whereof he grew in fauour with Richard then King of England, and vndertooke that long voyage with him into Palestina & Syria against the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully described both in Verse and prose all such things as he had seene in the Cities, fields and tents of the souldiers, where he was present, and omitted not to note the behauiour, forme, and proportion of body in the foresaid King, giuing to his notable worke this most apt name for the title, The Iournall of King Richard. Hee flourished in the yeere of our Redemption 1200. vnder John King of England.

The trauailes of Guilielmus Peregrinus.

GVilielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidam per eam etatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat studijs. Hic cum accepisset, expeditionem in Sarracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit se ad iter illud, non tantum vt miles, sed etiam Peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hispanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria & Palestina commissa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babiloniæ Regem, ac perfidos Sarracenos. Omnia hæc scripsit, & viuis depinxit coloribus, ita vt quasi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idemque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infœliciter, Heroico pertractauit carmine, opusque iam absolutum, Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertissimo dedicauit, addito hoc titulo Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multaque alia edidisse Poetam talem non dubito, sed num extent illa eius scripta, mihi non constat, Hoc tamen satis constat, eum fuisse in pretio, Anno à salutifero virginis partu 1200. sub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

¶ The same in English.

WIlliam the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an Englishman borne, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as many then were) and bestowed his good time in the best kinde of studies. Hee vnderstanding of the preparation of King Richarde against the Sarracens, prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanish seas, and which were done in Syria and Palestina against the Sultan the King of Babylon, and the treacherous Sarracens. All which things he wrote and expressed them as it were in liuely colours, as if they had bene still in doing before his eyes: And handled the same Argument in Heroical verse

which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finished his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a most expert Captaine of the warres, giuing it this Title, The Expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that so good a Poet as hee was published many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accompted of, and flourished in the peere after the birth of Christ 1200, vnder King Iohn.

The trauailes of Hubert Walter Bishop of *Sarisburie*.

HVbertus Walterus Sarisburiensis Episcopus, vir probus, ingenioque ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos vnus eorum erat, qui post Richardum Regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiscebantur. Cum ex Palestina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorũ manus incidisset, omisso itinere incepto, ad eum cursim diuertebat: Quem & ille statim, in Angliam misit, vt illic Regij Senatus authoritate, indicto pro eius redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & industrius fecit ac Regem liberauit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus factus, post eius mortem Ioanni illius fratri ac successori, paria fidelitatis officia præstitit. Longa enim oratione, toti Anglorum nationi persuasit, quod vir prouidus, præstans, fortis, genere nobilissimus, & imperio dignissimus esset: quo salutatus a populo fuit, atque in Regem coronatus. Composuit quædam opuscula, & ex immenso animi dolore demum obijsse fertur, Anno salutis humanæ 1205. cum sedisset annos 11. Menses octo, & dies sex. Quum vidisset, ex intestinis odijs, omnia in transmarinis regionibus pessum ire, regnante Ioanne.

¶ *The same in English.*

HVbert Walter bishop of Sarisburie a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and pietie, was one of the chiefest of them that followed King Richard into Syria going against the Sarracens. As he returned from Palestina & came in his iourney into Silicia, he there hard of the ill fortune of the King being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leauing his iourney homewards, he went presently and in all haste to the place where the King was captiued, whom the King immediatly vpon his comming sent into England, that by the authoritie of the Counsil, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and deliuered the King. After this hee was made Archbishop of Canterburie, and after the death of King Richard he shewed the like vseties of fidelitie and trust to his brother Iohn that succeeded him. For by a long Oration he perswaded the whole Nation of the Englishmen, that he was a very circumspect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of Noble parentage, and most worthy of the Crowne. Whereupon he was so receiued of all the people and crowned King. He wrote certaine bookes, and died at the last with very great griefe of minde, in the peere 1205. hauing bene Archbishop the space of 11. peeres 8. moneths and fiue dayes, by reason of the ciuill discords abroade, whereby all things went topsie turuie, and in the raigne of King Iohn.

The trauailes of Robert Curson.

RObertus Curson ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, disciplinis tum prophanis, tum sacris studiosus incubuit, idque (quantum ex coniecturis colligo) in celebratissima Oxonij Academia. Præstantissimis illic institutoribus vsus, ex summa circa ingenuas artes industria, & assiduo literarum labore, famam sibi inter suos celeberrimam comparauit. Ampliora deinde meditatus Parisiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipsam petijt, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Vnde vterque Matthæus, Parisius, ac Westmonasterius, hoc de ipso testimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. suorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini 1218. (inquiunt) in captione Damiatæ Ægypti vrbis, sub Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum Rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanensi Magister Bobertus de Curson, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, &c. Bostonus Burienſis in suo Catalogo Cursonum aliquos libros composuisse narrat. Claruit Anno superius numerato per prædictos testes, in Anglia regnante Henrico 3. Ioannis Regis filio: fuitque hic diebus Honorij tertij Romani pontificis in Anglia, Bostono teste, legatus.

¶ The

¶ *The same in English.*

ROBert Curson descended of a noble familie in England, vsed great diligence as well in prophane as in diuine studies in the famous Vniuersitie of Oxford (as I coniecture.) Hee had there the best scholemasters that were to be gotten, and was most industrious in the Arts and continuall exercises of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he liued. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris and thence to Rome it selfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Diuinitie, at Rome he was made Cardinal: whereupon both Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster, produce this testimonie of him, The one in his 2. booke, the other in his 8. booke of Chronicles. In the yeere of our Lorde (say they) 1218. at the taking of Damiata a Citie of Egypt vnder Iohn Brenne King of Jerusalem, M. Robert Curson an Englishman, a most famous clearke of noble parentage and Cardinall of the Church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanensis, &c. Boston of Burie in Norfolke in his Catalogue reporteth, that he wrote diuers bookes. He flourished in the yere aforesaid by the witnesses aforesaid. Henry the third the sonne of King John being then King of England: and by the further testimonie of Boston this Curson was Legate into England in ꝑ dayes of Honorius the third bishop of Rome.

The trauailes of Raynulphe Glanuile Earle of Chester.

RAnulphus Glanuile Cestriæ Comes, vir nobilissimi generis, & in vtroque iure eruditus, in albo illustrium virorum à me merito ponendus venit. Ita probè omnes Adolescentiæ suæ annos, legibus tum humanis, tum diuinis consecrauit, vt non prius in hominem per ætatem euaserit, quàm nomen decusque ab insigni eruditione sibi comparauerit. Cum profecti essent Francorum Heroes Ptolemaydem, inito cum Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum Rege consilio, Damiatam Ægypti vrbem obsidendam constituebant, anno Salutis humanæ 1218. Misit illuc Henricus Rex, ab Honorio 3. Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranulphum, ad rem Christianam iuuandam. Cuius virtus Polydoro teste, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reuersus, scripsit, De legibus Angliæ librum vnum. Fertur præterea, & alia quædam scripsisse, sed tempus edax rerum, ea nobis abstulit. Claruit anno à Seruatoris nostri natiuitate 1230 confectus senio, dum Henricus tertius sub Antichristi tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

¶ *The same in English.*

RAynulph Glanuile Earle of Chester, a man of a very noble house and learned in both the Lawes, deserues of duetie to be here placed by me in the Catalogue of worthy and notable men. He applied so well all the yeeres of his youth to the studie of humane and diuine Lawes, that he came not so soone to the age of a man, as he had purchased to himselfe by reason of his singuler learning, renowne and honour. When the noble men of Fraunce went to Ptolomais, vpon the counsell of Iohn Brenne King of Jerusalem, they resolued to besiege Damiata a Citie of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the King vpon the motion of Honorius the 3. bishop of Rome, sent thither this Earle Raynulph with a great power of armed souldiers, to further the enterprise of the Christians: whose valure in that warre (by the testimonie of Polidor Virgil) was maruellously commended of all men. After the ende of which businesse, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the Lawes of England. It is also reported that hee wrote other bookes, but time the destroyer of many memorials, hath taken them from vs. He flourished in the yeere after the nativitie of Christ 1230. being very aged, and in the raigne of K. Henry the 3.

The voyage of William Longespee, a notable and valiant Gentleman of England into Asia, in the yeere 1248. and in the 32. yeere of the raigne of Henrie the 3. King of England.

"Or, long sword.

LEwes the French King being recouered of his sickenes which hee fell into, in the yeere 1244. vowed thereupon for a free will sacrifice to God, that he (if the Counsell of his Realme would suffer him,) would in his owne person visite the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of Fraunce helde in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the King according to his vowe should take his iourney into Asia, and the time thereof was

also prefixed, which should be after the feast of S. Iohn Baptist the next yeere ensuing.

At which time William Longespee a worthie warriour, with the bishop of Worcester and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooued with the example of the French men) prepared themselues likewise to the same iourney.

It fell out in this enterprise, that about the beginning of October the French king assaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Sarracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and hauing fortified the Citie with an able garrison left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooued his tents from thence to goe Eastward. In whose armie followed William Longespee, accompanied with a piked number of English warriours retayning vnto him. But such was the disdaine of the Frenchmen against this William Longespee & the Englishmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with English tailes, insomuch that the French king himselfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

The originall cause of this grudge betweene them beganne thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a strong fort or castle replenished with great Ladies and riche treasure of the Sarracens: which holde it chanced the saide William Longespee with his companie of English souldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherewith hee and his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made priuie hereto) began to conceiue an heart burning against the English souldiers, and could not speake well of them after that.

A fort wonne by the Englishmen.

It happened againe not long after, that the saide William had intelligence of a companie of riche marchants among the Sarracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, hauing their camels, asses and mules, richly loden with silkes, precious iewels, spices, golde, and siluer, with Cart loads of other wares, besides victuall and other furniture, whereof the souldiers then stood in great neede: he hauing secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen vnto him that he could, and so by night falling vpon the Marchants, some he slew with their guides and conducters, some he tooke, some he put to flight: the Carts with the driuers, and with the oxen, camels, asses, and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke and brought with him, loosing in all the skirmish but one souldier and 8. of his seruitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

A rich bootie also gotten by the Englishmen.

This being knowen in the Campe, forth came the French men which all this while loytered in their pauillions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foreiaide praye whole to themselues, rating the said William and the Englishmen for aduenturing and yssuing out of the Campe without leaue or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the discipline of warre. William said againe he had done nothing but he would answere to it, whose purpose was to haue the spoyle deuided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

The iniuries of the Frenchmen to our English.

When this would not serue, hee being sore grieued in his minde so cowardly to be spoyled of that, which hee so aduenturously had trauailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reason nor complaine would serue by reason of the proude Earle of Artoys the kings brother, which vpon spight and disdaine stoode against him, he bidding the King farewell saide hee would serue him no longer: and so William de Longespee with the rest of his companie breaking from the French hoste went to Achon. Upon whose departure the Earle of Artoys saide, Now is the armie of Frenchmen wel rydde of these tailed people, which words spoken in great despight were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

William Longespee vnlip forsaketh the French King.

But not long after when the keeper of Cayro and Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Christian Religion, and being offended also with the Soldan, promised to deliuer the same to the French King, instructing him what course was best for him to take to accomplish it, the King hereupon in all haste sent for Willam Longespee, promising him a full redresse of all his iniuries before receiued: who at the Kings request came to him againe, and so ioyned with the French power.

After this it happened that the French King passing with his armie towardes Cayro afore-sayde came to the great riuer Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himselfe to withstand his comming ouer: there was at this time a Sarracen lately conuerted to Christ, seruing the Earle Robert the French Kings brother, who told him of the absence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a shallow foord in the riuer where they might easily passe ouer. Whereupon the saide Earle Robert & the Master of the Temple with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the Armie yssued ouer the Riuer, after whom followed W. Longespee with his band of English souldiers. These being ioyned together on ꝑ other side of the water, encountred the same day with the Sarracens remaining in the tents & put them to the worst. Which victory being gotten, the

French

French Earle surpriſed with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole earth, would needes forward, deuiding himſelfe from the maine hoſte, thinking to winne the ſpurres alone. To whome certaine ſage men of the Temple, giuing him contrary counſell, aduiſed him not to doe ſo, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure against all deceites and dangers, which might be layd priuily for them. The maner of that people (they ſayd) they better knewe, and had more experience thereof then he: alleaging moreouer their wearied bodies, their tired horſes, their famiſhed ſouldiers, and the inſufficiencie alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtand the multitude of the enemies, eſpecially at this preſent hunt, in which the aduerſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominion now to conſiſt either in winning all, or loſing all.

Which when the proude Earle did heare, being inflated with no leſſe arrogancie then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reuiled them, calling them cowardly daſtards, and betrapers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, which ſayd, that the land of the holy croſſe might ſoone be wonne to Chriſtendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hoſpitalaries, and their followers.

To theſe contumelious rebukes, when the maſter of the Temple anſwered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding them diſplay his enſigne when he would, and where he durſt, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them, then began William de Longeſpee the worthy knight to ſpeake, deſiring the Earle to giue eare to thoſe men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe countries and people then had he, commending alſo their counſell to be diſcreete and wholeſome, and ſo turning to the maſter of the Temple, began with gentle words to mitigate him likewiſe. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his words out of his mouth, began to fume and ſweare, crying out of thoſe cowardly Engliſhmen with tailes: What a pure armie (ſayd he) ſhould we haue here, if theſe tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like words of villany, and much diſdayne: whereunto the Engliſh knight anſwering againe, well, Earle Robert (ſayd he) whereſoeuer you dare ſet your foote, my ſtep ſhall goe as farre as yours, and (as I beleeue) we goe this day where you ſhall not dare to come neere the taile of my horſe, as in deede in the euent it prooued true: for Earle Robert would needes ſet forward, weening to get all the glory to himſelfe before the comming of the hoſte, and firſt inuaded a litle village or caſtle, which was not farre of, called Manſor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, ſeeing the Chriſtians comming, ranne out with ſuch a maine crye and howte, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Chriſtians inuading and entring into the munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by them which ſtood aboue, whereby a great number of our men were loſt, and the armie ſore maymed, and almoſt in deſpaire.

The worthy anſwere of William Longeſpee to Earle Robert.

Then immediatly vpon the ſame, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which ſeeing the Chriſtian armie to be deuided, and the brother ſeparated from the brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them round about, that none ſhould eſcape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady raſhnes, but it was too late, who then ſeeing William the Engliſh knight doughtily fighting in the chief hunt of the enemies, cried vnto him moſt cowardly to flie, ſeeing God (ſaith he) doth fight againſt vs: To whome the Knight anſwering againe, God forbid (ſayth he) that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away from the face of a Sarracen. The Earle then turning his horſe, fled away, thinking to auoid by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, and ſo taking the riuer Thamis, oppreſſed with harneſſe, was there ſunken and drowned.

The cowardly flight of Earle Robert.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to diſpaire and ſcatter. Then William de Longeſpee bearing all the force of the enemies, ſtoode againſt them as long as he could, wounding and ſlaying many a Sarracen, till at length his horſe being killed, and his legges maimed, he could no longer ſtande, who yet notwithſtanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Sarracens much ſorrow, till at laſt after many blowes & wounds, being ſtoned of the Sarracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Sarracens ſetting vpon the reſidue of the armie, whome they had compaſſed on euery ſide, deuoured and deſtroied them all, inſomuch that ſcarſe one man remained aliue, ſauing two Templaries, one Hoſpitaler, and one poore raſcall ſouldier, which brought tidings hereof to the King.

The valiant ende of William Longeſpee.

And thus by the imprudent and fooliſh hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and that valiant Engliſh Knight ouermatched, to the griefe of all Chriſtian people, the glorie of the Sarracens, and the vtter deſtruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

The

The voyage of Prince Edward the sonne of King Henry *the third vnto Asia, in the yeere 1270.*

ABout the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legat being in England, prince Edward the sonne of King Henry, and diuers other Noble men of England tooke vpon them the crosse vpon S. Iohns day the Baptist, by the said Legates hands at Northhampton, to the releefe of the Holy lande, and the subuersion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. For which purpose, and for the better furnishing of the prince towards the iourney, there was granted him a subsidie throughout all the Realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1270. he began to set forward.

At Michelmas following, he with his companie came to Egnemortes, which is from Marsilia eight leagues westward, and there taking ship againe (hauing a merrie & prosperous wind) within ten daies arriued at Tunez, where he was with great ioy welcommed, and intertained of the Christian princes that there were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Lodouicus died a litle before, of Carolus the King of Sicilia, and the two Kings of Nauarre, and Arragon, and as this Lord Edward came thither for his father the King of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the King of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage, was slaine in a Chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demaunded of these Kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe, and said, the prince of this citie and the prouince adioyning to the same, hath bene accustomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicily euery yeere: and now for that the same hath bene for the space of seuen yeeres vnpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make inuasion vpon him. But the King knowing the same tribute to be but iustly demanded, hath now according to our owne desire satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute before hand.

Then said he, My Lords, what is this to the purpose? are we not here all assembled, and haue take vpon vs the Lords Character to fight against the infidels & enemies of Christ: what meane you then to conclude a peace with them. God forbid we should do so, for now ỹ land is plaine and hard, so that we may approch ỹ holy city Ierusalem. Then said they, now haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for vs to breake the same. But let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Acra. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he see we himselfe wel pleased therewith: but after he had made them a princely banket, he went into his closet or priuy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next merry wind tooke shipping, and for want of ships left 200. of their men a shoare, crying out, and piteously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being somewhat mooued to compassion, came backe againe to the land, and receiued and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboord.

Within seuen daies after, they arriued in the kingdome of Sicilia, ouer against the citie Trapes, casting their ankers a league from thence within the sea, for that their shippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the hauen of the citie, they sent out barges and boates to receiue and bring such of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horses for the most part, and all their armour they kept still within boord.

At length towards the euening, the sea began to be rough, & increased to a great tempest and a mighty: insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides, and drowned there was of them at that tempest lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable soules besides, and that wicked money also which they had taken before, likewise perished, and was lost.

But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the wicked counsell of the rest.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw al their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast vpon the land drowned, they had ful heauie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500. besides the common souldiers, there was no more saued then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise.

There was in that ship a good and wise Matrone, a Countesse or an Earles wife, perceiuing the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the M. of the ship, & asked him whether in attempting

tempting to the ſhoare it were not poſſible to ſaue themſelues: he anſwered, þ to ſaue þ ſhip it was impoſſible, howbeit þ men that were therin by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then ſaid the Counteſſe, for the ſhippe force no whit, ſaue the ſoules therein, and haue to cheer double the value of the ſhippe: who immediatly hoyſing the ſailes with all force, ranne the ſhippe aground ſo neere the ſhoare as was poſſible, ſo that with the vehemencie of the weather and force he came withall, brake the ſhip and ſaued all that was within the ſame, as the Maſter had ſhewed, and ſayd before.

Then the Kings and Princes (altering their purpoſe after this ſo great a ſhipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne lands. Onely Edward the ſonne of the King of England, remained behind with his men and ſhips, which the Lord had ſaued and preſerued.

Then Prince Edwarde renouncing his purpoſe, tooke ſhipping againe, and within fifteene dayes after Eaſter arriued he at Acra, and wonne aland, taking with him a thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers and moſt expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreſhing both his men and horſes, and that in this ſpace he might learne and knowe the ſecrets of the land. After this he tooke with him ſixe or ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers, and marched forward twentye miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and thoſe that he founde there he ſlewe, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue ſet vpon them at ſome ſtreight or other aduantage, were eſpied by the Prince, and returning againe vpon them gaue a charge, and ſlewe many of them, and the reſt they put to flight.

The arriuall of Prince Edward at Acra.

Nazareth taken by the Prince.

After this, about Midſommer when the Prince had vnderſtanding that the Sarracens began to gather at Cakowe which was fortye miles from Acra, he marching thither ſet vpon them verye earely in the morning, and ſlewe of them more then a thouſand, the reſt he put to flight, and tooke riche ſpoiles, marching forward till they came to a Caſtle named Caſtrum peregrinorum, ſituate vpon the ſea coaſt, & taried there that night, & the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

A victorie againſt the Sarracens, wherein in 1000. of them were ſlaine.

In the meane ſeaſon the King of Ieruſalem ſent vnto the Noble men of Cyprus, deſiring them to come with ſpeede to ayde the Chriſtians, but they would not come, ſaying they would keepe their owne land, and goe no further. Then Prince Edward ſent vnto them, deſiring that at his requeſt they would come and ioyne in ayde with him: who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation and furniture for the warres, ſaying, that at his commandement they were bound to doe no leſſe, for that his predeceſſors were ſometimes the gouernours of that their land, and that they ought alwaies to ſhewe their fidelitie to the Kings of England.

The Princes of Cyprus acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Chriſtians being herewith animated, made a thirde voyage or roade, and came as farre as the force called Vincula ſancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had ſlaine certaine there, not finding any to make reſiſtance againſt them, they retired backe from whence they came: when thus the fame of Prince Edward grewe amongſt his enemies, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of him, they deuiſed among themſelues how by ſome pollicie they might circumuent him and betray him. Whereupon the great Prince and Admirall of Ioppa ſent vnto him, faining himſelfe vnder great deceite willing to become a Chriſtian, and that he would draw with him a great number beſides, ſo that they might be honourably intertained and vſed of the Chriſtians. This ſeemed pleaſed the Prince well, and perſwaded him to finiſh the thing he had ſo well begun by writing againe, who alſo by the ſame meſſenger ſent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the ſame matter, whereby no miſtruſt ſhould ſpring.

This meſſenger (ſayth mine Author) was one ex cauſe nutritis, one of the ſtonie hearted, that neither feared God, nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this meſſenger came, and was of the Princes ſeruants ſearched according to the manner and cuſtome what weapon and armour he had about him, as alſo his purſe, that not ſo much as a knife could be ſeene about him, he was had vp into the Princes chamber, & after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered the Prince from his lorde, as he had done others before. This was about eighe daies after Whitſontide, vpon a Tueſday, ſomewhat before night, at which time the Prince was layd vpon his bed bare headed, in his Jerkin, for the great heate and intemperature of the weather.

When the Prince had read the letters, it appeared by them that vpon the Saterday next following, his lorde would be there ready to accompliſh all that he had written and promiſed. The report of theſe newes by the Prince to the ſtanders by, liked them well, who drewe ſomewhat backe to conſult thereof amongeſt themſelues. In the meane time, the Meſſenger kneeling, and making his obeiſance to the Prince (queſtioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would haue pulled out ſome ſecrete letters, and ſuddenly he pulled out an inuenomed knife, thinking to haue ſtroken the Prince into the belly therwith as he laye: but the Prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blowe, was ſtriken a great wound into the arme, and being about

to

Prince Edward traitorously wounded.

to fetch another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foote tooke him such a blowe, that he feide him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with such violence wasted the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe there with on the forehead, and immediatly thrust the same into the belly of the Messenger and striker, and slew him.

The princes seruants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the buskling, came with great haste running in, and finding the Messenger lying dead in the floore, one of them tooke vp a stoole, and beate out his braines: whereat the prince was wroth for that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident as it was strange, so it went soone thorough out all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heauy, and greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a collly and precious drinke against poison, least the venome of the knife should penetrate the liuely bloode, and in blaming wise sayde vnto him: did I not tell your Grace before, of the deceite and subtiltie of this people? Notwithstanding, sayde he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But straight way the Surgions and Physitions were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within fewe dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke: whereupon they that were about the prince, began to mutter among themselues, and were very sad and heauy.

Which thing he himself perceiuing, said vnto them: why mutter you thus among your selues? what see you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afraid. Whereupon one said vnto him, and like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust not, but yet it will be very painefull for you to suffer. May suffering (sayd he againe) restore health? yea sayth the other, on paine of loosing my heade. Then sayd the prince, I commit my selfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then sayd one of the Physitians, is there any of your Nobles in whome your Grace reposeth speciall trust? to whome the prince answered yea, naming certaine of the Noble men that stoode about him. Then said the Physitian to the two, whome the prince first named, the Lorde Edmund, and the Lord Iohn Voysye. And doe you also faithfully loue your Lorde and Prince? Who answered both, yea vndoubtedly. Then sayth he, take you away this Gentlewoman and Ladie (meaning his wife) and let her not see her Lorde and husband, till such time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes presence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then sayd they vnto her, be you contented good Ladie and Madame, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the Realme of England should weepe a great season.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and inuenomed flesh out of the princes arme, and shewed it from them, and said vnto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promise you within these fifteene dayes you shall shew your selfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horsebacke, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subiects.

When the great Soudan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet aliue, he could scarsely beleeue the same, and sending vnto him three of his Nobles and princes, excused himselfe by them, calling his gods to witnes that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which princes and Messengers standing a loofe off from the Kings sonne, worshipping him, fell flat vpon the ground: you (sayd the prince) doe reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderstood him not, because he spake in English vnto them, speaking by an Interpretor: neuertheless he honorably intertained them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eighteene monethes in Acra, he tooke shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seuen weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence traueled though the mids of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably intertained.

From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowes was there much byted among the common people, and enuied of the Nobilitie, especially of the Earle of Chalons, who thought to haue intrapped him and his companye, as may appeare in the storie: but prince Edward continued forth his iourney to Paris, and was there of the French King honorably intertained: and after certaine daies he went thence into Gascoyne, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the King his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned King of England, in the yeere of our Lord, 1274.

The

The trauaile of Robert Turneham.

RObertus Turnehã Franciſcanus, Theologiæ profeſſor inſignis, Lynnæ celebri Irenorum ad ripas Iſidis emporio, collegio ſuorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, Henrici tertij filius, bellicam expeditionem contra Sarracenos Aſſyriam incolentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam profectionem quæſitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in cauſa relligionis animos excitaret. Turnehamus principi viſus vel digniſſimus eſt, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam ſignifer conſtitutus Aſſyrios vna cum Anglico exercitu petijt, ac ſuum non ſine laude præſtitit officium. Claruit anno ſalutiferi partus, 1280. varia componens, ſub eodem Edwardo eius nominis primo poſt Conqueſtum.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

RObert Turneham Franciſcan, a notable profeſſor of Diuinitie, was with great dignitie Prior of the College of his Order in the famous Mart Towne of Lynne, ſituate vpon the riuer of Iſis in Norfolke. Prince Edward ſurnamed the Long, the ſonne of Henrie the third, prepared his warlike voyage againſt the Sarracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lorde, 1268. For the which expedition ſome earneſt preacher was ſought to ſtirre vp the peoples mindes in the cauſe of religion. And this Turneham ſeemed to the Prince moſt worthy to performe that office: ſo that he being appointed as it were a ſtandard bearer, went into Syria with the Engliſh armie, and performed his duetie with good commendation. He floriſhed in the yeere of Chriſt 1280. ſetting forth diuers workes vnder the ſame King Edward the firſt of that name after the Conqueſt.

The life of Syr Iohn Mandeuill Knight, written by *Maſter Bale. Centur. 6.*

IOannes Mandeuil, vir equeſtris ordinis, ex fano Albini oriundus, ita à teneris vt aiunt, vnguiculis literarum ſtudijs aſſueuerat, vt in illis bonam fœlicitatis ſuæ partem poneret. Nam generis ſui ſtemmata illuſtria, nulli vſui futura ducebat, niſi illa clariora doctis artibus redderet. Quare cum animum Euangelica lectione ritè inſtituiſſet, tranſtulit ſua ſtudia ad rem Medicam, artem inprimis liberali ingenio dignam. Sed inter alia, ingens quædam cupido videndi Africam, & Aſiam, vaſtioris orbis partes, eius animum inuaſerat. Comparato igitur amplo viatico, peregrè profectus eſt, anno à Chriſto nato, 1332. & domum tanquam alter Vlyſſes, poſt 34. annos rediens, à pauciſsimis quidem cognitus fuit. Interim Scythiam, Armeniam Maiorem & Minorem, Aegyptum, vtramque Lybiam, Arabiam, Syriam, Mediam, Meſopotamiam, Perſiam, Chaldæam, Græciam, Illyrium, Tartariam, & alia ſpacioſi orbis regna, laborioſo itinere viſitauit. Denique linguarum cognitione præditus, ne tot ac tantarum rerum varietates, & miracula quæ oculatus teſtis viderat, memoriæque mandauerat, obliuione præmerentur, in tribus linguis, Anglica, Gallica, & Latina, graphicè ſcripſit Itinerarium 33. annorum. Reuerſus in Angliam, ac viſis ſui ſeculi malis, vir pius dicebat, noſtris temporibus iam verius quàm olim dici poteſt, virtus ceſſat, Eccleſia calcatur, Clerus errat, dæmon regnat, ſimonia dominatur, &c. Leodij tandem obijt, anno Domini 1372. die 17. Nouembris, apud Guilielmitas ſepultus.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

IOhn Mandeuil Knight, borne in the towne of S. Albons, was ſo well giuen to the ſtudie of learning from his childhood, that he ſeemed to plant a good part of his felicitie in the ſame: for he ſuppoſed that the honour of his birth would nothing auaile him, except he could render the ſame more honourable by his knowledge in good letters. Hauing therefore well grounded himſelfe in religion by reading the Scriptures, he applied his ſtudies to the arte of Phyſicke, a profeſſion worthy a noble wit: but amongſt other things, he was rauiſhed with a mightie deſire to ſee the greater partes of the world, as Aſia and Africa. Hauing therefore prouided all things neceſſarie for his iourney, he departed from his countrey in the yeere of Chriſt, 1332, and as another Vlyſſes returned home, after the ſpace of 34. yeeres, and was then knowen to a very fewe. In the time of his trauaile he was in Scythia, the greater and leſſe Armenia, Egypt, both Lybias, Arabia, Syria, Media, Meſopotamia, Perſia, Chaldæa, Greece, Illyrium, Tartarie, and diuers other kingdomes

kingdomes of the world: and hauing gotten by this meanes the knowledge of the languages, least so many and great varieties, and things miraculous, whereof himselfe had bene an eie witnes, should perish in obliuion, he committed his whole trauell of 33. yeeres to writing in three diuers tongues, English, French and Latine. Being arriued againe in England, and hauing seene the wickednes of that age, he gaue out this speach: In our time (sayd he) it may be spoken more truely then of olde, that vertue is gone, the Church is vnder foote, the Clergie is in errour, the deuill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the sway, &c.

He died at Leege, in the yeere 1372. the 17. day of Nouember, being there buried in the Abbie of the Dyer of the Guilielmites.

The Tombe and Epitaph of Sir Iohn Mandeuil, in the citie of Leege, spoken of by Ortelius in his booke called Itinerarium Belgiæ, in this sort.

Fol. 15. 16. MAgna & populosa Leodij suburbia, ad collium radices, in quorum iugis multa sunt, & pulcherrima monasteria, inter quæ magnificum illud, ac nobile D. Laurentio dicatum, ab Raginardo Episcopo. Est in hac quoque regione, vel suburbijs Leodij, Guilielmitarum Cœnobium, in quo Epitaphium hoc Ioannis à Mandeuille, excepimus.

Epitaphium. Hic iacet vir nobilis, D. Ioannes de Mandeuille, aliter dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, Medicinæ professor, deuotisimus, orator, & bonorum largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui toto quasi orbe lustrato, Leodij diem vitæ suæ clausit extremum. Anno Dom. 1371. Mensis Nouembris, Die 17.

Hæc in lapide: in quo cælata viri armati imago, Leonem calcantis, barba bifurcata, ad caput manus benedicens, & vernacula hæc verba: *Vos qui passes sor mi, pour l'amour deix proïes por mi.* Clipeus erat vacuus, in quo olim fuisse dicebant laminam æream, & eius in ea itidem cælata insignia, Leonem videlicet argenteum, cui ad pectus lunula rubea in campo cæruleo, quem Limbus ambiret denticulatus ex auro. Eius nobis ostendebant, & cultros, ephipiáque, & calcaria quibus vsum fuisse asserebant, in peragrando toto ferè terrarum orbe, vt clariùs testatur eius Itinerarium, quod typis etiam excusum passim habetur.

TABVLA PRAESENTIS LIBRI IOANNIS MANDEVIL, SINGVLA PER ORdinem capitula, & in eorum quolibet quid agitur, notificat euidenter.

CAPVT. I.

COmmendatio brevis terræ Hierosolymitanæ.

2 Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quàm per aquas, vsque in Constantinopolim.

3 De vrbe Constantinopoli, & reliquijs ibidem contentis.

4 Via tam per terras quàm per aquas, à Constantinopoli vsque Acharon, vel Acon.

5 Via à Francia & Flandria, per solas terras vsque in Hierusalem.

6 Via de Cypro vel de Hierusalem, vsque in Babyloniam Egypti.

7 De Pallatio Soldani, & nominibus praeteritorum Soldanorum.

8 De Campo Balsami in Egypto.

9 De Nilo fluuio, & Egypti territorio.

10 De conductu Soldani.

11 De Monasterio Sinay.

12 Iter per desertum Sinay, vsque in Iudaam.

13 De ciuitate Bethleem, & semita, vsque in Hierusalem.

14 De Ecclesia glorioßi sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ierusalem.

15 De tribus alijs Ecclesijs, & specialiter de Templo Domini.

16 De pluribus locis sacris extra vrbem.

17 De sacris locis extra muros ciuitatis.

18 De alijs locis notabilibus.

19 De Nazareth & Samaria.

20 De Territorio Galileæ & Samariæ.

21 De secta detestabili Sarracenorum.

22 De vita Mahometi.

23 De colloquio Authoris cum Soldano.

24 Persuasio ad non credentes terrarum diuersitates per orbem terra.

25 De Armenia, & Persia.

26 De Ethiopia & diamantibus, ac de infima & media India.

27 De foresto piperis.

28 De Ecclesia beati Thomæ Apostoli.

29 De quibusdam meridionalibus insulis, & farina

farina & melle.
30 De Regno Cynocephalorum, & alijs Inſulis.
31 De multis alijs inſulis Meridionalibus.
32 De bona regione Mangi.
33 De Pygmeis, & itinere vſq; prouinciã Cathay.
34 De pallacio Imperatoris magni Chan.
35 De quatuor ſolemnitatibus, quas magnus Chan celebrat in Anno. (ria.
36 De praſtigijs in feſto, & de comitatu Imperato
37 Qua de cauſa dicitur magnus Chan.
38 De territorio Cathay, & moribus Tartarorum.
39 De ſepultura Imperatoris magni Chan, & de creatione ſucceſſoris.
40 De multis regionibus Imperio Tartaria ſubiectis.
41 De magnificentia Imperatoris India.
42 De frequentia Palatij, & comitatu Imperatoris præsbiteri Ioannis.
43 De quibuſdam miris per Regiones Imperij Indiæ.
44 De loco & diſpoſitione Vallis infauſtæ.
45 De quibuſdam alijs admirandis, per Indorum inſulas.
46 De periculis & tormentis in valle infauſta.
47 De Bragmannorum inſulis, & aliorum.
48 Aliquid de loco Paradiſi terreſtris per auditum.
49 In reuertendo de Regnis Caſſam, & Riboth, de Dinite Epulone, vel conſimili.
50 De compoſitione huius tractatus in Ciuitate Leodienſi.

LIBER PRÆSENS, CVIVS AVTHOR EST IOANNES MANDEVILL militaris ordinis, agit de *diuerſis patrijs, Regionibus, Prouincijs, & inſulis, Turcia, Armenia* maiore & minore, Ægypto, Lybia baſſa & alta, Syria, Arabia, Perſia, Chaldæa, Tartaria, India, & de infinitis inſulis, Ciuitatibus, villis, caſtris, & locis, quæ gentes, legum, morum, ac rituum inhabitant diuerſorum.

DEDICATIO LIBRI.

PRincipi excellentiſſimo, præ cunctis mortalibus præcipuè venerando, Domino Edwardo eius nominis tertio, diuina prouidentia, Francorum & Anglorum Regi Sereniſſimo, Hiberniæ Domino, Aquitaniæ Duci, mari ac eius inſulis occidentalibus dominanti, Chriſtianorum encomio & ornatui, vniuerſorumque arma gerentium Tutori, ac Probitatis & ſtrenuitatis exemplo, principi quoque inuicto, mirabilis Alexandri Sequaci, ac vniuerſo orbi tremẽdo, cum reuerentia non qua decet, cum ad talem, & tantam reuerentiam minùs ſufficientes extiterint, ſed qua paruitas, & poſſibilitas mittentis ac offerentis ſe extendunt, contenta tradantur.

Pars prima, continens Capita 23.

CAPVT. I.

Commendatio breuis terræ Hieroſolimitanæ.

QVm terra Hieroſolimitana, terra promiſſionis filiorũ Dei, dignior cũctis mundi terris ſit habẽda multis ex cauſis, & præcipuè illâ, quod Deus conditor cœli & mundi, ipſam tanti dignatus fuit æſtimare, vt in eo proprium filium ſaluatorem mundi Chriſtum exhiberit generi humano per incarnationem ex intemerata Virgine, & per eius conuerſationem humillimã in eadem, ac per doloroſam mortis ſuæ conſummationem ibidem, atque indè per eius admirandam reſurrectionem, ac aſcenſionem in cœlum, & poſtremò quia creditur illic in fine ſeculi reuerſurus, & omnia iudicaturus: certum eſt, quòd ab omnibus qui Chriſtiano nomine à Chriſto dicuntur, ſit tanquam à ſuis proprijs hæredibus diligenda, & pro cuiuſque poteſtate ac modulo honoranda. A principibus quidem, & potentibus vt ipſam conentur de infidelium manibus recuperare, qui eam iam pridem à nobis, noſtris exigentibus meritis, abſtulerunt, & per annos heu plurimos poſſederunt: a mediocribus autem & valentibus, vt per peregrinationem deuotam loca tam pia, & veſtigia Chriſti ac diſcipulorum tam Sancta, principaliter in remiſſionem viſitent delictorum. Ab impotentibus verò, & impeditis, quatenus ſupradictos vel hortentur, vel in aliquo modo iuuent, ieu certè fideles fundant orationes. Verum quia iam noſtris temporibus verius quàm olim dici poteſt,

Loquitur ſecundum tempora in quibus vixit.

Virtus, Eccleſia, Clerus, damon, ſymonia,
Ceſſat, calcatur, errat, regnat, dominatur,

ecce iuſto Dei iudicio, credita eſt terra tam inclyta, & ſacroſancta impiorum manibus Saracenorũ, quod non eſt abſq; dolore pijs mentibus audiendum, & recolendum. EGO Ioannes Mandeuill militaris ordinis ſaltem gerens nomen, natus & educatus in terra Angliæ, in villa

sancti Albani, ducebar in Addolescentia mea tali inspiratione, vt quamuis non per potentiam, nec per vires proprias posłem præfatam terram suis hæredibus recuperare, item tamen per aliquod temporis spacium peregrinari ibidem, & salutarem aliquantulum de propinquo. Vnde in anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1322. imposui me nauigationi Marsilienſis maris & vsque in hoc temporis, Anni 1355. scilicet, per 33. annos in tranſmarinis partibus manſi, peregrinatus sum, ambulaui, & circuiui multas, ac diuersas patrias, regiones, prouincias, & insulas, Turciam, Armeniam maiorem, & minorem, Ægyptum, Lybiam bassam & altam, Syriam, Arabiam, Persiam, Chaldeam, Æthiopię partem magnam, Tartariam, Amazoniã, Indiam minorem, & mediam, ac partem magnam de maiori, & in istis, & circum istas regiones, multas insulas, Ciuitates, vrbes, castra, villas, & loca, vbi habitant variæ gentes, aspectuum, morum, legum, ac rituum diuersorum: Attamen quia summo desiderio in terra promissionis eram, ipsam diligentius per loca vestigiorum filij Dei perlustrare curaui, & diutius in illa steti. Quapropter & in hac prima parte huius operis iter tam peregrinandi, quam nauigandi, à partibus Angliæ ad ipsam describo, & loca notabiliter sancta, quæ intra eandem sunt breuiter cõmemoro & diligenter, quatenus peregrinis tam in itinere quam in prouentione valeat hæc descriptio in aliquo deseruire.

Ioannis Mandiuilli peregrinatio, per tres & triginta annos continuata.

Caput. 2.

Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quam per aquas vsq; in Constantinopolim.

QVi de Hybernia, Anglia, Scotia, Noruegia, aut Gallia iter arripit ad partes Hierosolymitanas potest saltem vsq; ad Imperialem Greciæ Ciuitatem Cõstantinopolim eligere sibi modum proficiscendi, siue per terras, siue per aquas. Et si peregrinando eligit transigere viam, tendat per Coloniam Agrippinam, & sic per Almaniam in Hungariam ad Montlusant Ciuitatem, sedem Regni Hungariæ. Et est Rex Hungarię multum potẽs istis temporibus. Nam tenet & Sclauoniam, & magnam partem Regni Comannorum, & Hungariam, & partem Regni Russiæ. Oportet vt peregrinus in finibus Hungariæ transeat magnum Danubij flumen, & vadat in Belgradum; Hoc flumen oritur inter Montana Almaniæ, & currens versus Orientem, recipit in se 40. flumina antequam finiatur in mare. De Belgrade intratur terra Bulgariæ, & transitur per Pontem petrinum fluuij Marroy, & per terram Pyncenars, & tunc intratur Græcia, in Ciuitates, Sternes, Asmopape, & Andrinopolis, & sic in Constantinopolim, vbi communiter est sedes Imperatoris Greciæ. Qui autem viam eligit per aquas versus Constantinopolim nauigare, accipiat sibi portum, prout voluerit, propinquum siue remotum, Marsiliæ, Pisi, Ianuæ, Venetijs, Romæ, Neapoli, vel alibi: sicque transeat Tusciam, Campaniam, Italiam, Corsicam, Sardiniam, vsque in Siciliam, quæ diuiditur ab Italia per brachium maris non magnum. In Sicilia est mons Ætna iugiter ardens, qui ibidem appellatur Mons Gibelle, & præter illum habentur ibi loca Golthan vbi sunt septem leucæ quasi semper ignem spirantes: secundum diuersitatem colorum harum flammarum estimant Incolæ annum fertilem fore, vel sterilem, siccum vel humidum, calidum, vel frigidum: hæc loca vocant caminos Infernales, & à finibus Italiæ vsque ad ista loca sunt 25. miliaria. Sunt autem in Sicilia aliqua Pomeria in quibus inueniuntur frondes, flores, & fructus per totum annum, etiam in profunda hyeme. Regnum Siciliæ est bona, & grandis insula habens in circuitu ferè leucas 300. Et ne quis erret, vel de facili reprehendat quoties scribo leucam, intelligendum est de leuca Lombardica, quæ aliquantò maior est Geometrica; & quoties pono numerum, sub intelligatur fere, vel circiter, siue citra, & dietam intendo ponere, de 10. Lombardicis leucis: Geometrica autem leuca describitur, vt notum est, per hos versus.

Regis Hungariæ olim potentia.

Mons Aetna.

Aeolides insulæ.

Temperies Siciliæ Insulæ.

Leuca Lombardica.

Quid sit dieta.

Quinq; pedes passum faciunt, passus quoq; centum
Viginti quinque stadium, si millia dies que
Octo facis stadia, duplicatum dat tibi leuca.

Postquam itaque peregrinus se credidit Deo & mari, si prospera sibi fuerit nauigatio, non ascendet in terram, donec intret aliquem portum Greciæ, scilicet, Myrroyt, Valonæ, Durasse, siue alium prout Diuinæ placuerit voluntati, & exhinc ibit Constantinopolim prædictam, quæ olim Bysantium, vel Vesaton dicebatur. Hic autem notãdum est, quòd a portu Venetię, vsq; ad Cõstantinopolim directè per mare octingentæ leucæ, & 80. communiter computantur ibi contentæ.

Portus Greciæ.

Caput. 3.

De vrbe Constantinopoli, & reliquijs ibidem contentis.

COnstantinopolis pulchra est Ciuitas, & nobilis, triangularis in forma, firmiterque murata, cuius duę partes includũtur mari Hellespontо, quòd plurimi modò appellant brachium

sancti

sancti Georgij,& aliqui Buke,Troia vetus.Versus locum vbi hoc brachium exit de mari est lata terræ planities,in quà antiquitus stetit Troia Ciuitas de qua apud Poetas mira leguntur,sed nunc valdè modica apparent vestigia Ciuitatis. In Constantinopoli habentur multa mirabilia, ac insuper multæ sanctorum venerandæ relliquię, ac super omnia, preciosissima Crux Christi, seu maior pars illius,& tunica inconsutilis, cum spongia & arundine,& vno clauorum,& dimidia parte coronæ spineæ,cuius altera medietas seruatur in Capella Regis Franciæ,Parisijs.Nam & ego indignus diligenter pluribus vicibus respexi partem vtramque : dabatur quoque mihi de illa Parisijs vnica spina, quam vsque nunc preciose conseruo, & est ipsa spina non lignea sed velut de iuncis marinis rigida,& pũgitiua. Ecclesia Cõstantinopolitana in honorem sanctę Sophiæ,id est,ineffabilis Dei sapientiæ dedicata dicitur,& nobilissima vniuersarum mundi Ecclesiarum,tam in schemate artificiosi operis,quàm in seruatis ibi sacrosanctis Relliquijs : nam & continet corpus sanctæ Annæ matris nostræ Dominæ translatum illuc per Reginam Helenam ab Hierosolymis: & corpus S.Lucæ Euangelistæ translatum de Bethania Iudeæ; Et Corpus beati Ioannis Chrysostomi ipsius Ciuitatis Episcopi, cum multis alijs reliquijs preciosis; quoniam est ibi vas grande cum huiusmodi reliquijs velut marmoreum de Petra Enhydros; quod iugiter de seipso desudans aquam, semel in anno inuenitur suo sudore repletum. Ante hanc Ecclesiam, super columnam marmoream habetur de ære aurato opere fusorio, magna imago Iustiniani quondam Imperatoris super equum sedentis : fuit autem primitus in manu imaginis fabricata sphæra rotunda,quæ iam diu è manu sua sibi cecidit,in signum quòd Imperator multarum terrarum dominium perdidit. Namque solebat esse Dominus, Romanorum, Græcorum,Asiæ,Syrię,Iudeæ,Ægypti,Arabiæ,& Persiæ,at nunc solum retinet Cręciam,cum aliquibus terris Greciæ adiacentibus, sicut Calistrum,Cholchos, Ortigo, Tylbriam, Minos, Flexon,Melos,Carpates, Lemnon, Thraciam,& Macedoniam totam : Suntq; sub eo Caypoplij,& alti Pyntenardi,ac maxima pars Commannorum. Porrò imago tenet manum eleuatam & extentam in orientem,velut in signum cominationis ad Orientales infideles. De prædicta terra Thraciæ fuit Philosophus Aristoteles oriundus in Ciuitate Stageres, & est ibi in loco tumba eius velut altare, vbi & singulis annis certo diè celebratur à populo festum illius, ac si fuisset sanctus.Temporibus ergò magnorum consiliorum conueniunt illuc sapientes terræ,reputantes sibi per inspirationem immitti consilium optimum de agendis. Item ad diuisionem Thraciæ & Macedoniæ sunt duo mirabiliter alti montes,vnus Olympus, alter Athos,cuius vltimi vmbra oriente sole apparet ad 76. miliaria, vsque in insulam Lemnon. In horum cacumine montium ventus non currit, nec aer mouetur, quod frequentèr probatum est per ingenium Astronomorum,qui quandoque ascendentes scripserunt literas in puluere,quas sequenti anno inuenerunt quasi recentèr scriptas, & quia est ibi purus aer sine mixtione elementi aquæ,necesse est vt ascendentes habeant secum spongias aquæ plenas pro anhelitus respiratione : In prædicta autem sanctæ sophiæ Ecclesia, (sicut ibidem dicitur,) voluit olim quidam Imperator corpus cuiusdam sui defuncti sepelire cognati: cuius cum foderetur sepulchrum, ventum est ad mausoleum antiquum in quo super incineratum corpus iacebat discus auri puri,& erat sculptum in eo literis Græcis, Hebraicis, & Latinis sic. Iesus Christus nascetur de Virgine, & ego credo in eum. Et erat simul inscripta data defuncti secundum modum illius temporis, quæ continebat duo millia annorum ante incarnationem ipsius Christi de Maria Virgine. Seruatur quoque hodierno tempore eadem patina in Thesaurario eiusdem Ecclesiæ, & dicitur illud corpus fuisse Hermetis sapientis. Omnes quidem,terrarum,regionum, & insularum homines, qui isti Greco obediunt Imperatori sunt Christiani, & baptizati, tamen variant singuli in aliquo articulo fidem suam a nostra vera fide Catholica,& diuersificant in multis suos ritus à ritibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quia iamdiu omiserunt obedire Pontifici Romano, dicentes,quoniam beatus Petrus Apostolus habuit sedem in Antiochia, quamuis passus fuit in Roma : Idcirco patriarcha Antiochenus habet in illis Orientalibus partibus similem potestatem,quàm Pontifex Romanus in istis Occidentalibus. Imperator etiam Constantinopolitanus creat eorum patriarcham, & instituit pro sua voluntate Archiepiscopos, & Episcopos, & confert dignitates,& beneficia, similiter inuenta occasione destituit,deponit,& priuat.

Ecclesia sanctæ Sophiæ.

Regina Helena Britanna.

Imago Iustiniani.

Patriarchæ Antiocheni authoritas.

CAPVT. 4.

Via tam per terras quam per aquas à Constantinopoli vsque [n] *Acharon.*

[n] Vel Achon.

A Constantinopoli qui voluerit ire pedes, transibit statim nauigio Brachium Sancti Georgij quod satis est strictum, ibique ad Ruphinal quod est forte castrum, inde ad Puluereal,& hinc ad castrũ Synopolũ. Ex tunc intrat Capadociam, terram latam sed plenam altis

 montibus,

montibus, deinde Turciam ad portum Theueron, & ad Ciuitatem ita dictam, nunc munitam firmis turribus, ac muris, per quam transit fluuius Reglay. Postea transitur sub Alpibus Noyremont, & per valles de Mallenbrinis in districto Rupium, ac per villam Doronarum, & alias villas adiacentes fluuijs Reglay, & Granconiæ, sicque peruenitur ad Antiochiam minorem super Reglay, quæ vocatur nobilior Ciuitas Syriæ: Notandum autem quòd Regnum olim dictum Syria, modò communiter vocatur Suria. Ista verò Antiochia, est magna, pulchra, ac firma, licet quandoque maior, pulchrior, ac firmior fuerit. Tunc autem transitur per Ciuitates Laonsam, Gibellam, Tortusiam, Toruplam, & Berythum super mare vbi sanctus Georgius fertur occidisse Draconem. Hinc pergitur in Ciuitatem nunc dictam Acon, quondam Ptolomaiden, antiquitùs Acharon, quæ tempore quo eam vltimò Christiani tenebant circa annũ incarnationis Domini 1280. erat Ciuitas valdè fortis, sed modò apparent eius magnæ ruinæ. Porrò a Constantinopoli poterit peregrinus faciliùs versus Hierosolymorũ partes per mare nauigare quã per terras peregrinare prædictas, si deus illi propitius fuerit, & mare fidẽ cõseruauerit. Qui ergò a Cõstantinopoli iter trãsire nauigando disponit, tendat ad Ciuitatem "Myrnam vbi nunc ossa Sancti Nicholai venerantur, & sic procedendo per multa maritima loca veniet ad Insulam Sio vbi crescit gummi mastix lucidum: Inde ad Insulam Pathmos Sancti Ioannis Euangelistæ, & ad Ephesum vbi idem noscitur sepultus: hanc totam minorem Asiam tenent nunc pessimi Turci, & eam appellant minorem Turciam. Post Ephesum nauigatur per plures Insulas vsq; Pateram Ciuitatem, vndè oriundus fuit beatus Nicholaus, ac per Myrrheam vbi stetit Ephesus, vbi nascuntur fortia vina valdè, deinde ad Insulam Cretæ, hinc Coos postea Lango, vndè Hypocrates Medicus dicitur natus: tuncq; ad grandem Insulam Rhodum: & sciendũ quod a Constantinopoli vsq; Rhodũ, per mare dicuntur ducẽtæ octuaginta leucæ. Hanc insulam totam tenent, & gubernant Christiani Hospitalarij nunc tẽporis, quæ quondam Colosse dicebatur: nam & multi Saracenorum adhuc eam sic appellant, vnde & Epistola, quam beatus Paulus ad habitatores huius Insulæ scripsit, intitulabatur ad Colossenses. Ab hoc loco nauigando in Cyprum, aspicitur absorptio Ciuitatis Sathaliæ, quæ sicut olim Sodoma dicitur perijsse, propter vnicum crimen contra naturam a quodam Iuuene petulante commissum. Sciendum quod a Rhodo ad Cyprum feruntur plenè quingentæ quinquaginta leucæ: Cyprus magna, & pulchra est Insula habeus Archiepiscopatũ, cum quinque Episcopatibus suffraganeis: Illuc Famogosta, est vnus de principalibus portibus mundi, in quo ferè omnium mercatores conueniunt nationum, tam Christianorum, quam multorum Paganorum, & similiter apud portum Limechon. Est ibi & Abbatia ordinis sancti Benedicti, in monte sanctæ Crucis, vbi dicitur saluati latronis seruari crux, qui in eadem cruce audiuit à Christo, Hodiè mecum eris in Paradiso. Corpus etiam sancti Hylarionis seruatur ibi, in castro Damers quod Rex Cypri facit diligentissimè custodiri: Vltrà modum fortia vina nascuntur in Cypro, quæ primo rubra, post annum albescunt, & quo vetustiora, eo albiora, ac magis odorifera, ac fortia efficiuntur. Vlteriùs paucissimæ villæ, aut Ciuitates sunt Christianorum, sed ferè omnia Saraceni possident infideles: et proh dolor, ab Anno 1200. incarnationis Domini aut circà, pacificè tenuerunt. Qui autem a Cypro prosperè legit spacia maris, poterit in duobus naturalibus diebus peruenire in portum Ioppæ, qui Iaffe nunc nuncupatur, & proximus est a Ierusalem, distans 16, tantum leucas, hoc est dieta cum dimidia. Et sciendum quod circa medium, inter Cyprum, & Iaffe est portus Tyri quondam munitissimæ Ciuitatis, hanc dum vltimo Saraceni à Christianis ceperunt turpissimè destruxerunt, custodientes iam curiosè portum, timore Christianorum. Iste portus non vocatur modò Tyrus, sed Sur. Nam & ab illa parte est ibi introitus terræ Suriæ. Ante istam Ciuitatem Tyrum habetur quidam lapis, super quem dominus noster Iesus Christus sedendo suis discipulis vel populis prædicauit. Vnde, & Christiani olim super hunc locum construxerunt Ecclesiam in nomine Saluatoris. Peregrinus vero qui ab hoc loco vult peregrinari, morosè sciat, quod ad octo leucas à Tyro in orientem est Sarepta Sydoniorum, vbi olim Elias Propheta filium viduæ suscitauit a morte. Itemq; sciat, quod a Tyro in vnica dieta pergere potest in Achon, siue Acharon supra scripta. Circa Acon versùs mare, ad 120. stadia, quorum 16. leucam constituunt, est mons Carmeli, vbi morabatur præfatus Elias, & super alium montem Villa Saffra vbi sanctus Iacobus, & Ioannes germani Apostoli nascebantur, & in quorum natiuitatis loco pulchra habetur Ecclesia. Item propè Acon ad ripam dictam Beleon, est fossa multum vtilis, & mirabilis quæ dicitur fossa Mennon, hæc est rotunda circumferentia, cuius diameter continet prope 100. cubitos, plena alba & resplendente arena, & munda ex qua conficitur mundum & perlucidum vitrum. Pro hac arena venitur per aquas, & per terras, & exportatur manibus & vehiculis propè & procul, & quantumcunque de die exhauritur, repleta manè altero reperitur: Et est in fossa ventus grandis & iugis, qui mirabiliter arenam commouere videtur. Si quis autem vitrum de hac

Antiochia.

Vel Smyrnam.

Sio.

Rhodus Insula.

Cyprus Insula.

Fortia Cypri vina.

Ioppa, vel Iaffe.

Portus Tyri, aliàs Sur.

Achon, olim Acharon.

Mons Carmeli.

Fossa Beleon.

arena

arena factum in foſſa reponeret, conuerteretur iterum in arenam, & qui imponeret fruſtum metalli, verteretur in vitrum: nonnulli reputant hanc foſſam eſſe ſpiraculum maris arenoſi, de qno mari aliquid locuturus ſum in ſequentibus. Ab Acon via verſus Ieruſalem bifurcatur: nam qui tenet vnum latus poteſt ire ſecus Iordanem fluuium, in Ciuitatem Damaſcum, qui verò aliud, ibit in tribus aut quatuor dietis Gazam, de qua olim fortis Samſon aſportauit nocte fores portarum: deinde in Cęſaream Philippi, & Aſcalonem, & Ioppam portum ſupradictum, Hincque in Rama, & Caſtellum Emaus, & ſic in Ieruſalem vrbem ſacroſanctum.

Caput. 5.

Via à Francia aut Flandria per ſolas terras vſque Ieruſalem.

ITineribus, quæ per terras, & per mare a noſtris partibus ducunt in terram promiſſionis deſcriptis, reſtat breuiter dicendum de alia via, per quam omnino mare tranſeundum non eſt, videlicet per Almaniam, per Bohemiam, per Pruſſiam, & hinc per terram Paganorum regni Lituaniæ, & ſic per longam, & peſſimam terram primę Tartariæ vſque in Indiam: Dico autem Tartariæ primę, quoniam de hac exijt primus Imperator totius Tartariæ, qui ſemper vocatur Grand Can, quo vix maiorem mundus habet terrenum Dominum, excepto Imperatore ſuperioris Indiæ, de quibus in ſecunda & tertia huius tractatus partibus, aliquanto eſt diffuſius narrandum. Cuncti principes huius primæ Tartariæ, quorum ſummus ſemper vocatur Bachu, & moratur in Ciuitate Horda, reddunt Imperatori Grand Can, magna tributa. Eſt autem hæc prima Tartaria terra miſera & fabuloſa, & infructuoſa: hoc enim ſcio, quòd per aliquod tempus ſteti in ea, & perambulaui Inſulas, regiones, & terras circumiacentes, ſcilicet, Ruſſię, Inflau, Craco, Latton, Reſtau, & alias nonnullas: creſcunt namque in iſta Tartaria modica blada, pauca vina, & fructuum, ac frugum parua copia, exceptis herbis pro paſtu Beſtiarum, quarum ibi eſt abundantia: nam carnibus illarum veſcuntur pro omnibus cibarijs, ius earum ſorbentes, & pro potu bibentes lac de omni genere beſtiarum. Quin etiam pauperiores manducant canes, lupos, catos, ratos, talpas, ac inures, ac huiuſmodi beſtiolas omnes: ſed nec aliquis Princeps aut prælatus comedit vltra ſemel in diè, & hoc parcè, vel parciſſimè: & ſunt homines valdè immundi, quia non niſi benè diuites vtuntur mappis, linteaminibus, aut lineis indumentis: ſed nec habent copiam lignorum, vnde & fimum boum, ac omnium beſtiarum deſiccatum ad ſolem accipiunt pro ignis materia, vbi ſe calefaciunt, & coquendo coquunt. Aeſtiuo tempore, cadunt ibi frequenter tempeſtates tonitruorum, fulminũ, & grandinum, quibus domus, arbores, beſtiæ, & homines, comburuntur, euelluntur, & occiduntur. Nam & quandoque ſubrepentè oritur ibi calor immoderatus, & improuiſo frigus immoderatum. Deinque cum terra illa, ſe multum inclinet ad polum Septentrionalem, fortius ibi gelare ſolet, & frequentius, ac diutius quàm ad partes noſtras, vnde & quaſi omnes habent ibi ſtupas, in quibus manducant, & operantur. Nec valet à noſtris partibus ingredi ad illam niſi tempore gelicidij, quod ad introitum eius ſunt tres dietæ, de via molli, aquatica, & profunda, in qua dum viator putaret ſe ſtare ſecurum, profunderetur in lutum ad tibias, ad genua, ad femora vel ad renes: hoc ergo ſciendum quòd pauciſſimi tendunt per hanc terram in viam promiſſionis: Nam iter eſt graue, diſtortum, longum, & periculoſum ſicut audiſtis, imò periculoſius quàm ſcribo.

Horda eſt multitudo viuens in agris.

Mores Tartarorum.

Hyeme præcipue iter faciunt per terram.

Caput. 6.

Via de Cypro vel Ieruſalem vſque in Babyloniam Ægypti.

DEſcripto ſicut potui triplicitèr itinere in terram ſanctam, reſtat videre de duabus alijs vijs, quæ incidenter ſolent contingere peregrinis: Multi namque illorum ex ſpeciali deuotione deſiderant viſitare oſſa beatiſſimæ Virginis Catharinæ in monte Sinay: Cum igitur ipſis ſit neceſſarius Soldani Babyloniæ conductus eo quod Imperator ſit, & dominus omnium illarum terrarum, quidam poſtquam perueniunt in Cyprũ tenduut primò in Babyloniam Ægypti, pro impetrando conductu ſecuro, atque indè pergentes in Sinay vadunt in Ieruſalem. Quidam verò poſtquam perfecerunt peregrinationem Hieroſolymitanam, pergunt per terras ad Soldanum pro conductu, & tum in Sinay, propter quòd vtramque viam breuiter deſcribo. De Cypro in Ægyptum itur per mare relinquendo Hieroſolymorum terram ad manum ſiniſtram, & accipitur primus portus Ægypti, dictus Damaiata: ibi quondam fuit Ciuitas valdè munita, ſed quod Chriſtiani illam, prima & altera vice ceperunt, Sarraceni vltimò deſtruxerunt, & aliam remotius à mari ciuſdem nominis Ciuitatem ædificauerunt: Hinc venitur in portum Alexandriæ Ægypti, quæ eſt Ciuitas magna, pulchra, & fortis valde, ſed abſq; aquis potabilibus. Adducit tamen ſibi per longos ductus aquam Nili fluminis in ciſternis ad potandum. Alexandria nobilis 30. ſtadia habet longitudinis decemque inlatum. In ea reſtant adhuc

Babylonia Aegypti.

Damiata portus Aegypti.

plures Ecclesiæ à tempore Christianorum, sed Sarraceni non sustinentes picturas Sanctorum omnes parietes albauerunt. De Alexandria per terras venitur in Babyloniam Ægypti, quæ etiã fundata iacet supra prædictum Nilum fluuium: Dicitur autem hæc Babylonia minor ad differentiam magnæ Babyloniæ, siue Babel, vbi Deus linguas confudit olim, quæ tendendo inter Orientem & Septentrionem distat ab ista dictas circiter 40. nec est sub potestate Soldani, sed Imperatoris Persarum, qui illam tenet in homagio ab Imperatore Cathay, dicto, Grand Can. Hęc autem Babylonia Ægypti est Ciuitas grãdis & fortis, tamen valdè propè eam est alia maior dicta Cayr, in qua vt sæpiùs residet Soldanus, quanquam Babylonia nomen per seculum diffusius est cognitum. Altera autem via peregrinorum de Hierosolymis pro conductu tendentium ad Soldanum talis esse potest. Primò tendant de Ierusalem in suprà dictam Gazam Palestinorum, inde ad Castellum Dayre, atque ex tunc exitur de terra Syriæ, & intratur à superiori parte in desertum longum arenosum, & sterile, propè ad septem dietas, quod lingua eorum vocatur Abilech: tamen per illud inueniantur plura hospitia, vbi haberi possunt ad victum necessaria. Et qui in eundo rectum iter tenet, veniet in Ciuitatem dictam, Balbes, quæ est ad finem Regni Halapiæ: Sicque expleto Deserto, intratur terra Ægypti, quam ipsi Canopat vocant, & aliqui Mersur, atque ex tunc in Babyloniam, & Cayr prætatam: In ista verò Babylonia habetur pulchra Ecclesia Mariæ virginis, in loco vbi morabatur cum filio suo, & Ioseph tempore suæ fugæ, & creditur ibi contineri corpus Virginis Barbaræ.

Cayr ciuitas.

Abilech desertum.

CAPVT. 7.

De Pallatio Soldani, ac numero, & nominibus præteritorum Soldanorum.

CAyr ciuitas Imperialis & Regalis est valdè munita, & grandis, decorata sede propria Sarracenorum Regni, vbi Dominus eorum Soldanus cõmuniter residere solet, in suo Calahelick, id est, castro forti, & lato, ac in euecta rupe statuto. Siquidem Soldanus eorum lingua sonat nomen similis maiestatis, quo nos in Latino dicimus Cæsarem, aut Imperatorem. Pro custodia huius Castri sunt ibidem omni tempore morantes sex millia personarũ, & pro seruiendo, dum ibi residet, ipsi Soldano, qui omnes de Curia eadem accipiunt necessaria, & donatiua. Iste Imperator Soldanus, est Rex, Dominusque quinque Regnorum magnorum: Canopat, hoc est, Ægypti; totius Iudeæ, sicut olim Dauid, & Salomon; Halapiæ, in terra Machsyriæ, cuius ciuitas Damascus olim erat principalis; Arabiæ, quod est regnum valdè protensum, & cum his possidet dominatus omnium Caliphorum: ad quod sciendum, quòd quandoque fuerunt tres Caliphorum dominatus: Ex quibus primus Caliphus qui dicebatur Chaldęorum, & Arabum, erat sedes in Ciuitate Baldac. Alter Barbarorum & Affricorum, cuius erat sedes in Maroco super Mare Hispaniæ. Tertius Aegypti: Est autem Caliphus inter eos, velut inter nos Imperator, & Papa simul, scilicet, Dominus Temporalium, & spiritualium. Exactis igitur Caliphis circa annum incarnationis Christi 1150, primus Soldanorum fuit nominatus Saracon: secundus filius eius, Saladin, qui Anno 1190. cum Turcis totam ferè terram promissionis abstulit à Christianis. Et sub quo Richardus Rex Anglię cum alijs principibus Christianis custodiebat passum Rupium, ne ille sicut proposuerat transire, profecisset vltra. Tertius Melachsala, à quo sanctus Ludouicus rex Franciæ captiuabatur in bello. Quartus Turquenã, qui Regem prædictũ redimi dimisit pro pecunia, Quintus Meleth. Sextus Melethemes. Septimus Melec dayr, sub quo Edwardus Rex Angliæ intrauit cum nostris Syriam, damnificans plurimum Sarracenos. Octauus Melec salle. Nonus Elphi, qui Anno Incarnationis Domini 1289. destruxit in illis partibus enormiter Christianos, & penitus omnes inde fugauit, atque recepit Tripolim Ciuitatem. Decimus Melethasseras: hic cepit Anno Domini 1291. in octaua paschæ Accharon, fugatis vel occisis ex ea omnibus Christianis. Exinde amissis succedentium nominibus, sextus decimus dicebatur vel dicitur Melec Mandibron: sub isto steti ego per aliquod tempus stipendiarius in guerris suis contra Bedones, qui ei tunc temporis rebellabant. Horum etiam mores, & continentiam populorum, in sequentibus declarabo: sicut veraciter fateri possum, ipse ad filiam cuiusdam sui Principis me obtulit vxorare, & magnis dotare possessionibus, dummodò Christianitati resignassem: Eumque dimisi Soldanum, quando de partibus illis recessi. Soldanus præter homines ad sua castra seruanda deputatos, potest educere quoties velit in exercitum de hominibus de ipsius stipendijs viuentibus, & ad eius iugitèr mandata paratis, 20. millia armatorum, ex sola Ægypto: Et ex Syria, & Turcia, & alijs terris, 50, milha exceptis ruralibus, & Ciuitatum comitatibus, qui sunt velut innumerabiles. Miles quidem stipendiarius recipit de Curia pro anni Tempore 121. aureos, & sub tali stipendio seruit, cum tribus equis & vno Camelo. Quadringenti, vel Quingenti horum militum ordinati sunt sub vno rectore, qui vocatur Admirabilis: Et ille solus recipit de Curia tantum, sicut omnes sibi subditi: Notandum quod nunquam extraneus Nuncius ire permittitur ad Soldanum nisi auratis indutus vestibus, vel

Caliphus quidnt.

Series Soldanorũ Aegypti.

Richardus Rex Angliæ.

Edwardus princeps Angliæ, Regis Henr. 3. filius.

Dominus Mandeuil stipendiarius Soldani contra Arabes.

Potentia Soldani Aegypti.

vel panno Tartarico, aut camoleoto ad modum nobilium Sarracenorum: & oportet vt vbicũque primum nuncius Soldanum aſpiciat, ſiue ad feneſtras, ſiue alibi, vt cadat ad genua, vel protinus oſculetur terram, quia talem reuerentiam facere, ſignum eſt quòd ille deſiderat ei loqui. Quamdiu autem tales loquuntur ſibi, aut literas oſtendunt, circumſtant Apparitores extenſis brachijs, leuatos tenentes mucrones, gladios, gezas, & mackas ad feriendum, & occidẽdum, ſi quid dictum vel nunciatum fuerit, quod Imperatori diſpliceat, quàm citò ille ſignauerit trucidari. Veruntamen ſciendum eſt, quòd nullius hominis perſonaliter ab ipſo quidquam petentis conſueuit repellere preces rationabiles, & contra eorum leges aut mores non venientes. Porrò ego in Curia manens, vidi circa Soldanum vnum venerabilem, & expertum medicum, de noſtris partibus oriundum: ſolet namque circa ſe retinere diuerſarum medicos nationum, & quos nominandæ audierit eſſe famæ: Nos tamen rarò inuicem conuenimus ad colloquium, eò quòd meum ſeruitium cum ſuo modicum congruebat: longo autem poſteà tempore, & ab illo loco remotè, videlicet in Leodij ciuitate, compoſui hortatu & adiutorio eiuſdem venerabilis viri hunc tractatum, ſicut in fine operis totius enarrabo. Itémque in Cayr ciuitate ducuntur ad forum communiter tam viri quàm mulieres aliarum legum, & nationum venales, & ad modum beſtiarum venduntur pro pecunia ad ſeruiendum in ſuis artificijs. Habetur quoque ibi domus plena furnis paruis, in quibus per cuſtodes domus tam hyeme quàm æſtate fouentur oua gallinarum, anatum, aucarum, & columbarum, vſque ad procreationem ſuorum pullorum, & hijs intendunt, pro certo pretio accipiendo à mulierculis illic oua ferentibus.

Reuerentia exhibita Soldano.

Cuius nomen erat M. Ioannes ad Barbam.

Mos oua furnis fouendi.

CAPVT 8.

De Campo Balſami in Egypto.

EXtra hanc ciuitatem Cayr, eſt campus ſeu ager Balſami: circa quod ſciendum, quòd optimum totius mundi Balſamum in magno creſcit Indiæ deſerto, vbi Alexander Magnus dicitur quondam locutus fuiſſe arboribus Solis & Lunæ, de quo in ſequentibus aliquid eſt ſcribendum. Illo itaque Indiæ Balſamo duntaxat excepto, non eſt liquor in vniuerſo orbe, qui huic creditur comparari. Has arbores ſeu arbuſta Balſami fecit quondã quidam de Caliphis Aegypti de loco Engaddi inter mare mortuum, & Ierico, vbi Domino volente excreuerat, eradicari, & in agro prædicto plantari: Eſt tamen hoc mirandum, quod vbicunque alibi ſiue propè, ſiue remotè plantantur, quamuis fortè virent, & exurgant, non tamen fructificant. Et è contrario apparet hoc miraculoſum, quod in hoc agro Cayr non ſe permittunt coli per Sarracenos, ſed ſolummodò per Chriſtianos, vel aliter non fructificarent: Et dicunt ipſi Sarraceni hoc ſæpiùs ſe tentaſſe: ſunt autem arbuſta trium vel quatuor pedum altitudinis, velut vſque ad renes hominis, & lignum eorum aſpiciendum, ſicut vitis ſylueſtris. Folia non marceſcunt, quin priùs marceſcant fructus, cernitur ad formam Cubebæ, & gummi eorum eſt Balſamum. Ipſi appellant arbores, Enochkalſe, fructum Abebifau, & liquorem gribalſe. Extrahitur verò gummi de arbuſculis per hunc modum: De lapide acuto, vel de oſſe fracto dant ſciſſuras per cortices in ligno, & ex vulneribus Balſamum lachrymatur, quod in vaſculis ſuſcipiunt, cauentes quout poſſunt, ne quid dé illo labatur in terram. Nam ſi de ferro, vel alio metallo fieret inciſſura, liquor Balſami corrumperetur à ſua virtute. Veri Balſami virtutes ſunt magnæ quidem, & innumeroſæ: nam vix aliquis mortalium ſcire potuit omnes, quamuis inter Phyſicos quinquaginta ſcribantur. Rarò vtique Sarraceni vendunt Chriſtianis purum & verum Balſamum, quin priùs commiſceant, & falſificant ſicut ego ipſe frequenter vidi. Nam aliqui tertiam, ſeu quartam partem immiſcent terrebynthinę. Alii ramuſculos arbuſtarum, & fructus eorum coquunt in oleo, quod vendunt pro Balſamo: & quidam (quod peſſimum eſt) nil Balſami habentes, diſtillant oleum, per clauos gariophillos, & ſpicum nardum, & ſimiles odoriferas ſpecies, hoc pro Balſamo exponentes, atque aliis pluribus modis deludunt emeates. Sed & Mercatores inuicem nonnunquam ſophiſticant altera vice: probatio autem veri Balſami, poteſt haberi pluribus modis, quorum aliquos hic deſcribo. Eſt enim Citrini coloris, valdè clarum, & purum, & fortiſſimum in odoris fragrantia: ſi ergò apparet alterius quàm Citrini coloris, ſciatur non ſimplicis, ſed cuiuſcunque commixtæ ſubſtantiæ, vel ita ſpiſſum, vt non poſſit fluere, ſcitote ſophiſticatum. Item ſi poſueris modicum veri Balſami in manus palma, non poteris ſuſtinere eam linialiter in feruore ſplendentis Solis ad ſpacium recitandæ Dominicæ orationis. Item ſi in clara flamma ignis vel candelæ cereæ miſeris punctum cultelli cum gutta puri Balſami, ipſa gutta de facilè comburetur. Item ſi in ſcutella munda cum puro lacte caprino poſueris modicum veri Balſami, ſtatim miſcebit ſe, & vnietur cum lacte, ita vt Balſamum non cognoſcetur. Item è contrà, ſi poſueris verum Balſamum cum aqua Lympida, nunquam miſcebit ſe aquæ, etiamſi aquam moueris vehementer, imò Balſamum ſemper tendit ad fundum vaſis, nam eſt in ſui quanti-

Balſamum.

Virtutes veri Balſami.

Sophiſticationes Balſami.

Probatio veri Balſami.

quantitate valdè ponderosum,& iuxta quod minùs ponderosum inueneris,ampliùs falsificatum noueris.

Caput. 9.

De Nilo fluuio,& Aegypti territorio.

Inundatio Nili.

Nllus suprà dictus fluuius Aegypti appellatus est alio nomine Gyon, cuius origo est à Paradiso terrestri.Hic venit currens per deserta Indiæ Maioris, hincque per meatus subterraneos transit plures terras: exiens sub Monte Aloth,inter Indiam, & Aethiopiam, & Mauritaniam intra deserta Aegypti, irrigans totam longitudinem Aegypti vsque ad Alexandriam, ibíque se perdit in mare. Sole intrante signum Cancri omni anno, hoc est,ad quindenam ante Festum Natiuitatis Ioannis Baptistæ incipit paulatim fluuius crescere, & inundare, quousque sol intret Virginem, quod est circa Festum Laurentij, atque ex tunc decrescere, & minui,donec Sole veniente in Lybram intra suos alueos se conseruet:Dúmque per inundationem nimis effluit, damnificat terræ culturas, & fit Charistia in Aegypto. Et similiter dum parùm exundat, ingruit esuries, quoniam in Aegypto rarissimè pluit, aut apparent nubes, quoniam si quandoque pluerit in æstate,terra muribus adimpletur. Terra Aegypti continet in longitudine dietas quindecim,in latitudine ferè tres, & habet triginta dietas deserti: à finibus Aegypti vsque Nubiam,duodecim sunt dietæ. Hi Nubij sunt Christiani,sed nigri,velut Aethiopes,vel Mauri.

Raro in Aegypto pluuia.

Nubia.

Phœnix auis, de qua dicitur,quod semper vnica sit in mundo,viuens per annos quingentos, quæ & seipsam comburit,ac de cineribus eius,siue per naturam, siue per miraculum alia creatur, hæc interdum apparet in Aegypto, & sicut mihi monstrabatur, vidi duabus vicibus.Modicùm est maior Aquila, cristam in capite maiorem pauonis,collum habens croceum, dorsum Indicum, alas purpureas, caudam duobus coloribus, per transuersum croceo & rubeo regulatam, qui singuli colores sunt ad splendorem Solis delectabiliter videntibus respledentes. In Aegypto multæ habentur arbores, sexcies aut septies in anno fructificantes, ibíque frequenter inueniuntur in terra Smaragdi, & circa oram Nili alij lapides pretiosi.A Babylonia Aegypti,vsque ad ciuitatem Meccam, (quam Pagani ibidem appellant Iacrib, & est in magnis desertis Arabiæ) sunt triginta duæ dietę. In ea veneratur detestandum cadauer Machon siue Machometi honorabiliter & reuerenter in Templo eius, quod ibi vocatur Musket, de cuius vita aliquid infrà narrabo. Per prædicta itaque apparet, quod Imperator Sarracenorum Soldanus Babyloniæ,valdè potens est Dominus.

Phœnix visa a Mandeuillo.

Mecha.

Caput 10.

De conductu Soldani,& via vsque in Sinay.

PRiùs dictum est de reuerentia Soldani, quando ad ipsum intratur exhibenda. Sciendum ergò, cùm ab eo petitur securus conductus, nemini denegare consueuit, sed datur petentibus communiter sigillum eius, in appenditione absque literis: hoc sigillum, pro vexillo in virga aut hasta dum peregrini ferunt, omnes Sarraceni videntes illud flexis genibus in terram se reuerenter inclinant, & portantibus omnem exhibent humanitatem. Verumtamen satis maior fit reuerentia literis Soldani sigillatis,quod & Admirabiles, & quicunque alij Domini, quando eis monstrantur, antequam recipiant, se multùm inclinant: Deinde ambabus manibus eas capientes ponunt super propria capita, posteà osculantur, & tandem legunt inclinati cum magna veneratione, quibus semel aut bis perlectis, offerunt se promptos ad explendum quicquid ibi iubetur, ac insuper exhibent deferenti, quicquid possint commodi, vel honoris: sed talem conductum per literas Soldani vix quisquam peregrinorum accipit, qui non in Curia illius stetit, vel notitiam apud illum habuerit. *Ego autem habui in recessu meo, in quibus etiam continebatur ad omnes sibi subiectos speciale mandatum, vt me permitterent intrare, & respicere singula loca, pro mea placito voluntatis, & mihi exponerent quorumcunque locorum mysteria distincte & absque vllo velamine veritatis, ac me cum omni sodalitate mea benignè reciperent, & in cunctis rationalibus audirent, requisiti autem si necesse foret de ciuitate conducerent in ciuitatem.* Habito itaque peregrinis conductu, ad Montem Sinay potest à Cayr vnam duarum incipere semitarum, vsque vallem Helim, vbi adhuc sunt duodecim fontes aquarum. Nam vna viarum est, vt pertranseat passagium maris rubri, non longè ab eodem loco, vbi olim populus Israel Duce Mose, Deo iubente, siccis pedibus transijt idem mare. Quod quidem, licèt aqua sit satis clara, dicitur ibi Rubrum propter lapillos, & arenas subrusi coloris: & continet ibi nunc temporis passus maris

Literæ Soldani in gratiam Mandeuilli concessæ.

atio,cur Rubrum mare sic ppellatur.

ris in latitudine ferè sex leucas. Transmissoque mari, ibit super hanc longè ab oris eiusdem per dietas quatuor, atque ex tunc relinquens mare, tendit per deserta sex aut septem dierum, vsque in vallem præfatam. Alia est autem via, vt de Babylonia intret Dyrcen deserta, tendens ad quendam fontem, quem dicitur Moses fecisse: & hinc ad riuulum Marach, qui quondam, Mose imponente lignum, ab amaritudine dulcescebat, & sic tandem in præmissam vallem perueniant. Et restat via grandis dietæ ad Montem Sinay ab hac valle. Nam à Babylonia vsque in Sinay, æstimatur esse via duodecim dietarum, quamuis nonnulli citiùs perueniunt. Hoc verè sciendum, neminem peregrinorum per hæc deserta sine ductore posse tendere, cui notæ sunt viæ, sed nec equi valent transire, præcipuè quòd non inuenirent in desertis quid bibere. Aliquo tamen modo transitur per Camelos, eò quòd se continere possint de potu duobus aut tribus diebus: Et oportet vt itinerantes ferant secum per viam necessaria ad victum proprium, & Camelorum, nisi quòd interdum fortè Cameli aliquid sibi abrodere possunt circa cortices arbustorum, & folia ramusculorum.

Vel Massa.

Abstinentia Camelorum ab aquis.

Caput. II.

De Monasterio Sinay, & reliquijs beatæ Catherinæ.

Mons Sinay appellatur ibi desertum Syn: quasi in radice montis istius habetur Cœnobium Monachorum pergrande, cuius clausura in circuitu est firmata muris altis, & portis ferreis, pro metu bestiarum deserti. Hi Monachi sunt Arabes, & Græci, & in magno conuentu, multùm Deo deuoti: viuunt in magna abstinentia, vtentes simplicibus cibariis, de lotis & dactylis, & huiusmodi, nec vinum potantes, festis exceptis. Illic in Ecclesia Beatæ Virginis & matris Catherinæ semper lampades plurimæ sunt ardentes, nam habetur ibi plena copia olei oliuarum. A posteriori parte magni altaris monstratur locus, vbi Moysi apparuit Dominus in rubo ardente, ipsum rubum adhuc seruans, quem dum Monachi intrant, semper se discalceant gratia illius verbi, quo Deus iussit Moysi ibidem, Solue calciamentum de pedibus tuis, locus enim in quo stas, terra sancta est: hunc locum appellant Bezeleel, id est, vmbra Dei. Et propè altare tribus gradibus in altitudine, habetur capsa, seu Tumba Alabastri, sanctissima continens ossa Virginis. Christiani qui ibidem morantur, cum magna reuerentia aduenientibus peregrinis, à Monachorum prælato, seu ab alio in hoc instituto, excipiuntur. Is quodam instrumento argenteo consueuit ossa defricare, siue linire, vt ex iis exeat modicũ olei, velut parumper sudoris, quod tamen non apparet in colore sui tanquam olei seu Balsami, sed aliquantulum pluris magnitudinis. Et ex isto traditur interdum aliquid petentibus peregrinis, sed parùm, quia nec multùm exudat. Ostendere solent & caput ipsius Catherinæ cum inuolumento sanguinolento, & multas præterea sanctas, & venerabiles reliquias, quæ omnia intuitus sum diligenter & sæpè, oculis indignis. Habent quoque in ista Ecclesia propriam Lampadem quilibet Monachorum, quæ imminente illius discessu lumen per diuinum miraculum variat vel extinguit. Ego etiam curiosiùs super vno dubio quod priùs audieram, plures interrogationes feci ab aliquibus Monachorum, vtrum scilicet prælato eorum decedente semper succedat per diuinum signum eligeretur: & vix tandem ab eis recepi responsum, quòd per vnum istorum miraculorum habetur successor, videlicet in missa sepulturæ defuncti omnibus Monachorum lampadibus extinctis, illius sola Dei nutu reaccenditur, quem fieri vult prælatum, vel de cœlo inuenitur missus breuiculus super altare, inscriptum habens nomen prælati futuri. Intra hanc Ecclesiam nunquam musca, vel aranea, aut huiusmodi immundi vermiculi nascuntur, quod similiter per diuinum accidit miraculum: nam antè replebatur Ecclesia talibus immunditiis, & totus conuentus recederet ad construendam Ecclesiam in alio loco. Et ecce Dei genetrix virgo beata eis visibiliter obuiauit, iubens reuerti, & dicens nunquam Ecclesiam similibus infestari. In cuius obuiationis loco, in ascensu procliuo huius montis per multos gradus construxerunt Ecclesiam, ædificium excellens, in honorem eiusdem virginis. Et aliquantò altiùs, per eiusdem montis ascensum est vetus Capella, quam vocant Eliæ Prophetæ, & locum specialiter appellant Horeb. A cuius latere in montis appendentia colitur vinea, quam nominant Iosuæ schophis, de qua quidam putare volunt, quod Sanctus Ioannes Euangelista eam primò plantauit. In superiori verò montis vertice, est Capella, quam dicunt Moysis, & illic rupis seruans adhuc corporis eius formam impressam dum se abscondit, veritus dominum respicere in facie. Locus quoq; ibi ostenditur, in quo Deus tradidit ei decem mandata, siue legem proprio digito scriptam, & sub rupe cauerna, in qua mansit ieiunus diebus 40. Ab hoc monte qui vocatur Mosi, restat via producta ad quartam Leucæ, vsque in montem qui dicitur Sanctæ Catherinæ per vallem speciosam, ac multùm frigidam. Circa eius medium habetur Ecclesia, nomine 40. Martyrum constructa, vbi interdum veniunt Monachi cantare missam. Hic mons est

Monachorum sophismata.

satis

satis altior Monte Moysis, in cuius vertice Angeli Dei piè creduntur attulisse, & sepelisse corpus sanctissimæ Martyris Catharinæ cum inuolumento capitis suprà dicto. Attamen in ipso certo sepulturæ loco, licèt quandoque steterit Capella, modo non est habitaculum, sed modicus aceruus petrarum. Notandum, quòd vterque horum montium potest vocari mons Sinay, eo quòd totus circumiacens locus deserti Sin appellatur. Sur desertum inter mare Rubrum, & solitudinem Sinay. desertum Sur idem Scriptura quod & Cades. Visitatis igitur à peregrinis his sacrosanctis memorijs, & valefacto Monachis, recommendant se eorum orationibus, & meritis: túncque solet aliquid victualium offerri peregrinis, pro inchoanda via deserti Syriæ versus Ierusalem. Et sicut dixi de priori deserto, sic nec istud securè est peragrandum absque Drogemijs, id est, semitarum ductoribus, propter vastitudinem deserti.

Caput. 12.

Iter à deserto Sinay vsque ad Iudæam.

Per istud latum & longum desertum, moratur vel potiùs vagatur maxima multitudo malorum, & incompositorum hominum, qui non manent in domibus, sed sub pellium tabernaculis, quemadmodum & olim filij Israel in eodem deserto ambulauerunt, quoniam aquæ non manent ibi diu in locis certis: & ideò mutant tabernacula sequentes aquas: non colunt terras, rarò manducant panem, sed tantùm carnes bestiarum deserti quas venantur, coquentes super petras calefactas ad Solem: fortes sunt & feroces, & velut desperati de vita propria non curantes, qui licèt non habeant arma præter lanceam, & tarchiam, & caput grandi albo linteolo inuolutum, tamen non verentur exercere guerras, & inire prælia contra Dominum suum Soldanum: nam & ego stipendiarius in expeditione Soldani contra eos sæpiùs fui. Isti sunt quidem Arabes, sed notiori nomine appellantur Bedoyns & Acopars, & quamuis plurima mala agunt per desertum, rarò tamen nocent peregrinis beatæ Virginis Catharinæ. Itaque peregrinus qui debitum tenuit iter, veniat à finibus deserti in primam ciuitatem Iudeæ, quæ dicitur Bersebe: est vicus grandis Hebron inde miliario vergens ad Austrum: Hieronymus. Notandum, Theros Mons Dei in regione Maglaw iuxta Montem. Notandum similiter, Arabiam in deserto esse, cui iungitur Mons, & desertum Sarracenorum, quod vocatur Phaaran. Mihi autem videtur, quod duplici nomine, nunc Mons Sinay, nunc Oreb vocatur. Hieronymus. Phaaran nunc oppidum trans Oreb, iam iunctum Sarracenis, qui in solitudine vagi pererrant. Hos interfecerunt filij Israel, cùm de Monte Sinay castra mouissent. Est ergo, vt dixi, trans Iordanem contra Australem plagam, & distat ab Helyn, contra Orientem, itinere dierum trium. In deserto autem Phaaran, Scriptura commemorat habitasse Ismaelem, vnde & Ismaelitæ, qui nunc Sarraceni. Legimus quo que Chederlaomer percussisse eos qui erant in deserto Phaaran quod nunc dicitur Ascalon, & circa eam Regio Palestinorum. Hieronymus. Hæc Bersheba erat bona & spectabilis, vltimo tempore Christianorum, & adhuc ibi restant nonnullæ Ecclesiæ.

Ioannes Mandeuil militans contra Arabes.

Beersheba.

Hinc ad Leucas duas venitur in ciuitatem Hebron, & Hebron ab Helyn distat ad Meridiana plagam millibus circiter 39. de qua legitur, quòd primis temporibus fuerit habitatio maximorum Gigantium, Regúmque, postea Dauidis. In hac est illa spelunca duplex, quæ seruat ossa sanctorum Patriarcharum, Abrahæ, Isaac, & Iacob, Saræ, & Rebeccæ, consistítque ad radicem montis, & habetur super istam cum propugnaculis ad modum castri constructa pulchra Ecclesia. Sarraceni appellant istam speluncam Kariackaba, custodientes locum diligenter ac reuerenter propter honorem Patriarcharum, & non permittentes quenquam Christianorum aut Iudæorum ingredi, nisi ostenderit super hæc specialem gratiam à Soldano. Nam ipsi communiter reputant tam Christianos quàm Iudæos pro canibus, & quando despectiuè eos volunt appellare, dicunt Kylp, id est, canis.

Ciuitas Hebron.

Ab Hebron incipit vallis Mambrę, quæ protenditur ferè vsq; Ierusalem: haud remotè ad Hebron est mons Mambre, & in ipso monte arbor quercus aridæ, quæ pro antiquitate sui, speciale sibi nomen meruit in mundo vniuerso, vt vocetur arbor ficca: Sarraceni autem eam dicunt Dirp: hæc creditur stetisse ante tempora Abrahæ, tamen quidam volunt putare à mundi initio, virens donec passionis Christi tempore siccaretur. Hoc autem certum est, haberi eam ab omnibus nationibus in veneratione.

Vallis Mambræ.

Quercus arida.

In quodam loco præfatæ vallis est planicies, vbi per plures fossas effodiunt homines Gambil, quod comeditur loco specierum aromaticarum, & per villas defertur venale. Sed & hoc audiui, quòd nulla ibi fossa ita valet exhauriri, si dimittatur per annum, quin inueniatur de prædicta Gambil impleta.

Gambil species Aromatis.

Ad duas leucas de Hebron, monstratur sepultura Loth filii fratris Abrahã. Itẽ de ciuitate Hebrõ per quinque leucas amoeni itineris, hoc est, in media die, venitur in Bethleem Iudeæ. Notandũ,

Arbe,

Arbe, id eſt, quatuor, primùm dicam de eo quod ibi tres Patriarchæ Abraham, Iſac, & Iacob ſepulti ſunt, & Adam magnus, vt in Iudæorum libro ſcriptum eſt, licèt eum quidam conditum in loco Caluariæ ſuſpicentur. Corruptè in noſtris codicibus Arboth ſcribitur, alibi erat arbor cùm in Hebræis legatur Arbe, hæc eſt autem eadem Hebron olim Metropolis Philiſtinorum, ab vno filiorum Caleb ſortita vocabulum. Kiriath-Arbe.

CAPVT 13.

De ciuitate Bethleem, & ſemita vſque in Ieruſalem.

BEthleem Ciuitas longa ſed parua, firmata eſt vndique foſſatis fortibus: cuius modò habitatores quaſi omnes ſunt Chriſtiani. In illa ad orientem honeſta, & placida habetur Eccleſia: (neſcio an aliquam eiuſdem quantitatis viderim placentiorem,) extrinſecus habens turres ſaltaturas, pinnacula, & propugnacula nobili artificio fabricata, & intrinſecus 44. de marmore decoro columnas. Ad principalis autem turris dextram in deſcenſu 16. graduum, eſt diuerſorij locus, vbi ex intacta & benedicta Virgine naſcebatur Chriſtus homo Deus. Hic locus eſt multùm artificioſè operatus marmore, & generoſè depictus auro & argento, varióque colore, cui propè ad tres paſſus eſt præſepe in quo reclinabatur natus Dominus, ibíque videtur puteus quidam, in quo aliqui putare volunt cecidiſſe ſtellam ductricem trium Magorum, poſt eius peractum officium.

Eſt etiam ante præſepe Domini, tumba beati Interpretis Hieronymi, & extra Eccleſiam mõſtratur cathedra, in qua reſidere ſolebat. Sub clauſura huius eccleſiæ ad dextram, per 18. gradus apparet foſſa, quæ dicitur oſſium innocentium cauſa Chriſti ab Herode impio occiſorum. Hinc ad quingentos, vel citra pedes habetur alia Eccleſia nomine Sancti Nicholai, in quo ſcilicet loco, poſt receſſum Magorum beata Virgo tempus ſui puerperij obſeruauit. Ibíque monſtrantur rubra ſaxa albis reſperſa maculis, quòd ſimpliciores narrant ſaxis eueniſſe de abundantia lactis virginis ab vberibus electi. In via Bethleem ab Helya miliario contra meridianam plagam iuxta viam quæ ducit Ebron, Chriſtiani de Bethleem colunt circa ciuitatem multam copiam vinearum, ad potum ſui ipſorum. Nam Sarraceni non colunt vineas, nec vina vendunt neque in manifeſto bibunt, eò quòd liber legis Mahomet, facit ſuper hoc prohibitionem, & interpretatur maledictionem. Taxat ſimplicitatem vulgi. Sarraceni non bibunt vinum in manifeſto.

De Bethleem in Auſtrum duabus leucis habetur clauſtrum Sanctæ Charitatis, ibidem ſuo tempore Abbatiſſæ. A Bethleem tendendo Ieruſalem inuenitur ad dimidiam leucam Eccleſia, in cuius loco Angelus dixit paſtoribus, Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum, quod natus eſt nobis Saluator qui eſt Chriſtus Dominus. Eſt & tumba Rachel Patriarchæ, vbi etiam coaceruata iacent 12. ſaxa magna, quæ quidam autumant illic tumulaſſe Iacob, eò quòd Beniamin duodecimus ſibi filius naſcebatur ibidem. Sícque venitur in Sanctam Ciuitatem Ieruſalem. Notandum, Bethel vicus eſt 12. ab Helya ad dextram euntibus Neapoli, quæ primùm Luza vocabatur. Sed ex eo tempore quo ibat ad Ieroboam filium Nebat, vituli aurei fabricati ſunt, & à decem tribubus adorata, vocata eſt Bethauen, id eſt, Domus Idoli, quæ antè vocabatur Domus Dei. Ieronymus. Sed & Eccleſia ædificata eſt vbi dormiuit Iacob, pergẽs Meſopotamiam, vbi & ipſi loco Bethel, id eſt, domus Dei nomen impoſuit. Sancta Charitas. Bethel.

CAPVT 14.

De Eccleſia glorioſi Sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ieruſalem.

IEruſalem cum tota terra promiſsionis, eſt quaſi vna de quinque prouincijs vel pluribus, quibus Regnum Syriæ diſtinguitur. Iungitur autem Iudæa ad Orientem Regno Arabiæ, ad meridiem Aegypto, ad Occidentem mari magno, & ad Aquilonem Regno Syriæ. Iudeæ terra per diuerſa tempora à diuerſis poſſeſſa fuit nationibus, Cananæorum, Iudæorum, Aſſyriorum, Perſarum, Medorum, Macedonum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Chriſtianorum, Sarracenorum, Barbarorum, Turcorum, & Tartarorum. Cuius rei cauſa meritò poteſt æſtimari, quod non ſuſtinuit Deus magnos peccatores longo tempore permanere in terra ſibi tam placita, & tam ſancta.

Itaque peregrinus veniens in Ieruſalem primò expleat ſuam peregrinationem, ad reuerendum & ſacroſanctum Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti ſepulchrum: cuius Eccleſia eſt in vltima ciuitatis extremitate, ad partem aquilonarem, cum proprio ſui ambitus muro ipſi ciuitati adiuncto. Ipſa verò Eccleſia eſt pulchra & rotundæ formæ cooperta deſuper cum tegulis plumbeis, habens in Occidente turrim altam & firmam, in pauimenti Eccleſiæ medio ad figuram dimidij compaſsi habetur nobili opere Latonico ædificatum paruum Tabernaculum quaſi 15. pedum tam longitudinis quàm latitudinis, & altitudinis miro artificio intus extráque compoſitum, ac multùm diligenter diuerſis coloribus ornatum. Hoc itaque in Tabernaculo ſeu Capella, Templum Sepulchri.

la, ad latus dextrum, continetur incomparabilis thesaurus gloriosissimi sepulchri, habentis octo pedes longitudinis, & quinque latitudinis. Et quoniam in toto habitaculo nulla est apertura præter paruum ostium, illustratur accedentibus peregrinis pluribus lampadibus, (quarum ad minus vna coram sepulchro iugiter ardere solet) ingressus.

Melech Mandybron Soldanus.

Sciendum, quòd ante breue tempus solebat sepulchrum esse ingressis peregrinis accessibile, ad tangendum & osculandum, sed quia multi vel effringebant, vel conabantur sibi effringere aliquid de petra sepulchri, iste Soldanus Melech Mandybron fecit illud confabricari, vt nec osculari valeat, nec adiri, sed tantummodo intueri. Et ob illam causam in sinistro pariete in altitudine quinque pedum immurari effracturam petræ sepulchri ad quantitatem capitis humani, quod tanquam pro sepulchro ibi ab omnibus veneratur, tangitur, & osculatur.

Mandeuillus de hoc dubitat.

Dicitur ibi quoque communiter præfatam lampadem coram sepulchro singulis annis in die Sanctæ Parascheues, hora nona extingui, & in media nocte Paschæ sine humano studio reaccendi. Quod (si ita est) euidens diuini beneficii miraculum est. Et quamuis id plurimi Christiani simpliciter in magno pietatis merito credant, pleríque tamen est in suspicione. Fortè talia Sarraceni custodes sepulchri fingentes diuulgauerunt, pro augendo emolumenta tributi, quod inde resultaret, seu oblationum quæ dantur.

Singulis autem annis in die cœnæ Domini in Parascheue, & in vigilia Paschæ, tribus his diebus manet Tabernaculum hoc apertum continuè, & patet omnibus Christianis gentibus accessus, aliâs verò non per annum sine redditione tributi. Intra Ecclesiam, propè parietem dextrum, est Caluariæ locus, vbi crucifixus pependit Christus Dominus. Per gradus ascenditur in hunc locum, & est rupis velut albi coloris, cum aliqua rubedine per loca commixta, habens scissuram, quam dicunt Golgotha, in qua maior pars precioſi sanguinis Christi dicitur influxisse: vbi & habetur altare constructum, ante quod consistunt tumbæ Godefridi de Bullion, & aliorum Regum Christianorum, qui circa annum incarnationis Domini, 1100. debellauerunt & obtinuerunt sanctam vrbem cum tota patria ex manibus Sarracenorum, & per hoc conquisierunt sibi magnum nomen, vsque in finem sæculi duraturum. Propè ipsius crucifixionis locum continetur literis Græcis hoc scriptum: ὁ Θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰώνος εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. hoc est dicere, Deus Rex noster ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terræ. Item directè in loco, vbi crux sancta stetit cum Christo rupi infixa, habetur hoc exaratum in saxo rupis: ὑψοῦ ἐβάσθη ὁ σταυρὸς τῶ κύριμ, hoc est, quod vides fundamentum est fidei mundi.

Tumba Godefridi de Bollion.

Psal. 74. 12.

Haud remotè ab hoc Caluariæ monte, habetur & aliud altare, vbi iacet columna flagellationis Domini, cui stant de propinquo & aliæ columnæ quatuor de Marmore aquam iugiter resudantes, & (secundùm opinionem simplicium) passionem innocentem Christi deflentes. Est sub isto altari crypta, 42. graduum profunda, vbi sancta Helena Regina reperit tres cruces, videlicet Christi, & latronum cum eo crucifixorũ, ac etiam clauos crucis Domini in cryptæ pariete.

Iterum taxat ignorantiam vulgi.

Regina Helena Angla.

In medio autem chori huius Ecclesiæ, est locus pauimenti stratus mirè & pulchrè, ad integrã cõpasi figuram, vbi depositũ corpus Christi de cruce Ioseph ab Aramathia cum suis adiutoribus lauit & cõdiuit aromatibus. Itẽ infra Ecclesiam à septentrionali parte ostenditur locus, vbi Christus Magdalenæ apparuit post suam resurrectionẽ, quando eum credidit hortulanum.

Indorum Capella siue subditorum præsbiteri Ioannis.

A dextro autem latere ad ingressum Ecclesiæ, habentur gradus 18. sub quibus est Capella Indorum, vbi soli peregrini de India per sacerdotes suos cantant iuxta ritum suum Missas, celebrántque diuina. Missam faciunt quidem breuissimam, conficientes in principio verbis debitis sactamentum corporis & sanguinis Christi de pane & vino, ac posteà paucis orationibus additis, totum orationem Dominica concludunt officium. Hoc autem verum est, quod cum maxima attentione, reuerentia, humilitate, & deuotione se gerunt, & continent diuinis.

An Ierusalem sit in medio mundi.

Porrò illud, quod quidam peruulgauerunt, aut opinati sunt, Iudæam aut Ierusalem, vel Ecclesiam istam consistere in medio totius mundi, propter prædictam scripturam, (in medio terræ) hoc intelligi non potest localiter ad mensuram corporis terræ: Nam si ad terræ latitudinem, quam æstimant inter duos polos, respiciamus, certum est Iudæam non esse in medio, quod tunc esset sub circulo Aequatoris, & esset ibi semper æquinoctium, & vtrumq; polorum staret iis in horizõte. Quod vtiq; nõ est ita, quod existẽtibus in Iudea eleuatur multùm polus arcticus.

Rursus si ad terræ longitudinem spectemus, quæ æstimari potest à Paradiso terrestri, scilicet à digniori & latiori terræ loco, versus eius Nadir, scilicet, versus locum sibi in Sphæra terræ oppositum, tunc Iudæa esset ad Antipodes paradisi, quod apparet ita non esse, quod tunc esset viatori de Iudæa ad Paradisum tendentis æqua itineris mensura, siue tenderet versus Orientem, siue versus Occidentem. Sed hoc non est verisimile nec verum, sicut probatum constat per experientiam multorum. Mihi autem videtur, quod præfata Prophetæ scriptura, potest exponi, in medio terræ, id est, circa medium nostri habitabilis, videlicet vt Iudæa sit circa medium inter

Paradisum

Paradisum & Antipodes Paradisi, distans tantum ab ipso Paradiso in oriente 96. gradibus, prout ego ipse per viam orientalem tentani: quanquam de hoc non videtur de facili plena certitudo haberi, eo quòd in longitudine cœli nullæ stellæ manent immobiles, sicut in latitudine manent poli semper fixi. Vel potest ita exponi, quòd Dauid qui erat Rex Iudeę, dixit in medio terræ, hoc est, in principali ciuitate terræ suæ Ieruſalem, quæ erat ciuitas regalis, siue sacerdotalis terę Iudeæ: vel fortè spiritus sanctus, qui loquebátur per os prophetę in hoc verbo vult intelligi non corporeum aut locale, sed totum spirituale, de quo intuitu nihil ad præsens est scribendum.

Caput. 15.

De tribus aliis Ecclesijs, & specialiter de templo Domini.

VItrà duo stadia ab Ecclesia ad Meridiem sancti sepulchri habetur magnũ hospitale sancti Ioannis Hierosolymitani, qui caput & fundamentum esse dignoscitur ordinis hospitalium modò tenentium Rhodum insulam: in quo recipi possunt omnes Christiani peregrini cuiuscunque sint conditionis, seu status, vel dignitatis. Nam Saraceni pro leui cura anxij rumoris, prohibent ne apud quenquam suorum Christianus pernoctet. Ad sustentationem ædificij huius hospitalis, habentur in eo 124. columnæ marmoreę, & in parietibus distincti 54. pilarij. Satis propè hunc locum in orientem, est Ecclesia quę dicitur, de Domina nostra magna: & indè non remotè alia, quæ dicitur nostrę Dominę latinorũ, ędificata super locum, vbi Maria Magdalene, & Maria Cleophę cum alijs pluribus, dum Christus cruci affigebatur, flebant & dolores lamentabiles exercebant.

Item ab Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri in orientem ad stadium cum dimidio habetur ædificium mirabile, ac pulchrum valdè, quod templum Domini nominatur, quod constructum est in forma rotunda, cuius circumferentiæ diameter habet 64 cubitos, & altitudo eius 126, & intrinsecus pro sustentatione ædificij, multi pilarij. In medio autem templi est locus altior 14. gradibus, qui & ipse columnis vndiq; est stipatus: & secundum quatuor mundi plagas habet templum quatuor introitus per portas Cypressinas artificioſè compositas, nobiliterq; sculptas, & excisas. Et ante portam aquilónarem intra templum fontem aquæ mundæ, qui quamuis olim exundabat, tamen nunc minimè fluit. In toto circuitu ædificij extrinsecus est valdè pro atrio latum spacium loci, stratum per totum pauimentum marmoribus. Hoc templum non ducitur stare in eodem loco vbi templum Dei stetit in tempore Christi, quo post resurrectionem a Romanis destructo, istud longo post tempore Adrianus Imperator extruxit, sed non ad formam templi prioris: prædictum tamen excelsum in medio templi locum vocant Iudæi sanctum sanctorum.

Sciatis itaq; quòd Sarraceni magnam exhibent huic templo reuerentiam, & honorem, sæpius illud discalceati intrantes, & positis genibus deotè Deum omnipotentem exorantes, nulla enim ibidem habetur imago, sed multæ lampades relucentes. Neminem Christianorum seu Iudæorum ingredi sinunt hoc templum, reputantes eos indignos ad hoc, & nimium immundos, vndè nisi virtute literarũ quas habui a Soldano, nec ego fuissem ingressus. Ingrediens autem cum meis sodalibus deposimus calciamenta, recogitantes cum multa cordis deuotione, nos magis id facere debere, quàm incredulos Sarracenos. Literæ Soldani traditæ Mandiuillo.

Et verè meritò est iste locus in magna reuerentia habendus: dum enim Rex Salomon primùm in illo templo per Dei iussionem, & Dauidis patris sui commissionem ędificasset, exorauit præsente cuncto populo Israel, vt quicunque illic Deum pro iusta causa rogaret audiretur; & Dominus monstrauit ex auditionis signum per nebulam de cœlo emissam, prout narrat historia veritatis 3. Regum libro.

Porrò in eo loco vbi statuerat idem Rex ante templum altare holocausti, videlicet extra portam templi occidentalem, habetur & nunc altare, sed non ad instar, nec ad vsum primi: Nam Saraceni, quasi nihil curantes, traxerunt in eo lineas tanquam in astrolabio figentes in linearum centro batellum, ad cuius vmbram per lineas discernuntur diei horę.

Etiam in hac atrij parte apparent adhuc vestigia portę specioſę, vbi Petrus Apostolus, cum Euangelista Ioanne dixit contracto, In nomine Christi Iesu Nazareni surge, & statim consolidabantur illi plantę.

Caput. 16.

De pluribus locis sacris iuxta vrbem.

VIaturo ad dextram satis de propinquo habetur & alia Ecclesia, quę nunc appellatur schola Salomonis: rursusq; ad Meridiem est & aliud templum siue Ecclesia, quę vocatur Templum Salomonis, quòd olim fuit caput, & fundamentum totius ordinis Templariorum. Templarij à templo Salomonis dicti.

A clausto huius tẽpli extrinsecus in Aquilonem habetur decora Ecclesia beatę Annę, in cuius

loco creditur virgo Maria in eiusdem matris suę vtero fuisse genita,& concepta,parentũq; illius, scilicet,Ioachim & Annę,tumba saxea mõstratur in descensu Ecclesię,per 22.gradus,vbi & ad-
Regina Helena,Angla. huc patris eius ossa putantur quiescere,sublato inde per reginam Helenam corpore sanctæ Annæ,& recondito (vt prædictum est) in Ecclesia Constantinopoli sanctæ Sophiæ.

Est & intra hanc Ecclesiam probatica piscina, vbi quondam post motionem Angeli omnes
Probatica piscina. accedentes primi,a quocunq; languore sanabantur infirmi,quę tamen nunc temporis ita neglecta iacet,& deformata,vt videtur immunda cistrina.Habetur & ante Ecclesiam arbor grandis & antiqua, de qua nonnulli fabulantur, quod ad beatæ Mariæ natiuitatem principium accepit,& ortum.

Mons Sion. Mons Sion est excelsior locus in vrbe ad cuius radicem,est castrũ spectabile constructum per aliquem Soldanorum.In montis autem cacumine videntur multę sepulturę regum Iudeæ,videlicet Dauid,Salomonis,& quorundam de successoribus suis. Ad introitum montis habetur capella,& in illa lapis monumenti quem Ioseph de Arimathea obuoluit ad ostiũ sepulchri est valde magnus,& est ibidem aliqua pars columnæ flagellationis,ac pars mensę super quam Dominus vltimò cænauit cum Apostolis, & instituit noui Testamenti sacramentũ sui venerandi corporis,& sanguinis. Sub hac capella ad aliquos gradus monstratur locus eiusdem cęnationis,videlicèt cęnaculi magni,& in eo vas aquarũ,in quo Christus lauabat pedes Apostolorum : iuxta quod vas,à Gamaliele,& alijs viris timoratis primus sepultus fuit protoMartyr Stephanus.

In eo quoq; loco intrauit post resurrectionẽ suam Dominus ianuis clausis ad discipulos dicens pax vobis,& agens alia,quę plenius Euãgelica pandit Historia,ac tandẽ in die Pentecostes ijsdem spiritũ sanctũ,in linguis igneis misit ibidem.Ab hoc mõte Sion versus ciuitatem habetur Ecclesia dedicata sancto saluatori, in quo nunc dicuntur seruari ossa S. Stephani supradicti,& sinistrũ brachium S.Ioannis Chrisostomi,cuius corpus vt dictũ est requiescit Constantinopoli.

Item ab hoc monte versus Austrum ab oppositio plateæ,est pulchra Ecclesia nostræ Dominę, in cuius loco diu morabatur post ascensionem filij sui, quamuis pro parte eiusdem temporis in valle Iosaphat manserit:nam in ista defungebatur,& in illo ab Apostolis honorificè sepulta fuit. Itemque ab hoc monte in vico eundo versus vallem Iosaphat inuenitur fons aquæ dictus Na-
Natatoria Siloe. tatoria Siloe,vbi cęcus natus à Christo missus lauabat oculos, & regressus est videns. Et dicunt quidam ibidem sepultum Isaiam Propheram;

Porro mons olim dictus Moria,de quo loquitur Scriptura sacra,est rupis haud longè a supradicto templo Domini in ipsius meridiè,in cuius rupis loco excelso velut eminenti sed edito Dominus noster Iesus Christus frequentèr instruebat suos discipulos, & populos, magnaque
Iohn.8. miracula exhibebat,atque deprehensæ mulieri in adulterio omnia peccata dimittebat.

Ab oppositio autem prędicti fontis natatorij habetur imago lapidea, rudi & vetusto opere sculpta,deformitèrque detrita,quæ manus Absalon nuncupatur,cuius ratio lib.2.Regum monstratur. Vbi de propè vidi Arborem Sambucum,ad quam vel citrà cuius locum(vt dicitur)Iudas traditor per se suspensus crepuit medius,& diffusa sunt viscera eius.

Præterea à monte Sion versus Meridiem vltrà vallem ad iactum lapidis est locus Aceldema,in quo emptus ager 30.denarijs proditionis est,Et in quo sunt plures sepulturæ peregrinorum,& vestigia cellularum,de quondam illic commorantibus Heremitis.

CAPVT. 17.

De sacris locis extra muros Ciuitatis.

Vallis Iosaphat. EXtra muros ciuitatis Ierusalem ad plagam orientalem,est vallis Iosaphat cõtigua,ac si esset fossata muris ipsius ciuitatis, & Ecclesia vbi sanctus Stephanus lapidabatur,& obdormiuit in Domino. Hinc non longè est porta ciuitatis, quę dicitur aurea, quę nunc sempèr obsirmata seruatur. Per hanc intrauit Christus sedens asino, & adhuc ostenditur rupis seruare vestigia animalis in tribus aut pluribus sui locis. Statim vltrà vallem Iosaphat aspicitur mons Olueti,sic dictus à pluribus,quia ibi sũt oliuarum Arbores.In planicie huius vallis decurrit riuulus dictus torrens Cedron, secus quem habetur pulchra, & honorificata Ecclesia sacrosanctę sepul-
Mons oliuarum. turę beatę, & glorioſę matris Christi:descenditur autem in Ecclesiam per gradus 44. quòd extrinsecus est vallis inculta per fluxum fortasse torrentis,seu per alios euentus propter Antiquitatem temporis. Ibique monstratur sepulchrum eius vacuum. Habentur iuxta sepulchrum duo
Torrens Cedron. altaria,sub vno est fons Aquæ quę putatur exire de vno Paradisi flumine.

Satis prope ab hac Ecclesia ad rupem Gethsemane habetur capella,vbi scilicet Iudęis traditus fuit Christus à Iuda. In ipsa quoque rupe ostendebatur mihi figura impressę manus ad digitorum extensionem,quæ artificiosius humano studio sculpi non posset,quam referunt Christũ sua venerabili manu inclinando ad rupem efficisse,dum Iudæi impuras manus ad capiendum iniecerunt in eum. Hic ad iactum lapidis in meridie orauit ad suum patrem, & pro vehementi

orationis

orationis intentione sanguineum exûdauit sudorem: atque ibi non remotè videtur tumba regis Iudeæ Iosaphat, à quo & vallis sibi nomen assumpsit: & credimus in hanc vallem Christum venturum ad nouissimum, & generalissimum iudicium, vbi (Iohele propheta testante) discepta-
bit de omni actione mortalium. Ad tractum sagittę de hac tumba, est Ecclesia vbi sanctus Ia- S. Iacobi se-
cobus maior Apostolus primò post martyrium fuit sepultus, cuius modò sacrata ossa veneran- pultura.
tur Compostellæ in Galizia.

Vltra vallem in supremo montis Oliueti apice discipulis cernentibus, Dominus noster Iesus Christus eleuatis manibus ascendit in cœlum, & super eundem locum digna habetur Ecclesia, in qua eiusdem Ascensione tale seruatur in rupe pauimenti indiciũ, quod sinistri pedis Christi videtur vltimum vestigium.

Hinc satis propè habetur & capella medio montis, vbi Christus sedens prædicauit octo beatitudines, vbi & creditur docuisse discipulos orationem Dominicam, scilicet, *Pater noster, &c.* Ab eo quoq; loco non distat multum Ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Ægyptiacæ, in qua & eius tumba videtur: & haud procul inde est vicus Bethphiage, vbi Christus misit ante passionis suæ tempus duos de discipulis pro asina & pullo eius. In cliuo verò huius mõtis Oliueti versus ciuitatem, monstratur locus, de quo videns Dominus Ierusalem, fleuit super illam, dicens, quòd si cogno- Bethania.
uisses & tu, &c. Atq; vltrà montem in discensu eius in orientem est villa siue castellum Bethanię, distans quasi ad leucam ab vrbe vbi in domo cuiusdam Symonis inuitatus Christus condonauit omnia peccata Mariæ Magdalenę. Et in ipso castello, quòd erat fororis Marthæ, & Mariæ resuscitauit fratrem earum Lazarum quatriduanum mortuum.

De Bethania in Ierico sunt 5. leucæ, quę quondam fuit ciuitas speciosa sed iam est villa mo- Ierico.
dica: ibi Dives Zachęus ascendit in arborem Sycomorum, vt videret transeuntem Dominum, & restituens fraudata quadruplum, obtinuit peccatorum remissionem omnium.

Item de Bethania ad flumen Iordanis est iter ferè octo leucarum, per montes, ac valles deuios, & desertos. Porrò de Bethania in orientem ad 6. leucas venitur in montem magnum, vbi Christus expleto 40. dierum, ac noctium ieiunio temptatus est à diabolo, fuitq; in eodem loco quandoq; Ecclesia, sed modo habetur ibi quasi cœnobiũ quorũdam Christianorum, qui Geor- Christiani
gici vocantur. Sciendum enim est, quod vbiq; intra terram Saracenorum, & similiter multorum Georgici.
Paganorum inueniuntur Christiani dispersi, habitantes sub tributo, qui licet sint baptizati omnes, & beatissmam Trinitatem credentes, diuersificantur tamen nominibus, moribus, ritibus, fide, & opinionibus: ita vt semper vel in multis vel in aliquibus dissentiant à Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinibus.

Iacobitæ.
Aliqui namque eorũ dicuntur Christiani Iacobitę: hij errant circa peccatorum remissionem, Syrij.
dicentes, non debere confiteri homini sed soli Deo. Alij Syrij, Isti in fermentato pane confici- Georgici.
unt Sacramentum altaris ritu Græcorum. Alij Georgici, hi omnes ferunt in capite tonsuras: cle- Cordelarij.
rici rotundas, laici quadratas, sequentes etiam in multis mores Græcorum. Alij Cordelarij eo Indi.
quod se cingunt desuper corde. Alij Indi, Nubij, Nestorini, & Arriani. Nubij.
Nestorini.
Arriani.

Præfatus autem mons magnus, vocatur hortus Abrahæ, ex eo quod Abraham patriarcha ibi
dicitur commoratus, & currit propè montem riuulus, in cuius aqua vel fonte Deus sal per He-
lizeũ prophetam mitti iussit, vt sanaretur sterilitas, id est, amaritudo aquæ. Nec distat hic mons
à Ierico vltra grandem leucam.

CAPVT. 18.

De notabilibus alijs locis, & mari mortuo.

RVrsum de ciuitate sanctę Ierusalem versus Occidentem itinere leucę, habetur pulchra satis Ecclesia, in loco vbi dicitur creuisse arbor crucis salutiferę. Arbor excelsa, digno stipite sacra Christi mẽbra tangere. Tenetur istud quidẽ pro certa veritate: nam & hoc satis testatur con- Nota.
structio tãtæ, & talis Ecclesię, quãuis multa aliena, & incerta scripta de crucis arbore ferãtur per orbẽ. Hinc ad duas leucas est & alia Ecclesia, vbi obuiauerũt sibi Maria virgo, & Elizabeth eius cognata, & ad salutationem Marię Christi baiulę exultauit Ioannes in vtero Elizabeth grauidæ.

De isto quoque ad leucam est Emaus castellum, distans in spacio stadiorũ 60. ab Ierusalem, Emaus castel-
vbi discipuli in cœna die resurrectionis Domini cognouerant eum in fractione panis. Porrò ab lum.
Ierusalem ad alium exitum, ad duo stadia videtur spelunca grandis de qua dicitur quòd tem- Cosdrus Im-
pore Cosdri Imperatoris Persarum, fuerunt circa Ierusalem 12. mille martyrum occisi, quorum perator.
omnium corpora leo habitans in spelunca congregauit ibidem voluntate diuina, tanquam pro
singulorum sepultura obsequiosa.

Item ab vrbe ad leucas duas habetur in monte tumba sepulturæ sancti Samuelis prophetæ, Mons exul-
qui mons nunc vocatur exultationis vel lęticię, eò quod peregrinis ab illa parte intrãtibus red- tationis.
dit primum sanctę ciuitatis aspectum. Ab oppido autem Ierico in 30. stadiorum spacio venitur

ad Iordanis fluuij locum, vbi beatus Ioannes Baptista Christum sacri baptismatis merebatur tingere lymphis. Et in cuius reuerendi mysterij venerationem habetur ad dimidiam leucam à fluuio ædificium honestæ Ecclesiæ consecratum in nomine eiusdem venerabilis baptistæ ministri. Ab hac Ecclesia de propè vidi domum de qua patiebar mihi narrari, quòd in eodem loco olim fuerit Ieremiæ sancti habitatio prophetæ.

Iordanis descriptio.

Notandum est. Iordanis fluuius quamuis grandis non sit, bonorum tamen. piscium copiam nutrit, ortum accipiens sub monte Libanon ex duobus fontibus, scilicet Ior, & Dan, quæ nomina simul mixta nomen Iordanis efficiunt. Decurrit autem per quendam locum dictum Maron, ac secus stagnum quod dicitur Mare Tyberiadis, ac subter montes Gylboe per amœnissima loca, atque in subterraneis meatibus per longum spacium se occultans tandem exit in planitie, quæ dicitur Meldam, id est, forum, quod certis temporibus ibi Nundinę exercentur, & ad extremum se iactat in mare mortuum.

Mare mortuum.

Hoc stagnum quod vocatur mare mortuũ habet longitudinis 600. ferè stadia, & latitudinis 150. & appropinquat aliqua pars huius maris ad quatuor leucas propè Ierico, videlicet ad latus camporum Engadi, ex quibus (vt suprà dictum est) eradicatæ fuerunt arbores Balsami, quæ modò sunt in agro Cayr Ægypti. Istud mare dicitur mortuum,

Nota.

Primò quidem quòd non viuidè currit, sed est quasi lacus.

Cur mare mortuum dicatur.

Secundò quod amara est eius aqua, & fœtidum reddit odorem.

Tertiò quòd propter eius amaritudinem terra adiacens littori nil viride profert.

Quartò (prout dicitur) si cadat in ea bestia, vel aliud quid viuens, vix poterit plenè mori siue submergi in octo diebus, nec nutrit in se pisces aut quid simile:

Littora quoque sua variant quam sepè colorem, & sine vlla agitatione ventorum eijcit in quibusdam locis se aqua, extra propriostermino s. Per huiusmodi aquam dicitur Deus pro indicibili vitio Pentapolim submersisse, Sodomam, Gomorram, Adamam, Seboim, & Segor.

Quidam vocant hoc mare lacũ Asphaltidis, alij fluuium Dæmonũ, aut flumen Putre. Quod autem olim propheta interpretans dixit, montes Gilboe, nec ros nec pluuia veniat super vos, magis spiritualitèr quàm literalitèr videtur intelligendum. Nam ibi crescunt altissimi cedri, & arbores poma ferentes, ad capitis quantitatem humani, ex quibus valdè saporosus fit potus.

Nota.

Mare istud mortuum determinat fines terræ promissionis, & Arabiæ, Ideoq; vltra ipsum mare condidit quondam, vnus successorum Godfridi de Bollion forte & spectabile castrum, ponens illic copiosam Christianorum militiam ad terram promissionis custodiendum. Nunc verò temporis, est Soldani, & appellatur Caruth, id est mons Regalis. Sub hoc monte est villa dicta Sobal: habitat in illis partibus magna Christianorum multitudo.

Caput. 19.

De Nazareth, & Samaria.

NAzareth in prouincia Galileæ in qua nutritus, & de qua cognominatus est Dominus vniuersorum, distans ab Hierosolymis ad tres circiter dietas, erat quondã ciuitas, quæ nunc est dispersa, & rara domorum, quod vix villæ sibi competit nomen: & in loco Annunciationis, vbi Angelus ad Mariam dixit, *Aue gratia plena, Dominus tecum*, habebatur olim bona Ecclesia, pro qua paruum Saraceni restituerunt habitaculum, in colligendas peregrinorum offerendas.

A Nazareth redeundo per terram Galileę, transitur per Ramathaym Sophim, vbi nascebatur fidelis Samuel propheta Domini, & per Sylo, vbi locus orationis erat antequam in Ierusalem: & per Sichem magnæ vbertatis vallem, itur in prouinciam Samariæ, vbi habetur & bona ciuitas nunc dicta Neapolis, distans à sancta vrbe spacio solius dietæ, ac per fontem Iacob, super quem Iesus fatigatus ab itinere colloquebatur Samaritanæ, vbi & apparet ruina destructæ Ecclesiæ quondam illic habitæ. Et est ibi villa adhuc vocata Sychem, & in eo est mausoleum Ioseph patriarchæ filij Iacob: ad cuius ossa visitanda sub deuotione non minus peregrini Iudæi aduenient, quàm Christiani.

Samaria, nunc Sebaste.

Hinc satis propè est mons Garizin cum vetusto templo orationis Samaritanorum: extunc intratur Samaria, quę modò appellatur Sebaste, & est illius principalis ciuitas prouincię. In qua fuit primum terræ mandatum corpus beati Ioannis Baptistæ, inter sacra corpora Helizæi, & Abdiæ Prophetarum, vt quorum assimilibatur virtutibus in vita, corporibus iungeretur in sepultura. Hæc quoque distat ab Hierosolymis, fortassis 2. dietas.

Habetur & alius puteus aut fons intra illa montana, quem plerique similiter fontem Iacob appellant, cuius aqua secundum quatuor anni tempora variatur à suo colore, vt sit quandoq; clara, quandoque turbida, nunc viridis, & nunc rubra. Certum est autem tempore Apostolorũ, cum Samaria recepisset verbum Dei, illos fuisse conuersos, & baptizatos, in nomine Domini

Nota.

Iesu,

Iesu,& tamen postea per quendam Caliphorum peruersos,Ogerus dux Danorum per Templariorũ virtutem rursum subiugauit Christianitati:hicq; post plures euentus,& variationes,illi qui nũc sunt Samaritę,finxerunt sibi hæresim propriam,& ritũ ab omnibus nationibus singularem. Ogerus Dux Danus.

Fatentur autem se credere in Deum,qui cuncta creauit: recipiuntque pentateucum scripturæ,cum Psalterio Dauidis, acerrimè contendentes,se solos dilectissimos Dei filios: qui etiam pro nobili differentia inuoluunt capita linteo rubeo, Saraceni autem albo,Indi croceo,& Christiani ibi manentes Indico,hoc est,aereo,seu hiacynthino. Tegumenti capitis differentia.

Porro à Nazareth quatuor leucis, est ciuitas olim dicta Naym, in 2.miliario Thabor montis contra Meridiem iuxta Endor. Ieronimus. Ante cuius portam resuscitauit Christus defunctum filium vnicum matris suæ,præsentibus duabus turmis hominum copiosorum. Hinc quoque ad leucas duas,est ciuitas Israel,vbi olim morabatur pessima regina Iezabel, quam Dei iudicio equorum vngulis conculcatam,canes ferè vsque ad caluariam comederunt.

Caput. 20.

De territorio Gallilea,& Samarie,& de villa Sardenay.

Item à Nazareth ad leucæ dimidium, monstrantur in rupe vestigia pedum,quæ dicuntur esse Domini nostri Iesu Christi vbi de manibus Iudæorum, ipsum de alta rupe præcipitare volentium desiluit in istam. De quo saltu quidam intelligunt illud scriptum Euangelicum,Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.

Ad quatuor autem leucas de Nazareth,est Cana Galileæ,vbi Christus ad vrbanas matris preces,mutauit vndam in vinum optimum.

Ad distantiam quatuor leucarum à Nazareth,venitur in Thabor,montẽ spectabilẽ,vbi transfigurabatur Christus, coram quibusdam suis Apostolis, apparentibus ibidem, Mose, & Helia, prophetis, voceq; dilapsa à magnifica Patris gloria, & videbatur Petro bonum ibi esse: quondam in hoc monte habebatur ciuitas, cum pluribus Ecclesijs, quarum nunc sola restant vestigia, excepto quod ille locus transfigurationis est inhabitatus, qui est Schola Dei nominatus. Notandum, Thabor est in medio Galileæ,campus mira iucunditate sublimis, distans à Dioteſaria 3. milliaribus contra Orientem. Mons Thabor obseruetur.

Item de Nazareth in tres leucas est villa, seu castrum Zaffara, de quo recolo me supradixisse capitè 4. Et inde venitur in Mare Galileæ,quod quamuis dicatur mare,est lacus aquæ dulcis longus.

Vltra centum 60.forsitan stadia est lacus,bonorum piscium ferax & vber, qui etiam in alio loco sui vocatur mare Tyberiadis, & in alio mare Genezareth, varians sibi nomen,secundum ciuitates,& terras propinquas. Circa hoc mare Christus frequentèr, & libentèr ambulasse videtur: hic vocauit ad sui discipulatum, Petrũ,& Andream,Iacobum,& Ioannem: hic super vndã siccis ambulabat vestigijs, & præcipitem Petrũ filiũ tentantem, verbo increpationis releuat ne mergatur, hic denique rediuiuus à morte repleuit discipulorum rete magnis piscibus 153. Mare Tyberiadis.

Item in ciuitate Tiberiade,quæ est propè hoc mare habetur in veneratione mensa illius cœnæ, quam in Emaus castello Christus cænauit, cum ab oculis commensalium euanuit. Hic de propè monstratur mons ille fertilis,mons ille pinguis,in quo de paucis panibus, & de pauciotibus piscibus iussu Christi fuerunt saturati, quinque milla hominum.

Ad initium autem prædicti maris iuxta villam Capernaum habetur fortius castrum totius terræ promissionis,in quo dicitur nata fuisse sancta Anna mater virginis Mariæ.

Prædictis itaq; Christi vestigijs, & terræ sanctę locis à peregrino cum deuotione cordis & reuerentia debita visitatis, si desiderat reuerti, possit illud facere per Damascum, quæ est ciuitas longa,nobilis,& grandis,ac plena omnium rerum mercimonijs, cum tamen distat à portu maris tribus plenè dietis, per quod spacium itineris, cuncta traijciuntur à suis equis Dromedarijs, & Camelis: & putatur à plerisque narrantibus fundata in loco vbi Cain protoplaustorum filius Abel fratrem suum occidit. Damascus.

A Damasco de propinquo est mons Seyr, ciuitas grandis firmata duplicibus muris ac populosa nimis,in qua sunt multi in arte Physica famosi professi.Item à Damasco haud remotè distat castrum satis munitum,& firmum,quod Derces est nominatum. Habent autem in illis,& vlterioribus partibus hunc vsum: si quando castrum ab hostibus fuerit sic obsessum, quòd Dominus eius non possit emittere nuncium amico suo remotè moranti, recipit columbam olim in castro, vel domo amici natam,vel educatam, quam hic sibi per certam prouisionem allatam detinuit incaueatam,& scriptas quas vult literas alligans collo columbæ, dimittit liberam volare, quæ protinus festinat ad locum propriæ natiuitatis. Sicque videtur cognosci in illo castro quid agatur in isto.

Cęterum peregrinus à Damasco reuertendo, in quinque leucis venit Sardenay,quæ est villa

in alta rupe, cum multis Ecclesijs religiosorum Monachorum, & sanctarũ monialiũ fidei Christianæ. In quarum vna coram maiori altari in tabula lignea erat olim imago beatissimę virginis Marię non sculpta sed depicta in plano spacio. Ex hoc reditur per valles Bokar fertiles, & pro pascendis pecorum gregibus exuberantes: & intratur in montana vbi copiositas est fontium qui effluunt impetu de Libano. Ibique decurrit fluuius Sabbatayr, sic dictus quod diebus Sabbatis euidenter rapidius transit, quàm alijs sex diebus.

Villa Sardenay.

Peruenitur hinc ad satis altum montem, propè Tripolim ciuitatem, in qua ad præsens plures Christiani Catholicæ fidei habitant iugo infidelitũ nimis oppressi. Ex hoc loco sibi deliberet peregrinus, quem sibi maris portũ accipiat ad repatriandũ, videlicet Beruth, an Sur vel Tyrũ.

Sur, vel Tyrus.

Postremò sciendum, quod terra promissionis in totali longitudine sui à Dan qui est sub Libano vsq; ad Berseba in Austrum continet circiter centum, & 80. leucas Lombardicas, & ab Hierico in totali latitudine circiter 60. Notandum, Dan est viculus in quarto à Penneade Miliario euntibus, contra Septentrionem: vsque hodiè sic vocatur terminus Iudeæ, contra Septentrionem: est etiam & fons Ior, de quo & Iordanis fluuius erumpens alterũ sortitus nomen Ior. Termini Iudeæ terræ a Berlabe incipiunt vsque ad Dan, qui vsque Peneaden terminatur, Ieronimus.

Caput. 21.

De secta detestabili Saracenorum, & eorum fide.

Diligentia Mandeuilli.

IAm restat vt de secta Saracenorũ aliquid scribam vel compendiosè, secundum quòd cum ijs frequentèr colloquendo audiui, & liber Mahometi, quem Alcaron, vel Mesahaf, vel Harmè vocant, ijs præcipit, sicut illum sæpè inspexi, & studiosè perlegi.

Fides Saracenorum.

Credunt itaq; Saraceni in Deũ creatorem cœli & terrę qui fecit omnia in ijs contenta, & sine quo nihil est factum. Et expectant diem nouissimum iudicij, in quo mali cum corpore & anima descensuri sunt in infernũ perpetuò cruciandi, & boni equidem cum anima & corporè intraturi Paradisum fœlicitatis æternæ. Et hęc quidẽ fides pœnè inest omniũ mortaliũ nationibus, lingua & ratione vtentibus. Verumtamèn de qualitate Paradisi est magna diuersitas inter credentes.

Nam & Saraceni & Pagani & omnes sectæ præter Iudæos & baptizatos Christianos sentiunt bonorum Paradisum fore terrestrem illum de quo fuit expulsus Adam propter inobedientiam protoplausti: qui (vt putant) fluit, vel tunc fluet pluribus riuis lactis & mellis, & vbi in domibus & mansionibus nobiliter iuxta meritum vniuscuiusq; ædificatur auro, & argento & gemmis, perfruentur omnibus corporalibus delicijs, in oblectatione animę æternaliter sine fine. Illi ergò qui fide sanctæ Trinitatis carent, & Christum qui est vera lux ignorant, in tenebris ambulant. Iudęi verò & omnes baptizati rectè sentiunt Paradisum cœlestem & spiritualem, vbi quilibet secundum meritum Diuinitati vnietur, per cognitionem, & amorem. Attamen Iudæi quod contra Scripturas suas sanctæ Trinitati contradicunt, & Christo obloquuntur, qui est vera via, nesciunt quo vadunt. De baptizatis autẽ, qui firmitèr fidẽ Catholicam in humilitate cordis sub Ecclesię præceptis seruauerunt, hi soli filij sunt lucis, & in via veniendi ad cœlestẽ Pardisum quẽ Christus verbo prędicauit, & ad quẽ corpore & anima, videntibus discipulis, de facto cõscendit.

Credunt etiam Saraceni, omnia esse vera, quę Deus ore prophetarum est locutus, sed in diuersitate, quia nesciunt specificari, imò specificanti contradicerent facili, vel negarent. Inter omnes prophetas ponunt quatuor excellentiores, quorum supremum & excellentissimũ fatentur Iesum Mariæ Virginis filiũ, quem & asserunt, sermonẽ, vel loquelam, vel spiritũ Dei, & pronunciatorẽ sententiarũ Dei, in iudicio generali futuro, & missũ à deo ad Christianos docendos.

Secundo loco Abrahamum dicunt fuisse verum Dei cultorem, & amicum.

Tertium dant Mosi locum tanquam prolocutori Dei Misso specialiter, ad instruendos Iudęos.

Quartum volunt esse Mahomet, sanctum, & verum Dei nuncium ad seipsos missum, cum lege diuina in dicto libro plene contenta. Tenent itaq; indubitatè, quod beata Maria Iesum peperit, & cõcepit virgo manens intacta, ac libẽtèr loqui audiunt de incarnatione in ipsa facta per annunciationem Gabrielis Archangeli. Nam & Alcharõ eorum dicit, ad salutationem Angeli virginem expauisse, quòd tunc erat in partibus Galileæ incantator, Turquis nomine, qui per susceptam sibiformam Angeli plures virgines defloraverat, & beatam Virginem conuenisse Angelum, an esset Turquis. Refert quoq; eam peperisse sub palma Arbore, vbi habebatur pręsepe bouis, & asinæ, & illic præ confusione puerperij, & verecundia ac dolore, fuisse in proximò desperatam, & infantulum in consolationem matris dixisse, mater ne timeas, Deus in te effudit secreta ad saluationem Mundi. Hæc & his similia multa ibi scribuntur figmenta, & isti plura inter se narrando componunt, quę hoc loco ventilanda non sunt.

Et dicit liber Iesum sanctissimum omnium Prophetarum fuisse veracem in dictis & factis, benignum, pium, iustum, & ab omni vitio penitus alienum: Sanctum quoque Ioannem Euangelistam post prædictos Prophetas fuisse alijs Sanctiorem, cuius & Euangelium fatentur

tur eſſe plenum ſalutari, ac veraci doctrina, & ipſum Sanctum Ioannem illuminaſſe cæcos, leproſos mundaſſe, ſuſcitaſſe mortuos, & in cælum volaſſe viuentem. Erat enim (prout dicit) plus quàm Propheta, & abſque omni peccato, contradicente eodem de ſeipſo, ſi dixerimus quòd peccatum non habemus, veritas in nobis non eſt: vnde & ſi quando Sarraceni tenent ſcriptum Euangelij Sancti Ioannis, aut illud beati Lucæ, miſſus eſt Angelus Gabriel, eleuant ambabus manibus pro reuerentia ſuper caput & ſuper oculos id ponentes, & oſculantur quàm ſæpè cum ſumma deuotione. Nonnulli etiam eorum in Græco, aut Latino literati conſueueuerunt cum deuotione cordis id lectitare.

Idem liber dicit Iudæos perfidos fuiſſe, quòd Ieſu eis primùm miſſo à Deo, & multa miracula facienti credere noluerunt, quódque per ipſum tota gens Iudæorum fuit dignè decepta, & meritò illuſa hoc modo. Ieſus in hora dum Iudas eum pro ſigno traditionis oſculabatur, poſuit per Metamorphoſin figuram ſuam, in ipſum Iudam, ſicque Iudæi in ambiguo lumine nocturni temporis, pro Ieſu Iudam capientes, ligantes, trahentes, deridentes, in fine crucifixerunt, putantes ſe omnia facere Ieſu, qui protinus capto & ligato Iuda, viuus aſcendit in cælum, deſcenturus iterum viuus ad iudicium in die finali.

Et addit, Iudæos falſiſſimè vſque hodie nos Chriſtianos ſuo mendacio decipere, quo dicunt ſe Ieſu crucifixiſſe, quem non tetegerunt. Hinc errorem tenent Sarraceni obſtinati: & quoddam argumentum inire conantur. Nam ſi Deus (aiunt) permiſiſſet Ieſum, innocentem, & iuſtum ita miſerabiliter occidi, cenſuram ſuæ ſummæ iuſtitiæ minuiſſet. Sed cùm ipſi, vt ſupradictum eſt, in tenebris ambulant, idcircò ignorantes Dei iuſtitiam, ſtatuere volunt iuſtitiam, imò iniuſtitiam quam fabricant in corde ſuo, quia nos de cruce Chriſti ſcriptum nouimus, benedictum eſt lignum per quod fit iuſtitia. Iſti tamen quod in aliquibus appropinquant veræ fidei, multi quandoque eorum inuenti ſunt conuerſi, & plures adhuc de facili conuerterentur, ſi haberent prædicatores, ſincerè eis verbum tractantes, quippe cùm iam fateantur legem Mahometi quandoque defecturam, ſicut nunc perijt lex Iudæorum, & legem Chriſtianorum vſque in finem ſeculi permanſuram.

Conuerſio Saracenorum non deſperanda.

CAPVT 22.

De vita, & nomine Mahometi.

PRomiſi in ſuperioribus aliquid narrare de vita Mahometi legiſlatoris Sarracenorum, prout vidi in ſcriptis, vel audiui in partibus illis. Itaque Macho, ſiue Machon, vtrum in ſecunda ſyllaba ſcribatur N, litera, vel non idem refert: & ſi tertia ſyllaba addatur, & dicatur Machomet, vel etiam quarta, Machometus, nihil differt, quòd ſemper idem nomen repreſentat. Ipſi tamen illum ſæpius nominant Machon. Putatur autem iſtum Mahomet habuiſſe generationis ortum de Iſmael Abrahæ filio naturali de concubina Agar, vnde & vſque hodie quidam Sarracenorum dicuntur Iſmaelitæ, alij Agareni: ſed & quidam Moabitæ, & Ammonitæ, à duobus Loth filijs Moab & Amon, genitis per inceſtum de proprijs filiabus.

Hic verò Machon, circa annum incarnationis Domini ſexcenteſimum natus, in Arabia pauper erat gratis paſcens camelos, & interdum ſequens Mercatores in Aegyptum ſordellos illorum proprio collo deferens pro mercede. Et quoniam tunc temporis tota Aegyptus erat Chriſtianæ fidei, didicit aliquid de fide noſtra, quòd diuertere ſolebat ad cellulam Heremitæ commorantis in deſerto. Et quodammodo fabulantur Sarraceni, quod illo quandoque ingrediente cellulam, cellulæ oſtium mutatum in ianuam valdè patentem, velut ante palatium, & gloriantur hoc primum miraculum. Qui ex tunc conquerendo ſibi pecunias, & diſcendo ſeculi actus diues eſt effectus, & prudens ab omnibus reputatus, in tantum, vt poſtmodum in terræ gubernatorem Corrozaen, (quæ eſt vna prouinciarum regni Arabiæ) aſſumeretur, ac deinde defuncto principe Codige per coniugium illius relictæ in eiuſdem prouinciæ principem eleuaretur. Erat autem ſatis formoſus, & valens, & vltra modum in verbis & factis maturus, & principalis, & ſatis diligebatur à ſuis, magis tamen metuebatur, & erat epilepticus, nemine tamen ſciente. Sed tandem ab vxore comperto contriſtabatur, ſe tali morbido nuptam, qui verſutus ſefellit, & conſolabatur mœſtam figmento mendacij excogitati, dicens ſanctum Dei Archangelum Gabrielem ad colloquendum & inſpirandum ſibi, quædam arcana & diuina interdum venire, & pro virtute aut claritate veniente ſe ſubitò cadere & iacere ad intendendum inſpirationem.

Tempus Natiuitatis Mahometi.

Fabulæ Sarracenorum.

Poſt hoc autem, mortuo etiam Rege Arabiæ, tanta egit per ſimulationem ſanctitatis, per donorum effuſionem, & copiam promiſſionum, quod electus eſt & aſſumptus, in totius Arabiæ Regem.

Incrementum authoritatis Mahometi.

Confirmato igitur Mahometo in regnationis ſuæ maieſtate ſuprema, tranſactis à conceptione Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti annis ſolaribus 612. in die Iouis feria quinta Hebdomadæ promulga-

Tempus promulgationis Alcharani.

mulgauit præfatum detestandæ legis suæ librum, plenum perfidiæ & erroris, & à subditis tempore vitæ suæ seruari coegit, qui & vsque hodie in tanto æuo, & tot populis non sine iusto Dei iudicio colitur & seruatur, quamuis miserabile, & miserandum videtur, quòd tot animæ in illo perduntur. Erat quoque tempore regni eius, & alius Heremita in deserto Arabiæ, quem etiam quasi pro deuotione frequentare solebat, ducens secum aliquos de principibus & familia. Super quo plures eorum attendiati tractabant occidere Heremitam. Accidit tandem vna noctium, vt rex Heremitam & seipsum inebriaret, & inter loquendum ambo consopiti dormirent. Et ecce habita occasione comites gladio de latere Regis clàm extracto Heremitam interfecerunt, iterum clàm condentes cruentum gladium in vagina: ac ille euigilans virum videns occisum, magno furore succensus imposuit familiæ factum, volens omnes per iustitiam condemnari ad mortem. Cúmque coram iudicibus & sapientibus ageretur, hi omnes pari concordia, simili voce, & vno ore testabantur tam diuisim quàm coniunctim, Regem in ebrietate sua hominem occidisse, quamuis fortasis esset facti oblitus. Et in plenariam rei probationem, dixerunt ipsum reposuisse mucronem in loculo nudum intersum, sed calido cruore madentem. Quo ita inuento, ac tantis rex obrutus testificationibus, nimiùm erubuit, plenè obmutuit, & confusus recesit. Et ob hoc omnibus diebus suis vina bibere renunciauit: & in lege sua à cunctis bibi vetuit, acvniuersis bibētibus, colentibus, & vendentibus maledixit. Cuius maledictio cōuertatur in caput eius, & in verticē ipsius iniquitas eius descēdat, cùm de vino scriptum cōstet, quòd Deum & homines lętificet. Igitur de eo Sarraceni in sua superstitione deuoti vinum non bibunt, quanquam plures eorum quòd timent in publico non verentur in secreto.

Occasio vinainterdicendi Sarracenis.

Est autem communis potus eorum dulcis, delectabilis, & nutritiuus de Casaniel confectus, de qua & Saccarum fieri solet.

Potus Sarracenorum.

Mahometus iste post mortem suam pessimam (mors enim peccatorum pessima) conditus fuit honorificè in capsa, ditissimo auro, & argento, & saxis perornata in vna ciuitate regni sui Arabiæ, vbi & pro sancto, & vero Dei nuncio incepit deuotè coli à suis per annos ducentos sexaginta, atque ex tunc circa annum Domini nongentisimum cum veneratione multa cadauer eius translatum est, in digniorem ciuitatem dictam Merchuel Iachrib, vbi iam longè latéque pro maximo sanctorum, à cordibus à diabolica fraude deceptis colitur, requiritur & adoratur.

Aliàs Mecca.

In ipsius translatione ipsa ciuitas restaurabatur, & firmabatur multò honorificentiùs, & fortiùs destructione sua, quæ per Carolum magnum Regem Francię anteà fuit plenè annihilata, dū Ogerus dux Danorum præfatus in ea tenebatur captiuus, quem Templarij ad filios Brehir Regis Sarracenorum cum traditione vendiderant, eò quòd ipse Ogerus dictum Brehir in prœlio occiderat, iuxta Lugdunum Franciæ ciuitatem. Et si quando nationis alterius quis ad legem conuertitur Sarracenorum, dum à flamine eorum recipiendus est, dicit & facit eum Dei nuncium, & repetit sic: *Laellech ella alla Mahomet zoyzel alla beth:* quod valet tantum: Non est Deus nisi vnus, & Mahomet fuit eius nuncius.

Ogerus a Templariis proditus.

Caput 23. *De colloquio Authoris cum Soldano.*

Finaliter Sarraceni ponunt Iudæos malos, eò quòd legem Dei violauerunt sibi missam, & cōmissam per Mosem. Et à simili probant Christianos malos, quòd non seruant legē Euāgelij Christi, quam seruandam susceperint. Inest enim ijs falsa persuasio ita vt putent vnūquemq; in ea qua natus est secta posse beari, si susceptam seruauerit illibatè: ideóq; probant ab opposito se esse bonos, quia, sicut dicunt, obseruant scripta legis præcepta & ceremonias sancti libri sui à Deo sibi transmissi per beatū nunciū suū Mahomet. Vnde & ego non tacebo quid mihi cōtigit.

Error eorum qui putant vnumquemque in sua religione posse beari.

Dominus Soldanus quodam die in castro, expulsis omnibus de camera sua, me solùm retinuit secum tanquam pro secreto habēdo colloquio. Consuetū enim est ijs eijcere omnes tēpore secretorum: qui diligenter à me intetrogauit qualis esset gubernatio vitæ in terra nostra, breuiter respondebā, bona, per Dei gratiam, qui recepto hoc verbo dixit ita non esse. *Sacerdotes* (inquit) *vestri, qui seipsos exhibere deberent alijs in exemplū, in malis iacent actibus, parùm curant de Templi seruitio: habitu & studijs se conformant mundo: se inebriant vino, continentiā infringentes, cum fraude negotiantes, ac prana principibus consilia ingerentes. Cōmunis quoq; populus, dum festis diebus intēdere deberent deuotioni in templo, currit in hortis, in spectaculis, in tabernis vsq; ad crapulam, & ebrietatem, & pinguia manducans & bibens, ac in bestiarum morem, luxuriam pranam exercens. In vsura, dolo, rapina, furto, detractione, mendacio & periurio viuunt plures eorum euidenter, ac si qui talia non agant, vt fatui reputantur, & pro nimia cordis superbia nescium ad libitum excogitare, qualiter se velint habere, mutando sibi indumenta, nunc longa, nunc curta nimis, quandoq; ampla, quandoq; stricta vltra modum, vt in his singulis appareant deriśi potius quàm vestiti: pyleos quoque, calceos, calligas, corrigias sibi fabricant exquisitas, cum etiam è contra deberent secundum Christi sui doctrinam simplices, Deo deuoti, humiles, veraces, inuicem diligentes, inuicē concordantes, & iniuriam de*

Colloquium Soldani cum Mandeuillo. Reprehensio Sacerdotum.

Reprehensio vulgi iustissima.

Vestimentorum varietas reprehensa.

de facili remittentes. Scimus etiam eos propter peccata ſua perdidiſſe hanc terr am optimam quam tenemus, nec timemus eam amittere, quamdiu ſe taliter gubernant. Attamen non dubitamus, quin in futurum per meliorem vitæ conuerſationem merebuntur de noſtris eam manibus recuperare.

Ad hoc ego vltra confuſus & ſtupefactus, nequiui inuenire reſponſum; verebar enim obloqui veritati, quamuis ab Infidelis ore prolatæ, & vultu præ rubore demiſſo percunctatus ſum, Domine, ſalua reuerentia, qualiter poteſtis ita plenè hoc noſcere? De hominibus (ait) meis interdum mitto ad modum Mercatorũ per terras, & regiones Chriſtianorũ, cum Balſamo, gemmis, ſericis, ac aromatibus, ac per illos ſingula exploro, tam de ſtatu Imperatoris, ac Põtificum, Principum, ac Sacerdotum, quàm Prælatorum, nec non æquora, prouincias, ac diſtinctiones earum.

Igitur peracta collocutione noſtra ſatis producta, egreſſos principes in cameram reuocauit, ex quibus quatuor de maioribus iuxta nos aduocans, fecit eos expreſſè ac debitè, per ſingulas diuiſiones in lingua Gallicana deſtinguere per partes, & ſingularum nomina partium, omnem regionem terræ Angliæ, ac alias Chriſtianorum terras multas, acſi inter noſtros fuiſſent nati, vel multo tempore conuerſati.

Nam & ipſum Soldanum audiui cum ijs bene & directè loquentem idioma Francorum. Itaque in omnibus his mente conſternatus obmutui, cogitans, & dolens de peccatis ſinguliſ, rem taliter ſe habere.

Nunc piè igitur (rogo) conſideremus, & corde attendamus, quantæ ſit confuſionis, & qualis opprobrij, dum Chriſtiani nominis inimici nobis noſtra exprobrant crimina. Et ſtudeat quilibet in melius emendare, quatenus (Deo propitio) poſſit in breui tempore, hæc de qua loquimur, terra Deo delecta, hæc ſacroſancta terra, hæc filijs Dei promiſſa, nobis Dei adoptiuis reſtituì: vel certè, quod magis exorandum eſt, ipſi Sarraceni ad fidem Catholicam, & Chriſtianam obedientiam, Eccleſiæ filijs aggregari, vt ſimul omnes per Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum conſubſtantialem Dei filium perueniamus ad cæleſtem Paradiſum.

Inſignis Mandeuilli peroratio.

Explicit prima pars huius operis.

Secunda pars.

Capvt. 24.

Perſuaſio ad non credentes terrarum diuerſitates per orbem terræ.

Mirabilis Deus mirabililia propter ſemetipſum creauit, vt ſcilicet ab intellectualibus creaturis ſuis intelligeretur, & per hoc diligeretur, atque in hoc ipſe creator, & creatura ſe mutuò fruerentur. Mirabilis eſt ergo Deus maximè in illo, quòd ipſe ſolus ſufficit ſibi: & mirabilis in altis Dominus, hoc eſt, in cælo & in cæleſtibus: ſed & mirabilis in terris, & in terreſtribus: tamen ſi verum iudicauerimus, nihil eſt mirabile, quod mirũ videri non debet, ſi ille qui omnipotens eſt, fecit quæcunque voluit in cælo & in terra. Sed ecce dum nobis contingit videre rem quam priùs non vidimus, miratur noſter animus, non quòd ſimpliciter mirum eſt, ſed quod nobis id mirum & nouum. Deus vnus, ſimplex quidem eſt, vt creaturæ cæleſtes quò Deo magis de propinquo ſunt eò ſimpliciores exiſtunt. Terreſtres autem quòd in ſitu remotiori ſint, idcirco magis diuerſæ, magis contrariæ inter ſe ſunt.

Ergo quicunque ſapiens eſt non ſtupet animo, dum in terrenis reſpicit res varias, & diuerſas, vel dum diuerſa contingunt, ſeu inueniuntur in partibus terræ diuerſis: ſed qui intellectum ſuper ſenſum non eleuant, & magis credunt oculo ſuo corporeo, quàm ſpirituali, & qui nunquam à natiuitatis ſuę loco receſſerunt, iſti vix volunt credere, ſeu poſſunt alijs vera narrantibus de mundi diuerſitatibus.

Reprehenſio incredulorũ, qui nihil credunt, niſi quod domi viderint.

Attamen tales, ſi vellent, de facili videre poſſint ſuum errorem. Quia quicunque natus in vna ciuitate, vel patria, ſi tantummodò moueat ſe ad proximam ciuitatem, inueniet ibi procul dubio aliquam differentiam, vel diuerſitatem in idiomate linguæ, vel in modo loquendi, in moribus hominum, in occupationibus, in legibus, in conſuetudinibus, vel etiam in agrorum fructibus, in arborum frugibus, ſeu in his quæ gignuntur in terra, in aere, & in aquis.

Si ergo aliqualiter inueniri poſsit differentia in proximo, quant ò maior ſit diſtantia, tantò maior differentia æſtimanda eſt in remoto, vel in remotiori, ſeu remotiſsimo loco. Vnde ego, quia in præcedente parte tractatus narrare cœpi aliqua, quæ in his, & in peregrinatione mea vſque in terram promiſsionis ſanctam vidi, de quibus etiam poteſt, & poterit conſtare multis, qui

qui in partibus nostris eadem peregrinatione me præcesserunt, & secuti sunt, procedam in describendo aliqua illorum,quæ vidi & percepi in deambulatione mea, qua peragraui multas alias terras,& perlegi multas vndas, vsque in multorum hoc tempus annorum,& propter insipientes,& discredentes non tacebo.Sed nec propter credentes nec sapientes satis mouebor;tamen vt diuersa Dei opera qui respicere non possunt oculo, saltem legant, vel audiant ex hoc scripto.Pauca vtique vidi horum quæ sunt,sed pauca horum quæ vidi,narrabo.

CAPVT. 25. *De Armenia,Persia,& Amazonia.*

DE regionibus quæ Iudeæ contiguantur, scilicet Arabia,Aegypto & Syria, statui modicum vltra narrare, relinquens hunc locum narrandi alijs peregrinis. Et festinans ad terras remotiores,Armeniam minorem,non per singulas ciuitates,sed celeriter transiens, vidi à remotis amplum castrum vocatum Del espoyer,de quo mihi sustinui dici,quod sit vastum,& à nemine habitatum,nisi à fantastica quadam Domina, seruante in medio maioris aulæ super perticam, volucrem rapacem,quæ dicitur Latinè accipiter, vel huiusmodi: quam auem, si aliquis hominum ingrediens se custodire peruigil absq; vlla somnolentia per septem continuos dies & noctes posset,ipsa Domina in fine facti apparens concederet illi quantamcunque faceret petitionem terræ,commodi,vel honoris,sed si obdormiret,periret.Huic tamen dicto parùm curaui accommodare aurem,nisi quòd communiter dicebatur,in bene transacto tempore prædicta fuisse tentata per duas personas,vnum Regem,& alterum Pastorem. Et Regi quidem quod indebitam fecit petitionem,vile successit negotium,pastori peroptimè succesit negotium.

Mandeuillus nihili facit has fabulas.

In Armenia maiori,est magna & bona ciuitas Artyron ad dietam propè fluuium Euphratem.Et sunt ibi duo montes euecti valdè,vnus Sabissatele,alter Ararath,quorum vltimus habet per anfractus,& periodos per ascesum viæ, ferè 7.leucas, & quasi omni tempore est plenus niue.

Artyron ciuitas.
Sabissatelle.
Ararath.

In illo loco fertur quieuisse Arca diluuij,cuius vnicus asser mostratur,in Ecclesia Monachorũ ad montis pedẽ habitantiũ:attamẽ nullus hominũ pro frigore nimio attẽtare præsumit ascensũ.

Est autem & ibi ciuitas Landania,de qua nonnulli dicunt quòd Noe illam fundauerat, & ciuitas magna Hany,in qua, tempore Christianorum mille habebantur Ecclesiæ.

Landania.
Hany magna ciuitas.

In illa Armenia sub Imperio Persiæ est famosa ciuitas Tauris, vbi de mercimonijs ponderalibus fit inestimabilis mercatura.Hinc ad decem dietas ad Orientem habetur ciuitas Zadona,in ea Imperator Persarum moratur, & est in eodem imperio ciuitas valdè magna Cassach, quæ recto itinere dicitur stare ab Hierosolymis 55.dietis.Geth ciuitas imperialis, & melior totius Persiæ in hâcterra noscitur esse,cùm tamen Carnaa sit satis maior.

Tauriza ciuitas famosa.
Zadone ciuitas.
Casach.
Geth.
Carnaa.

Circa fines Persiæ in terra "Sennaar,est illa quæ olim dicebatur Babylonia,nec apparet ibi aliquid,quàm ruinæ grandis & vetustæ ciuitatis,quæ ab hominibus est deserta,sed à Draconibus inhabitata,& alijs animalibus,& volucribus venenosis. Hanc terram tenet Imperator Persarum,vt suprà dixi.Etiam intra fines Persiæ, est terra, vbi sanctus Iob patiens morabatur, quæ modò dicitur terra Sues, in cuius montanis inuenitur Manna, quod venditur in Apothecis, Huic terræ Sues contiguatur Chaldæa, quæ non est magna, quamuis nobilis regio habeatur. Et ab ista intratur Amazonia.

"Vel Sinar.
Ruinæ antiquæ Babyloniæ.
Manna Apothecariorum
Chaldæa.
Amazonia insula.

Amazonia est modica insula,quam absque viris solæ regunt & inhabitant mulieres: cuius rei prima causa hæc fuit.

Olim cum insula communiter à viris,& mulieribus habitabatur, Rex eius dictus Colopius cum omnibus nobilibus suis in bello contra Regnum Scithiæ occisus fuit.Audientes igitur nobilium vxores ipsius insulæ se viduatas, super his,in doloroso furore animi ad plures congressiones occiderũt & fugauerunt omnes aliarum mulierum maritos,ne scilicet sua ingenuitas subiaceret voluntati,& potestati plebis.Et tandem post reformatam inter se pacem mulieres inito consilio statuerunt se solas absque viris dominari in terra, atque ex tunc sumi sibi regimen per certam electionis formam,quæ robusta,agilis,sapiens,iuuenis,ac valens apparet in armis.

Sciendũ tamen est,extra hanc insulam flumen esse,& alias modicas insulas,quarũ vna dicitur Carmagite, de quibus licitum est ijs accersire viros, & amasios bis in anno, ita vt nulla moram trahat septem dierum naturaliũ sub pœna indubitata occisionis.Infantem masculũ nutrire licet quoadusq; per se comedat & gradiatur,tunc transmittendus est in domũ paternam. Generosæ natæ puellæ aufertur ignito cultro vber sinistrum pro scuto gerendo,degeneri dextrum, ad sagittandum de arcu Turco.

Regina cum consiliaribus & officialibus suis regit sapientèr & benè terram,& seruat omnes sibi sub districta obedientia,per leges,& pœnas,& amendas conscriptas. Et cùm circumiacentium insularum Reges contra se ad inuicem præliari solent, tunc Regina Amazoniæ cum suis Nobilibus ab vna parte pro magno stipendio vocari solet in adiutoriũ,vbi & inuẽtæ sunt sapiẽtes in consilijs,probæ in armis,acres in conflictibus, & in omnibus Curiæ actibus bene valẽtes.

CAP.

Capvt 26.

De Aethiopia, & Diamantibus, & de infima India.

Aethiopia consistit à terra Chaldæorum in Austrum, quæ distinguitur in Oriẽtalem Aethiopiam, & Meridionalem, quarum prima in illis partibus vocatur Cush, propter hominum nigredinem, altera Mauritania. Et est ibi Regnum Saba, de quo legitur, quod Regi Salomoni Reges Arabum, & Saba, dona & tributa adduxerunt. Eóque Regina Saba venit à finibus, hoc est, à longinquis terræ partibus audire sapientiam Salomonis. Omnes in Aethiopia aquę in fluuijs & riparijs, & fontibus sapiunt Sal, propter nimium calorem. Est ibi vnus aquæ fons ita de nocte calidus, vt nemo in eo sustineat manum, & ita de die frigidus, vt bibi vix possit.

Mauritania.
Regnum Saba
Plinius.

Generaliter isti de Mauritania Aethiopes comedunt parùm, de facili inebriantur, fluxum ventris patiuntur, nec diu viuunt.

De Aethiopia intratur in Indiam mediam, nam triplex est, videlicet infima, quæ in quibusdam suis partibus est nimis frigida ad inhabitandum: Media quæ satis temperata est, & superior, quæ nimis calida. In India infima propter continuum & graue frigus generatur christallum de aqua per gelu, sicut quidam referunt. Sed certum est ibi haberi rupes christalli, & in illis gigni optimos Diamantes, quos lingua illius vocant Hamesht.

India triplex.
Diamantes.

Est autem diamas paruus præciosus lapis, magnæ virtutis, sicut pleniùs describitur in lapidariis. Quidam inueniuntur in magnitudine pisi, vel etiam piso minores: alii ad quantitatem fabæ, sed nullus maior auellana, vel nuce. Dicitur de eo in partibus illis, quod si hic qui portat sit continens, & sobrius reddit illum magnanimum & audacem, & iuuat in causis iustis certantem, conseruat substantias corporales, aufert praua somnia, depellit prauorum spirituum illusiones, sortilegia, & incantationes, ac valet contra lunaticam passionem, & dæmonis obsessionem, & venenosum quod illi appropinquauerit exsudat, & exhumescit.

Optimi Diamantes de India assimulantur in colore multùm christallo, sed sunt aliquantulum magis citrini, & pro sui duritie poliri non possunt. Inueniuntur autem ibi nonnulli subnigri ad colorem violę: Alii nascuntur in Arabia nigri, & tenuiores prædictis, alii in Macedonia, & quidam in Cypro, sed in mineriis auri, dum prima massa in minutias confringitur, interdum reperiuntur. Sciendum enim est, sæpè plures simul crescere, nec non generant, & concipiunt inuicem de rore cæli, quemadmodum & Margaritæ: quod ego pluries tentans, accepi de rupe cespitem cum diamante masculo, & femella, plantans in pratello, & frequentans, focillans madefeci de rore Maii. Et ecce in breui, paruulus ex iis gignebatur, nascebatur, & adolescebat ad debitam quantitatem: fiunt verò omnes per naturam cum pluribus angulis vt trium vel quatuor, aut quinque laterum, & nonnulli cum lateribus senis. E contra, omnes margaritæ nascuntur in forma sphærica, seu rotunda.

Experientia Mandeuilli in diamantibus.

Et notandum quòd mercatores, pro diamantibus, frequenter aliud vendunt: Nam solet commixtio fieri de christallo Crochee, de Saphiro, de Lonpes Citrino, de lapide Yri, & de paruis petris ex murium nidis. Probatio veri diamantis haberi potest his modis.

Diamantum sophisticatio.
Probatio veri diamantis.

Primò, si ita inuenitur tener, vt se poliri dimittat, non est verus.

Item si de eo non potest scindi vitrum christallum, non est verus.

Item accipe paruum quantitatis lapidem Adamantem, qui solet sibi attrahere acum & ferrum, & pone verum diamantem super adamantem, tùncque si ministraueris adamanti acum, videbis adamantem operari nihil, vero diamante præsente, dum tamen adamas non sit diamante maior.

Item si cultellum laminæ tenuis, habentem in manubrio inclusum vel alligatum verum diamantem in mensa vel assere erexeris, protinus vt ipsi venenum appropinquabit, stabit tremulans atque sudans. Et notandum, quòd per luxuriosum, seu gulosum qui ferret diamantem amitteret virtutem ad tempus.

Terra Indiæ appellatur ab Indo ibi currente fluuio, cuius anguillæ inueniuntur quandoque vltra 20. pedes in longitudine. In media India transitur per multas insulas vsque ad mare Oceanum, in insulam Ormuz, vbi Mercatores Venetiæ sæpè tendunt, sed viri, qui assueti non sunt tantum sustinere calorem, ne exeant perpendicula de corporibus propè ad genua, ibi se contra hoc debitè inuoluunt, & ligant, nec audent ibi transire nauibus ferrum continentibus, ne teneantur de rupibus adamantum.

Terra Indiæ vnde dicta.
Insula Ormuz
A Balsara, per sinum Persicũ ad Ormusium nauigantes, talibus hodie vuntur nauigiis, sine ferreis clauis.

Hic in aliquibus Aethiopiæ partibus habitant publicè, inhonestorum vtriusque sexus hominum consuetudinem inhonestam gerentes, & in æstu meridiano refrigerandi causa exeunt circa ciuitatem ad riparias iacere, & discurrere nudis prorsus corporibus omni pudore reiecto, ex quo procul dubio inhonesta vitia sequuntur.

Est

Insula Chaua, vel Chaul forte.

Est & non longè ab ista insula regio seu insula Caua vel Chaua, quæ à primo statu multùm est minorata per mare. Hi sunt infidelissimi Paganorum. Nam quidam adorant Solem, alij Lunam, ignem, aquam, & terram, arborem, vel serpentem, vel cui de manè primò obuiant. Ibi magni mures, quos nos dicimus rattas, sunt in quantitate paruorum canum. Et quonlam per cartos capi non possunt, capiuntur per canes maiores.

Corpora mortuorum non sepeliuntur ibi, nec cadauera quælibet bestiarum operiuntur, quòd ad actis æstum carnes in breui tempore consumuntur, nam & tota insula consistit sub zona torrida. Inde transiri potest per mare in Indiam superiorem, siue maiorem, videlicet Imperium Presbyteri Ioannis ad portum ciuitatis Zarke, quæ est elegans & bona satis. In ea habitãt plurimi Catholicæ fidei Christiani: & habentur plurimæ Abbatiæ religiosorum, quas olim Dux Danorum Ogerus constituit, vnde & vsque nunc dicuntur Ecclesiæ Dani, atque ex hoc nauigari potest in terram Lombe.

Zarke, vel Zarchia.

Terra Lombe.

Caput 27.

De foresto Piperis, & fonte iuuentutis.

Regio seu insula dicta Lombe, spatiosa quidem est, continens forestum dictum aliàs Tombar, longũ per dietas 18. In orbe vniuerso nõ nouimus crescere piper, præterquàm in hoc foresto. In quo & habẽtur duæ ciuitates, vna Flandrina, (& illa ciuitas inhabitata est à Iudæis, & Christianis, inter quos sæpè magna seditio oritur) altera Singlant: quas quondam Danus fertur fundasse Ogerus, vocans vnam Flandrinam, nomine auiæ suæ ex parte patris sui, alteram Florentam nomine auiæ ex parte matris suæ, quæ mutato nomine nunc vocatur Singlant.

Flandrina.

Singlant.

Sciendum est autem, piper ibi crescere in hunc modum: sicut nos plantamus vites aut quercus arbores robustas, vt vitis cum fructibus se spargat, vt supportetur per ramos, sic coluntur arbusta piperis ad arbores foresti, & sparguntur per ramos, & dependent fructus vt botri. Et venit in eodem arbusto triplex piper in anno.

Piper quomodo crescat.

Primum est quod vocatur longum piper, & venit priusquam nascuntur folia in arbustis, quemadmodum nos in arbore videmus corylo in hyeme ante folia præcedere quasdam caudulas longas, quo circa initium vindemiato, nascuntur cum folijs botri piperis viridis ad similitudinem paruarum vuarum. Quod quidem circa tempus Iulii in eadem viriditate vindemiatum in æstu feruido siccatur ad Solem, vt accipiat nigredinem, & rugarum contractionem.

Piper longum

Postea exurgit piper album in granis minoribus, & in abundantia satis minori, quo tanquam precipsioui vtuntur in partibus illis, & rarò vendunt ad partes istas.

Piper album.

Primum piper appellatur Sorbotyn, secundum Fulfil, tertium verò Bauos.

Sunt autem per nemus istud fera animalia, & venenosa, sicut parui serpentes, colubri, & huiusmodi, de quibus nescio quis famam diffundit per nostras partes, quòd vindemiatores piperis tales vermes fugant per ignem: sed non est ita, imò vngunt brachia, manus, tibias, & pedes cum quodam succo herbæ dictæ Limonse, à quo citò diffugit omne venenum.

In huius foresti capite sub monte Polembo, est ciuitas dicta Polemba, & sub eodem monte fons qui dicitur Iuuentutis. Aqua huius fontis reddit odorem, & saporem quasi de omni genere aromatum, nam singulis penè horis immutat odorem, & saporem. Et quisquis per aliquos dies potat ieiuno stomacho sanatur in breui tempore, à quacunque interiori infirmitate, languore duntaxat mortis excepto: & sanè illorum qui propè sunt, & frequenter bibunt apparet per totum vitæ tempus mira iuuentus. Ego autem ter vel quater bibi, quamobrem & vsque hodiè arbitror potiùs me corporaliter valere. Putatur enim fons ille immediatè per poros subterraneos eliquari de fonte paradisi terrestris, ita quòd nulla via decurrentium super terram fluentium vitietur. In ista etiam regione, & in insulis circumquaque crescit gingiber valdè bonum, vnde & mercatores sæpè ibi tendunt de Venetia pro emendo pipere & gingibere. Gentes verò huius insulæ perversę & stolidissimæ sunt superstitionis adorantes bouem tanquam animal beatissimum, propter eius simplicitatem mansuetudinem, patientiam, & vtilitatem.

Mons Polembus.

Ciuitas Polemba.

Fons Iuuentutis.

Nota.

Gingiber.

Multitudo cuiuslibet ciuitatis vel villæ vnum specialem nutrit bouem, quem postquam laborauit in aratro per sex annos immolant manducantes pariter cum maxima solemnitate. Et quicunque inde minimam minutiam comedit, reputat se sanctificatum totum.

Porrò apud Regem tenetur bos singularis, cuius custos diligentissimè vrinam in vase aureo accipit simpliciter, & de simo in vase consimili: & quotidiè venit summus eorum prælatus, quem dicunt Archiprotoplaustum, offert personaliter in prædictis preciosis vasis, Domino Regi de bouis vrina & fimo, atque in vrina, quam appellant Gaul, tingens manus, defricat, & perungit Regis pectus & frontem, deinde similiter de fimo in multa cordis attentione, ad finem vt

Archiprotoplaustus, Gaul.

possint

poſſint aſſequi quatuor virtutes bouis præfati.

Poſt regem cùm reuerentia accedunt, & vnguntur Barones, principes, & poſt ipſos cæteri ordinati quicunque attingere poſſint, putantes ſe ſanctificari per rem penitus non valentem, imò nimis fœtidam, & inhoneſtam.

Præterea populi iſti colunt Idola facta ad medium in forma humana, & ad medium in forma bouis. In quibus permiſſione Dei per eorum perfidiam maligni ſpiritus habitant dantes de interrogatis reſponſa. Et hijs Idolis offerunt infinita donaria quandoq;, & ſacrificant interdum proprios infantes, ipſorum ſanguine Idola reſpergentes.

Dum hic maritus moritur, vxor comburitur cum marito, niſi de illo habeat ſobolem cum quo viuere ſolet, & velit. Quæ ſibi eligit cum prole ſuperuiuere, non habebitur de cætero digna. Vxor cum marito combuſta.

Attamen in ſimili cauſa, ſi vir non vult cremari cum vxore mortua, non minuit ei honorem.

Et forte vinum naſcitur ibi: quòd mulieres bibunt, & non viri, vt ſic mulieribus creſcant barbæ, ſed mulieribus raduntur, & viris minimè.

CAPVT. 28.

De Eccleſia & corpore Sancti Thomæ Apoſtoli.

HInc in Meridiem pluribus exactis Inſulis per viam decem dietarum venitur in Regnum Mabron. Illic in ciuitate Calamiæ, ſeruatur in magno templo corpus beatiſſimi Thomæ Apoſtoli Domini noſter Ieſu Chriſti in capſa honorificata. In quo loco & martirizatus fuit, licet dicunt quidam, quod in Ediſſa ciuitate. Iſte populus non eſt multum tempus tranſactum, quin fuit totus in fidei relligione, ſed nunc eſt ad peſſimos Gentilium ritus peruerſus, nec attendit, nec veneratur relliquias ſancti corporis Apoſtoli ibidem contentas, quamuis ijs euidens, ac vtile, & mirificum præſtare ſolebat beneficium, quod infra narrabo. Regio Mabrō, vel malaber. Calamia, vel Calumè. Thomæ Apoſtoli ſepultura.

Per certas hiſtorias habetur Ducem Danorum Ogerum conquiſiuiſſe has terras, & in exaltatione ſanctarum Apoſtoli relliquiarum feciſſe fieri præfatam ſpectactilem Eccleſiam, ac intra eum reponi in nobiliſſimo loculo, gemmis, auro, argentoque decenter ornato Sanctum corpus, ac deinde poſt annorum tempus trecentorum Aſſyrios abſtuliſſe feretrum cum ipſo corpore ſancto in Ediſſam ciuitatem Meſopotamiæ, in qua & fuit martyrizatus ſecundum quoſdam, rurſumq; poſt ſexaginta & tres annos recuperatū corpus in ſuam fuiſſe Eccleſiam reſtitutum, videlicet in Calamia, atque in eiuſdem recuperationis ſignum certum dimiſerunt iſti, & dimittunt extra ferretri loculum dependere brachium dextrum, cum manu quæ tetigiſſe creditur pia reſurgentis vulnera Chriſti. Quærendum eſt quæ ſint iſtæ hiſtoriæ.

Eadem quoque manus ſolet vſque hodie ſuæ veræ pœnitentiæ tale manifeſtare miraculum vt dum partes quælibet litigantes velint vtræque ſuas cauſas iuramento confirmare, conſcriptis hinc indè cauſis ponantur ambæ cartulæ in Apoſtoli manu. Quæ cunctis ‖ exeuntibus Eccleſiam, protinus ſub vnius horæ tempore reiecta longius falſitate, veritatem ſibi reſeruat: ſed nunc ſicut dicere cœpi iſti populi huic beneficio Dei ingrati, & diabolica illuſione excæcati mirabiliter paganizant. ‖Interea dum exirēt, Monachi ſuos dolos potuerunt exercere.

Nam & in hac ipſa beati Thomæ Eccleſia ſtatuerunt multa miræ magnitudinis ſimulachra, ex quibus vnum quòd maius eſt multò alijs apparet ſedens homo in alto ſolio adoperto aureis ſericis, & lapidibus præcioſis, habenſque ad collum ſuſpenſa pro ornatu multa cinctoria præcioſè gemmis, & auro contexta. Ad hoc autem Idolum adorandum confluunt peregrini à remotis partibus, & propinguis, in ſatis maiori copia, & valdè feruentiori deuotione quàm Chriſtiani, ad ſanctuum Iacobum in Galizia, quia multi eorum per totum peregrinationis iter, non audent erigere palpebras oculorum, ne fortè propter hoc deuotio intermittatur. Idolum in templo ſancti Apoſtoli erectum.

Alij de propè venientes ſuperaddunt labori itinerandi, vt ad tertium vel ad quartum paſſum ſemper cadant in genibus. Nonnulli quoque demoniaca inſpiratione ſemetipſos per viam peregrinationis lanceolis, & cultellis nunc minoribus, nunc maioribus ſauciant vulneribus per ſingula corporis loca, & dum ante Idolum peruenium, exciſum truſtum de carne propria proijciunt ad Idolum pro offerenda, ac plagis durioribus ſe caſtigant, & quandoque ſponte penitus ſe occidunt; in ſolemnitatibus verò, ſicut in dedicatione, & ſicut in thronizatione ſimulachrorum, fit conuentus populi, quaſi totius Regni. Et ducitur cum proceſſione maius Idolum per circuitum ciuitatis, in curru precioſiſſimo, modis omnibus perornato, & præcedunt in numero magno puellæ cantantes binæ, & binæ ordinatiſſimè, ſucceditque pluralitas Muſicorum cum inſtrumentis varijs ſimphonizantes, quos continuè ſubſequitur currus, cuius lateribus coniungit ſe peregrinorum exercitus, qui & venerunt de remotis.

Ibique cernitur miſerabilis actus vltra modum. Nam aliqui victi vltrà modum diabolica deuotione proijciunt ſe ſub rotis currus præcedentis, vt frangantur ſibi crura, brachia, latera, dorſa, nec non & colla in reuerentiam Dei ſui (vt dicunt) à quo remunerationem ſperant, venire ad Paradiſum terreſtrem.

Occidunt ſe in honorem Idoli.

Et poſt proceſſionem poſtquàm ſtatuerunt Idolum in templo ſuo loco, multiplicatur coram ſimulachris numerus ſæpè plangentium, & occidentium vltrà quam credi ſit facile. Ita quod quandoque in illa vnica ſolemnitate inueniuntur ducenta corpora, vel plura occiſorum. Et aſſtantes propinqui amici talium diaboli martyrum, cum magna muſicorum melodia decantantes in ſua lingua offerunt Idolis corpora, ac demum accenſo rogo omnia corpora comburunt in honorem Idolorum, aſſumentes ſibi ſinguli aliquid de oſſibus aut cineribus pro reliquijs, quas putant ſibi valituras contra quælibet infortunia, & tempeſtates. Et habetur ante templum aquæ lacus, velut ſeruatorium piſcium, in quo proijcit populus largiſſimè ſuas oblationes, argentũ, aurũ, gemmas, cyphos, & ſimilia, quibus miniſtri certis temporibus exhibentes prouident Eccleſię, ac ſimulachro, ac ſibi ipſis abundantèr. Quoddam fabuloſum ſcriptum exiuit per partes noſtras, quod in prędicta proceſſione circumferatur cum pheretro corpus beati Thomæ, qui & in fine proceſſionis populo communicaret proprijs manibus de Eucharjſtiæ ſacramento, ſed non eſt ita, & nunquam fuit.

Reprehendit fabulas vulgi.

Caput. 29.

De Iaua, & quibuſdam alijs meridionalibus Inſulis, & de farina, melle & piſcibus Ogeri Ducis Danorum.

Proceſſio 52. diætarum in Auſtrum.

INde vlterius procedendo in Auſtrum per multas & mirabiles terras quinquaginta duarum diętarum ſpacio, habetur magna Inſula Lamori. Illic omnes nudi incedũt, & ferè omnia ſunt ſingulis communia, nec vtuntur priuatis clauibus ſiue ſeris, imo & omnes mulieres ſunt communes omnibus & ſingulis viris, dummodo violentia non inferatur: ſed & peior eſt ijs conſuetudo, quod libenter comedunt teneras carnes humanas; vnde & negotiatores adferunt eis craſſos infantes venales: quod ſi non ſatis pingues afferuntur, eos ſaginant ſicut nos vitulum, ſiue porcum,

Humanis carnibus veſcentes, ſeu ἀνθρωποφάγοι.

Mandeuillus vſus aſtrolabio.

Hic apparet in bona altitudine polus Antarcticus, & incipit modò apparere in alta Lybia, ita quod in alta Æthiopia eleuatur octodecim gradibus, prout ipſe probaui Aſtrolabio.

Ad meridiem terræ Lamori eſt Inſula bona, ‖Sumebor, cuius gentes reputant ſe nobiliores alijs, ſignantes ſe in facie certo cauterio. Iſti ſemper guerras gerunt contra præfatas gentes nudas de Lamory.

Inſula Rotonigo.

Ad modicam indè deſtantiam habetur Inſula Rotonigo abundans in bonis pluribus: ſed & in Auſtrum ſequuntur aliæ plures regiones & Inſulæ, de quibus prolixum narrare fuiſſet.

Iaua Inſula, grandis.

Et eſt valde grandis regio Iaua, habens in circuitu ambitum leucarum duarum millium. Huius rex eſt valde potens, & imperans ſeptem inſularum vicinarum regibus. Terra iſta eſt populoſa valdè, & creſcunt in ea ſpecies, & abundantia gingiberis, canella, gariofoli, nuces muſcatæ, & maſtix, cum aromatibus multis. Sed & quod ibi naſcatur vinum, non habent: aurum & argentum eſt ibi in copia immenſa, quòd patet in regis Iauæ palatio, cuius palatij nobilitas non eſt facilè ſcribenda.

Multa aromata in Iaua.

Cuncti gradus aſcendentes ad palatij aulas, & aularum cameras, & ad thalamos Camerarum ſunt ſolidi de argento vel auro, ſed & omnis ſtatura pauimentorum in alijs habetur ad ſimilitudinem ſcacarij, vnam quadratam argenti, alteram auri, laminis valdè craſſis, & in ipſis pauimentis, ſunt exſculpta geſta, & hiſtoriæ diuerſæ. In principali verò aula, eſt plenariè expreſſa Dani Ducis Ogeri hiſtoria, à natiuitate ipſius, quouſque in Franciam fantaſticè dicatur reuerſus, cum tempore Caroli magni regis Franciæ, ipſe Ogerus armata manu conquiſiuit Chriſtianitati ferè omnes partes tranſmarinas à Ieroſolymis vſque ad arbores ſolis & Lunæ, ac propè paradiſum terreſtrem.

Victoriæ Ogeri Ducis Dani.

Hinc patet quod Imperium Grand Can ad Auſtrũ valdè olim protẽdebatur.

Pro hac Regione Iaua, (quæ tangit fines Imperij Tartarię) ſibi ſubiuganda, Imperator Grand Can multoties pugnauit, ſed nunquam valuit expugnare. Hinc per mare venitur ad regnum ‖Thalamaſſæ, quod & ‖Panchon dicitur, in quo habetur magnus numerus bonarum ciuitatum. Intra hanc Inſulam, quatuor ſunt genera arborum, de quarum vna accipitur farina ad panem. de ſecunda mel, de tertia vinum, & de quarta peſſimum venenum. Extrahitur autem farina de ſuis arboribus iſto modò.

‖Vel Tholomaſſi.

‖Vel Paten.

Certo tempore anni percutitur ſtipes arboris vndique propè terram cum ſecuri, & cortex in locis pluribus vulneratur, de quibus recipitur liquor ſpiſſus, qui deſiccatus ad ſolis æſtum & contritus

contritus reddit farinam albam, ac ſi de frumento eſſet cõfectus, attamen hic panis non eſt tritici ſaporis, ſed alterius valdè boni. Farina ex arbore.

Simili modo de ſuis arboribus mel elicitur, & vinum liquitur: excepto quod illa non ſicut grãmina prima deſiccantur. Fertur quoque ibidem, extractionem huius farinæ, mellis, & vini, per Angelum primitus fuiſſe oſtenſam prædicto Danorum Duci, illic fame cum ſuo exercitu laboranti. Contra venenum quod de quarto arboris genere ſtillat, ſolum eſt intoxicato remedium, vt de proprio fimo per puram aquam diſtemperato bibat.

Et eſt in hac Inſula quoddam mare mortuum, [illegible]et lacus fętidus, cuius in pleriſq; locis fundus humano ingenio non valet attingi: miræ [illegible]itudinis arundines creſcunt ſuper hunc lacum, in altitudine cedrorum aut abietum pedum ducentorum, ita vt viginti ſocij mecum neq; quiuimus vnius caput iacentis arundinis ſubleuare de terra. Minores etiam arundines naſcuntur ad fluuii ripam, habentes in terra radices longitudinis trecentorum cubitorum aut plurium, Ad quarum nodos radicum, inueniuntur gemmę precioſę, de quibus expertum eſt, ſiquis vnam habuerit in pugno ſuo, ferrum corpori ſuo non nocebit: vnde ſi quis ibi pugnans, putat aduerſarium, ac inimicum hac gemma munitum aggreditur eum cum fuſtibus non ferratis. Immenſæ molis arundines. Sunt quidam lapides qui ſanguinem ſiſtunt: de quibus etiam Oſorius.

De hac intratur in Inſulam ‖ Calanoch, magnam & refertam bonorum omnium, Rex eius potens eſt multum, & licitum eſt ei, quandocunque, & quibuslibet in regno vti mulieribus, de quibus interdum magnum numerum tenet puerorum. Mille quadringẽtos habere ſolet ad pręliandum eliphantes, quos ſibi nutriunt villani per regnum. Elephantes vocant verkes. ‖ Vel Alenak. Elephantes.

In littore maris miraculoſè veniunt ibi ſemel in anno, per tres continuos dies, quaſi de omni genere piſcium marinorum, in maxima abundantia: & præbent ſe omnibus liberè capiendos ad manum. Nam & ego ipſe cepi quamplures. Vnde notandum, quod eodem tempore anni quo ſuper dicta extrahitur farina, mel, & vinum, conueniunt in hoc iſti piſces: quæ ambo mirabilia fecit vno tempore Deus olim producere ſuo Ogero, quæ & in memoria illius, vſque nunc, ſingulis annis innouantur. Experientia Mandeuilli.

Et ſunt in hoc territorio teſtudines terribilis quantitatis, fitque de maioribus Regi ac nobilibus delicatus ac precioſus cibus: mentior, ſi non quaſdam ibidem viderim teſtudinum conchas, in quarum vna ſe tres homines occultarent, ſunteque omnes multum albi coloris. Teſtudines grandiſſimæ.

Si hic vir vxoratus moritur, ſepelitur & vxor vna cum eo, quatenus, ſicut ibi credunt, habeant eam ſtatim ſociam in ſeculo altero.

Caput. 30.

De Regnis Cynocephalorum, & aliis Inſulis.

PEr mare oceanum poteſt hinc veniri in Inſulam ‖ Kaffa: quicunque ibi infirmari videtur ad mortem, ſuſpenditur ad arborem, antequam moriatur, vt non ab immundis terræ vermibus, ſed a cœli auibus, quas reputant Dei Angelos, comedatur. ‖ Vel Caffeles.

In alia Inſula faciunt ſuos infirmos ante mortem ab eductis in hoc magnis canibus ſtrangulari, manducantes in conuiuio carnes pro optimo ferculo venationis.

Interpoſitis quoque multis Inſulis, de quibus ſubticeo gratia breuitatis, habetur Inſula ‖ Mylke, & hij videntur omnium hominum crudeliſſimi; Nam quilibet particulariter pro leui & modica ſtimulatione, vulnerat, ſauciat, & occidit, proximum, vicinum & amicum: Et ſi quando diſſidentes contigerit concordari, non habebitur pax rata, niſi quiſque de alterius ſanguine biberit bonum hauſtum. ‖ Vel Mekke.

Hinc nauigando per multas & diuerſas Inſulas, qui in ſingulas intrare, & moram trahere voluerit, ſtupenda multa videbit, & poterit venire in Inſulam ‖ Tracoide. ‖ Vel Traceda.

Illic ſunt homines abſque vllo ingenio penitus beſtiales, ſerpentibus, vermibuſque veſcentes, nec inuicem loquentes, ſed conceptus ſuos ſignis & indicijs oſtendentes. Diligunt precioſos lapides tantummodo pulchritudinis gratia, non cauſa virtutis: & ſuper omnes vnum diligunt lapidem habentem 60. colorum varietates, qui & Tracoides vocatur propter ipſos.

Intratur hinc per Oceanum in regionem Niconoram, vel Nacumeram, habentem in circuitu ſpacium mille leucarum: omnes ibi geniti homines habent capita ad formam canum, vnde & in Græco Cynocephali dicuntur. Iſti etiam incedunt nudis corporibus, excepto parui panniculi operimento, ſecretiora loca & poſteriora retro tegente. Rationabiles tamen multum ſunt hij, & plurimum virtuoſi, ac de omni forefacto rigidam iuſtitiam exercentes. Sunt ſtatura elegantes, robuſti corpore, in prælijs lanceam cum tergia lata gerentes, viriliterque, & prudenter pugnantes. Omnes pro deo adorant bouem, vnde & quilibet in fronte argenteam ſeu auream ſimilitudinem bouis defert, & ſi quem viuum in prælio ceperint, ſine vlla miſeratione manducant. Inſula Niconora, vel Nacumera. Bouis adoratores.

Rex multum est diues & potens, ac deuotus in superstitione. Nam circa collum gestat trecẽtas orientales margaritas, quibus quotidiè antè cõmẽstionem orationes suas colligit, quemadmodum nos colligimus, Pater noster, &c. Ac præterea portat ad collum ‖ rubetum orientalem, nobilem, purum, pulchrum, resplendentem, & summè preciosum, ad longitudinem pedis humani, quem habet diligentèr seruare, quod dum eo caret non tenetur pro Rege.

‖Siue carbunculum.

Pro isto carbunculo Grand Can Imperator, per ingenium, per insidias, per precium, & per pręliũ sæpè laborauit, sed nihil profecit. Post istam apparet insula Syllan, habens leucas de circuitu 80. quæ paucos habet homines propter multitudinem draconum, serpentum, crocodilorum in ea. Sunt autem crocodili speciales serpentes, coloris virgulati de croceo & nigro, cum quatuor cruribus, & tibijs & latis pedum vngulis. Aliqui horum habent longitudinem quinq; tensarum, aut citrà, qui dum tendunt per arenosa relinquunt signum semitæ, acsi sit ibi tractus grandis arboris truncus.

Alias fortè Zeilan.

Crocodili.

Item in hac insula habetur mons altus, & in sui vertice satis altus & distentus & magnus aquæ lacus, de quo & stulti homines fabulantur, quòd primi parentes post eiectionem suam, illam aquam primò lacrymauerunt. In huius fundo lacus nascuntur margaritæ, & habentur semper lapides preciosi. Solentque pauperes terræ, accepta à Rege licentia, semel in anno ingredi, ac piscari gemmas, qui intrantes vngunt se succo Lymonsæ, contra hirũdines, colubros, & serpentes. Sed & de lacu effluit riuulus per montis descensum, in quo nonnunquam margaritę inueniunnur, & gemmæ: dicunt etiam ibi nullum venenatum animal nocere aduenis.

Ibi videntur leones albi in mira magnitudine boum nostrorum, & multæ diuersæ bestiæ, & aues, bestiolæ, & auiculæ aliarum specierum quàm in partibus istis. Nam ibi & in nonnullis alijs insulis vidi vnum mirum, de quo prius vix credidissem narranti, videlicet anates cum duobus capitibus.

Et sciatis quòd tam hic quam alibi mare apparet satis altius suo littore, imo qui a remotis aspicit videt suspensum quasi ad nubes. Et de hoc admiratus fuissem, nisi quod scriptum sciui mirabiles elationes maris.

Caput. 31.

De multis alijs Insulis Meridionalibus, de quibus & Plinius, & Munsterus.

‖Vel Doudeia.

VErsus meridiem hinc legendo per mare, inuenitur regio speciosa nomine ‖ Doudim cuius rex imperat seu principatur 54. regibus in circuitu insularum.

Dum quis hic infirmatur tendit proximus ad Idolum sciscitans an morietur, & si respondit non, addit & dicere medicinam qua curabitur: si autem responderit moriturum, statim conuocatis amicis occiditur, & cum symphonia, & solemnitate comedunt eius carnes, ossa tantummodò sepelientes. In Insulis verò circumiacentibus, habentur incredibilitèr diuersæ gentes. Nam vna habet homines enormis magnitudinis, cum solo in medio frontis oculo, qui absque vllo condimento manducant carnes & pisces.

Monophthalmoi.

Alia Insula habet homines aspectu deformes, nihil autem colli aut capitis ostendentes, vnde & Acephali nuncupantur: oculos autem habent ante ad scapulas, & in loco pectoris os apertum ad formam ferri, quo nostri caballi frænantur.

Ἀκέφαλοι.

In alia Insula sunt gentes planis faciebus absque eleuatione nasorum, & palpebrarum cum paruis foraminibus oculorum, & sciffura modica oris. Et in alia gentes cum superiore oris labio ita lato & amplo, vt, dum velint, totam faciem de illo tegant.

Alia generat homines paruæ staturę cum oris foramine sic paruo, vt per fistulas alimentum, & potum sumant, & quoniam carent lingua & dentibus, monstrant per naturalia signa conceptus. Et aliqui sunt homines debitæ quidem staturæ, & formæ, nisi quòd habent pedes equinos, quibus ita sunt præpetes, vt syluestres bestias capiant, quas comedunt, & manducant.

In alia homines sunt toti pilosi & hispidi, vsu simiarum manibus & pedibus ambulantes, & ad arbores reptantes, qui quamuis non loquuntur, apparent rationabiles, quia regem habent, & rectores.

Et in alia omnes sunt claudi, qui quamuis pedes habeant, tamen ambulant super genua multum ridiculosè, imò miserabiliter, vt de passu in passum videantur casuri in terram. Et in quadam, sexum tam masculinum, quàm fœmininum habentes, qui dum masculino vtuntur generant, dum fœminino, impregnantur & pariunt, Atq;, vt in compendio multa concludam, in singulis 54. insularum inueniuntur homines, forma, statura, actibus & moribus singulis ab inuicem differentes, de quibus potest fieri descriptio, quam pertranseo gratia breuitatis, & causa incredulitatis fortè quorundam audientium.

Hermaphroditæ.

Nota.

In

In iſtis autem meridionalibus partibus apparebat mihi eleuatio poli Antarctici 33. graduũ, cũ 16. minutis. Et ſciendũ quod in Bohemia, ſimiliter & in Anglia eleuatur polus Arcticus 52. gradibus vel citra: Et in partibus magis ſeptentrionalibus, vbi ſunt Scoti 62. gradibus cum quatuor minutis. Exquo patet reſpiciendo ad latitudinem cœli, quæ eſt de polo ad polum, quod itineratio mea fuit per quartum Horizontis ſpheræ terræ & vltra, per quinque gradus, cum 20. minutis. Cum ergò ſecundum Aſtrologos, totus terræ circuitus ſit 31500. milliarium, octo ſtadijs pro milliario computatis, & ſeptinginta ſtadia reſpondeant ad vnum gradum, quod patet ad latitudinem terræ, perambulaui 66733. ſtadia cum vno tertio, quę faciunt 4170. leucas Geometricas cum dimidia vel propè.

Auſtralis latitudo 33. graduum 16. minutorum.

Hæc erat Eratoſthenis cõputatio.

CAPVT. 32.

De bona Regione ‖ Manchus.

‖Mangi.

CVm igitur tot & talia in iſtis Inſulis vidimus monſtra (quæ ſi explicarem ſcribendo vix à legentibus omnia crederentur) non curauimus vlterius procedere ſub polo auſtrali, ne in maiora pericula incideremus: ſed propter auditam & inuiſam nobis famoſitatem potentiæ, nobilitatis, & glorię Imperatoris Tartarorum, vertebam faciem cum ſocijs nauigare magis verſus Orientem. Cumque per multas diætas ſuſtinuiſſemus multa pericula maris, peruenimus in Regnum ‖ Manchus, quod eſt in confinibus ſuperioris Indiæ, & iungitur ab vna parte Tartarię. Hæc Regio Manchus, pro ſui quantitate reputatur melior, delectabilior, & omnium bonorum abundantior de cunctis ibi propè Regionibus. Nam & homines, beſtiæ, & volucres maiores & corpulentiores ſunt alijs, & præ vbertate vix inuenirentur in vna ciuitate decem mendici. Formoſi ſunt viri, ſed feminæ formoſiores. Sed viri loco barbę, habent perpaucos pilos, rigidos, & longos ab vtraque oris parte, quemadmodum noſtros videmus cattos habere.

Taxat incredulitatem hominum.

‖Vel Mangi. Deſcriptio Mangi uel Chinæ.

Pauci in China mendici.

Chinenſes rarò piloſi in barbia.

Prima quam ingrediebamur ciuitas eſt ‖ Lachori, diſtans vna diæta à mari, & mirabamur, & gauiſi ſumus nos inueniſſe integram ciuitatem Chriſtianæ fidei. Nam & maior pars Regni credit in Chriſtum.

‖Siue Lateryn.

Chinenſes olim Chriſtiani.

Ibi habetur in leui precio copia rerum omnium, & præcipuè victualium: vnum genus eſt ibi ſerpentum in abundantia quod manducant ad omne conuiuium, & niſi pro finali ferculo miniſtraretur de illis ſerpentibus, conuiuium ... iàm modicum diceretur.

Suntque per hoc regnum pleręq; ciuitates & Eccleſię, & relligiones, quas inſtituit dux Ogerus, quia hoc eſt vnum de quindecim regnis quæ quæſiuit, ſicut infrà dicetur.

Sunt huiuſmodi etiam canes in India occidentali, teſte Petro Martyre in Decadibus.

Illic ſunt elegantes albæ gallinæ, quę non veſtiuntur plumis vt noſtræ, ſed optima lana. ‖ Canes aquatici, quos nos lutras nominamus, ſunt ibi multi edomiti, quòd quoties mittuntur in flumen, exportant domino piſcem.

Cansay, vel Quinſay, & eius deſcriptio.

Ab hoc loco per aliquas diætas, venitur ad huius regionis maximam vrbem Canſay, hoc eſt dicere ciuitatem cœli, imo de vniuerſo orbe terrarum putatur hæc maxima Ciuitatum; nam eius circuitus 50. leucis eſt menſus, nec eſt facile dicere, quàm compreſſè a quamplurimus populis inhabitatur. Hæc ſedet in lacu maris, quemadmodum, & Venetiæ: & habentur in ea plures quàm mille ducenti pontes, & in quolibet turres miræ magnitudinis, ac fortitudinis, munitæ peruigili cuſtodia, & pro vrbe tuenda contra Imperatorem Grand Can.

Vinum Chinenſe appellatum Bigon.

Multi ſunt ibi Chriſtiani, & multę Relligiones Chriſtianorum, ſed & de ordinibus Minorum, & prædicatorum, qui tamen ibi non mendicant; eſt magna pluralitas ex diuerſis nationibus Mercatorum. Per Regionem naſcitur vinum valdè bonum, quod appellatur Bigon. Et ad leucã extra ciuitatem, Abbatia magna eſt, non de relligione Chriſtiana ſed Pagana: & in ea forreſtum, ſiue hortus magnus vndique circumcluſus, conſitus arboribus, & arbuſtis, in cuius etiam medio mons, altus ſimul & latus, habens hortum vbi ſolum inhabitant beſtiolę mirabiles, ſicut Simiæ, marmotæ, Lanbon, papiones, foreti & huiuſmodi ad varia & multa genera, & ad numerum infinitum.

Omni autem die poſt refectionem conuentus Abbatię, qui eſt valdè monachoſus, deferuntur reliquiæ ciborum cum magno additamento, in vaſis auro lucentibus ad hunc hortum: & ad ſonitum campanæ argenteæ, quam Eleemoſynarius manu geſtat deſcendentes, & occurrentes de beſtiolis duo millia aut plures ſeſe componunt reſidere ad circulum more pauperum mendicorum, & traditur ſingulis per ſeruos aliquid de his cibarijs, ac denuò audita campana ſegregando recurrunt: Cumque nos tanquam redarguentes, diceremus, cur hæc non darentur egenis, reſpondebant, illic pauperes non habentur, quod ſi inuenirentur, potius tamen dari deberent beſtiolis. Habet enim eorum perfidia, & Paganiſſimus, animas

nobilium hominum post mortem ingredi corpora nobilium bestiarum, & animas ignobilium corpora bestiarum ignobilium & vilium, ad luenda videlicet crimina, donec peracta pœnitentia trâseant in Paradisum: ideoque nutriunt, prout dicunt, has nobiliores bestias, siue bestiolas, quòd a quibusdam nobilibus fundabatur in principio hæc Abbatia. Multa sunt alia mira in hac ciuitate, de quibus sciatis, quod non omnia vobis recitabo.

Falsa opinio de animarum tranmigratione.

CAPVT. 33.

De Pygmæis, & de itinere vsque in prouinciam Cathay.

EVndo per Regionem eandem à dicta ciuitate Cansay, ad sex dietas venitur ad nobilem vrbem ‖Tylenso, cuius muri per circuitum tendunt ad spacium 20. ‖leucarum: & sunt 60. petrini pontes, quibus nullos memini pulchriores.

‖Vel Chezolo. ‖Vel Miliariu-um.

In ista fuit prima sedes regni Mangi, nec immeritò, cum sit munita, delectabilis, & abundans omnibus bonis, ac deinde in prædicta Cansay, nunc autem tenetur in quadam alia ciuitate.

Tributum Chinensium.

Nota, quilibet ignis soluit quolibet anno vnum balis pro tributo, quod valet vnum florenum cum dimidio, sed omnes famuli de domo vna pro vno igne computantur: summa ignium tributalium, octies centum millia. Reliqui verò Christiani mercatores, in isto vico non computantur. Copia est ibi victualium.

Copia victualium in China.

Quatuor fratres minores vnum potentem conuertebant apud quem hospitabar, & qui duxit me ad Abbatiam istam, ibi vidi scilicet quod hic narratur.

Hospitium Mandeuilli in China.

Ad fines itaque regni Mangi transitur grandis fluuius de ‖Dylay, maius flumen mundi, vbi strictius est continet septem miliaria. Odericus: cuius alueus in loco districtiori continet quatuor leucas. Et ex hoc in breui temporis spacio intratur Imperium Tartarorum, sequendo fluuium vsque in terram Pygmęorum, per cuius medium transit.

‖Vel de Delay.

Pygmæi.

Hij Pygmęi sunt homines statura breues ad longitudinem nostri brachij, seu trium manuum expansarum. Tam mares quam feminæ formosæ, & gratiosæ, & viuunt cõmuniter ad annos sex vel septem: si qui pertingunt ad octo, mirę putantur senectutis. Ad dimidiam anni ętatem nubere possunt, in secundo anno parturiunt: rationales sunt, & sensati iuxta ætatem pusillam, ac satis ingeniosi ad opera de serico, & de lana arboris. Frequenter præliantur contra aues grandes patriæ, exercitibus congregatis hinc inde, & fit strages vtrimque. Hæc gens tam parua optimè operatur sericum & bombacem. Isti Pygmęi venerunt mihi obuiam chorizãdo. Non laborant terram, prędia, seu vincas, sed morantur inter eos nostrę quantitatis homines, qui eos incolunt, sicut serui, quos & Pygmæi sæpè derident, quia sunt ipsis maiores: & quod ipse non cessо mirari dum dicti homines in illa terra generant vel pariunt, non crescit proles supra Pygmæi staturam: Insula non est protensa, sed fortè 12. ciuitatum. Quarum vna est grandis, & bene munita, & quam Grand Can facit cum fortibus armaturis curiosè seruari, contra regem Mangi.

Miraculum.

Hinc proceditur per Imperium Grand Can, ad multas ciuitates, & villas morum mirabiliter diuersorum, vsque in regnum Iamchan, quod est vnum de 12. prouincijs maximis, quibus distinguitur totum Imperium Tartarorum.

Imperium Tartarorum duodecim prouincijs distinctum.

Nobilior ciuitas huius Regni seu Prouinciæ dicitur Iamchan, abundans mercimonijs, & diuitijs infinitis, & multa præstans proprio Regi tributa, quoniam sicut illi de ciuitate fatentur, valet annuè regi quinquaginta milia cuman florenorum auri.

Iamchan Ciuitas nobilis.

Nota. In Iamchan ciuitate est conuentus fratrum minorum: in hac sunt tres Ecclesiæ Monasteriorum: reditus simul ascendit ad 12. cuman. Odericus, Vnus cuman est decem millium. Summa tributi annui, quinquaginta millia millium Florenorum. In illis namque partibus magnas numerorum summas estimant per cuman, numerum 10. millium qui & in Flamingo dicitur laste.

Summa tributi vnius Ciuitatis.

Ad quinque leucas ab hac ciuitate est alia dicta Meke, in qua fiunt de quodam albissimi genere ligni naues maximæ cum aulis & thalamis, ac multis ædificijs, tanquam Palatium tellure fundatum.

Ciuitas Meke. Maximæ naues.

Inde per idem regnum ad viam octo dietarum per aquam dulcem, multas per ciuitates, & bonas villas, venimus ‖ Laucherim, (Odericus appellat Leuyim,) vrbem formosam optimque magnarum, sitam super flumen magnum ‖ Cacameran. Hoc flumen transit per medium Cathay, cui aqua infert damnum, quando nimis inundat, sicut palus in Ferraria, Mogus in Herbipoli: & illud sequentes intrauimus principalem prouinciam Imperij Tartariæ, dictam Cathay Calay: & ista prouincia est multum distenta, ac plena ciuitatibus, & oppidis bonis, & magnis omnibusque referta mercimonijs, maximè sericosis operibus, & aromaticis speciebus.

‖Siue Lanzerin. ‖Vel Caremoron.

Cathay, Catay principalis prouincia.

Nauiganda

Nauigando per dictum flumen versus Orientem, & itinerando per hanc Cathay prouinciam ad multas dietas per plurimas vrbes & villas, venitur in ciuitatem "Sugarmago, abundantiorem omnibus in mercemoniis antedictis, quando sericum est hic vilissimum: quadraginta libræ habentur ibi pro decem florenis. "Engarmago. Vilitas serici.

Ab hac ciuitate, multis ciuitatibus peragratis versus Orientem, veni ad ciuitatem Cambalu, quæ est antiqua in prouincia Cathay: Hanc postquam Tartari cœperunt, ad dimidium miliare fecerunt vnam ciuitatem nomine Caydo, & habet duodecim portas, & à porta in portam duo sunt grossa miliaria Lombardica, spacium inter medium istarum ciuitatum habitatoribus plenum est, & circuitus cuiuslibet istarum ambit 60. miliaria Lombardica, quæ faciunt octo Teutonica. Vel Cambaleck.

In hac ciuitate Cambalu residet Imperator Magnus Can, Rex Regum terrestrium, & Dominus Dominorum terrestrium. Atque indè vlteriùs in Orientem intratur vetus vrbs Caydo, vbi communiter tenet suam sedem Imperialem Grand Can in suo palatio. Ambitus autem vrbis Caydo, est viginti ferè leucarum, duodecim habens portas à se distantes amplius quam stadia 24. Caydo ciuitas.

CAPVT 34.

De palatio Imperatoris Grand Can.

PAlatium Imperatoris Grand Can, quod est in Caydo ciuitate, continet in circuitu proprij muralis vltrà duas leucas, & sunt in eo aulæ quàm plures, in forma nobiles, & in materia nobiliores. Aula autem sedis, quæ est maxima cæterarum, habet intrinsecus pro sui sustentatione 24. æreas columnas factas opere fusorio, de auro puro, & omnes parietes ab intus opertas pellibus quorundam animalium, quæ vocantur Pantheres: hæ sanguinei sunt coloris, & ita remicantes, vt Sole desuper relucente, vix oculus valeat humanus sufferre splendorem, tantæque fragrantiæ, vt illi approximare non possit aer infectus, vnde & ista opertura parietum appreciatur super tegmen aurearum laminarum. Palatij Imperatoris Grand Can descriptio.

Namque stultorum aliqui Paganorum huiusmodi adorant animalia propter colorum, odorúmque virtutem. Proposui retrahere calamum à describenda nobilitate, gubernatione, & ministrantiú frequentia, atque Imperatoris magnificentia: attamen quia cœpi ego, propter incredulos, & nescios, ac inerudibiles, non dimittam in toto. Quicunque enim nihil credunt, nihil sciunt, neque eruditi possunt, Scriptura testante, si non credideritis non intelligetis. Dico ergo, & verè dico, quòd in huius aulæ capite sit thronus, vel sedes Imperialis, excelsus, & eminens in ascensu graduum quamplurium, in quo residere solet in plenaria maiestate, in cuius throni toto corpore nihil apparet minùs nobile, auro, margaritis, gemmis, & lapidibus preciosis. Singuli gradus sunt de singulis, ac inter se diuersis magnis lapidibus, vtpote primus de Hæmatisto, alius de Sardio, & alius de Chrysolito, & sic vsque ad supremum gradum, qui singuli ad formam cuiusque gradus sunt circumfusi, & clusorio opere firmati, auro solido, & nihilominús per superficiem auri, distinctè seminati, firmitérque inclusi lapilli cari, cum orientalibus Margaritis, summitas autem cum ferculo residentiæ in nobilitate excisionis, & fabrifactura operis tam diuersa est, & mira, vt paruitatem mei ingenij excedat, quamobrem & ei cedo, vlteriúsque procedo. Inuehitur in incredulos.

Ad Imperatoris sinistram gradu vno bassior, est sedes suæ primæ coniugis, tota de iaspidibus auro circumfusis, & in superficie aulæ distinctæ gemmulę cum granellis eodè schemate, & similiter de iaspide. Sed adhuc submissior vno gradu est sedes coniugis secundæ, nec non & sub illa vxoris tertiæ. Nam tres proprias secum habet vxores, Odericus dicit, istas duas concubinas. Itémque residet sub tertia coniuge nobiles mulieres de Imperatoris progenie, iuxta illustriam vniuscuiusque. Sedes primæ coniugis Imperatoris. Sedes coniugis secundæ.

Et notandum, quòd per totam patriam singulæ mulieres maritatæ, vt intelligantur maritis subiectæ, & vt discernantur à solutis, gestant in capitis summitate similitudinem pedis viri, longitudinis brachij & dimidij, quadam levi materia operatam: videlicet nobiles de sericosis operibus pannorum, seu alijs raris & pulchris pannis, & preciosis lapillis, & ignobiles iuxta statum suum de materia communiori. Signum subiectionis vxorum suis maritis.

Ad dextram verò sedentis Imperatoris vno gradu submissus residet primogenitus eius filius, & sub ipso ordinatè in consimilibus sedibus nobiles proximi de cognitione Imperiali. Primogeniti Imperatoris filij sedes.

Item super thronum & desuper ante ipsius throni locum, tanquam pro celato seu operimento in throno residentium, & eorum ministrantium, est extensa similitudo vitis operata in palmitibus, & pampinis, de auro puro ad extensionem cubitorum quadraginta, per quadrum, atque per eam dependentes botri vuarum de gemmis, & granellis quinque colorum, quorum albi

bi sunt de christallo & beryllo,& iricrocei de topazio & fuluo christallo, rubei de rubetorum granis,corallo,& alibandinis,virides de Smaragdis,pyropis, & chrysolytis, nigri, de onichinis, gagetis,& gerateris.

Tempore prandij in hac aula,Imperator & Imperatrices,& quisq; de prædictis, habet mensam sibi solam,quarum vilior præualet thesauro grandi.

In solennitatibus ponitur mensa Imperatori de exquisito electro,seu de auro examinato,distincta diamantibus,& nobis ignotis incomparabilibus gemmis, quandóque de christallo perspicuo,seu croceo, circumclusa auro cum gemmis: quandóque de Hæmatisto, quandóque de ebore candido,vel rubicundo: interdum de ligno artificiosè combinato, quod descendit per flumina de Paradiso.Idem dicit Odericus.

His mensis astant Barones, & Principes pro vasallis attentè in suis officijs ministrantes,quorum nec vnus emittere verbum aliqua præsumit audacia,nisi Imperatore annuente,vel ad illum loquente,illis dũtaxat exceptis,qui certis interspatijs canunt, aut recitant de principum gestis.

Et notandum,quando in hoc solio Maiestatis diebus solennibus residet Imperator,subsidere ad pedes eius notarios quatuor, qui omne quod Dominus loquitur,singuli ponunt in scriptis: nam quodcunque tunc ex ore illius egreditur, necesse est esse, vel effici,nec valet item ipse verbum suum mutare,nec reuocare,nisi magno consilio conuocato.

Vniuersa vtensilia quibus in solennitate ad has seruitur mensas, sunt de nobilibus petris auto reclusis,Cyphi de Smaragdis,vel Saphyris,topasijs, pyropis, siue gryophis: & priuatioribus diebus,de auro probato: tiam in cameris,& cubiculis, nec reputatur ibi claritas argenti, nisi pro pilarijs,columnis,gradibus,& pauimentis.

Istius autem ostia aulæ, dum in ea residet, aut deambulat Imperator, multi Barones ingressum seruant intentè,& ne limen tangatur,quod hoc haberent pro augurio, & benè verberaretur,quia Imperatore præsente, nemo nisi adductus in quacunque camera, vel habitatione intromittitur,donec interrogatus iusserit Imperator.

Mandeuillus suis pedibus mensurauit aulam Imperatoris. Carbunculus resplendens.

Latitudinem huius Basilicę æstimo ad spatium de meis pedibus centum, & longitudinem vltrà quatuor centum.In cubiculo autem Regis dormitorio,constat vnus pillarius,seu columna de auro solido & carbunculus conclusus in illo longitudinis pedis vnius, totum habitaculum de nocte perfundens lumine claro.Hic prout ego notaui, non est plenè rubeus,sed subrufus,quasi coloris Hæmatistini.Porrò in vna aularum, circà medium palatii, est alius excelsus ascensus,Odericus dicit pigma,super quem dum placet,stat,vel residet Imperator, ditissimè etiam operatus,ex auro,gemmis,baccis,margaritis,& lapidibus raris,& in quatuor angulis,imagines quatuor serpentum de auro puro.

Huius per tria latera dependent retia seu cortinæ de cordulis sericis, in quibus ad singulos nodos,grossa margarita habetur innexa,quibus cortinis tegitur officina:in eius concauitate tenetur tumba quadrata,in qua conueniunt conductus omnium potuum, qui bibuntur in Curia, & innumera vasorum genera,quibus potus omnibus ministratur.

Prætereà,iuxta palatii ambitum,habetur grandis parci spaciamentum,diuersi generis arboribus repletum,fructus ferentibus varios,& nobis inuisos, & in parte media, aula super excelsum collem de tam mira & pulchra structura, vt eius nobilitas de facili ad præsens, non possit describi.Et vndique,per collis gyrum aquæ fossatum profundum, & latum vltrà quod pons vnicus ducit ad collem.Atque ex duobus montis lateribus, stagnum cum diuersorum copia piscium, & volucrum indomitarum, vt aucarum, annatum, cignorum, ciconiarum, ardearum,& collectorum in magna pluralitate, nec non & per parcum, multæ sylvestres bestiæ,& bestiolæ quatenùs per aulæ fenestras possit Dominus pro solatio respicere volucrum aucupationes, bestiarum venationes,& piscium captiones.

Palatium instar magni oppidi.

Et hoc procuidubio sciendum,quòd in nostris partibus rara sint oppida cum pluribus mansionibus,quàm in isto palatio continentur.

Pro India intelligit Septentrionalem Asiæ partem. Sadus.

Tota æstate moratur in India terra frigidissima,in hyeme in Cambalu.Odericus.

Præter palatium hoc in Caydo,habet Imperator similitèr tria: vnum in ciuitate Sadus, versus Septentrionem,vbi competens est frigus, ibi moratur in æstate. Cambalu,vbi competens calor,ibi moratur hyeme.Tertium in ciuitate Iongh, in quo & in isto Caydo, vt sæpiùs seruat sedem, eò quòd in istis est aer magis temperatus,quamuis semper calidus videtur Nostratibus.

Caput 35.

De quatuor solennitatibus,quas Magnus Cam celebrat in anno.

SCiatis quòd ego,meique sodales, pro fama magnificentiæ huius Imperatoris, tradidimus nos stipendiarios esse in guerris, contra Regem Mangi prænominatum. Et fuimus

apud

apud ipſum 15. menſibus, & certè inuenimus multò maiorem partem hominum, in mediam partem nobis non fuiſſe relatam: hominum (exceptis cuſtodibus beſtiarum & volucrum,) qui intra palatium certa gerunt miniſteria eſt numerus decem cuman.

Mandeuillus per ſpacium 15. menſium militauit Grand Can.

Nota. Traxi moram in Cambalu tribus annis: fratres noſtri locum habent in Curia ſua ſpecialiter, & feſtis diebus ſtatutis dant benedictionem, Odericus. Et quoniam Imperator habet ſatis plures quàm decem mille Elephantes edomitos, & velut vltrà numerum alias beſtias, (quarũ quædam tenentur in caueis, ſtabulis mirabilibus, vel catenis,) nec nõ & aues rapaces, & accipitres, falcones, oſtrones, gryfandos gentiles, Laueroys, & Satyros, ſed & auiculas loquentes, & papingos, & ſimiles, aliaſque cantantes: reputatur numerus hominum de iſtis curam & laborem gerentium, vltrà ſex cuman, & præterea iugiter ad Curiam equites cum plenarijs armaturis, quinque cuman, & de peditibus cum præliandi armaturis, cuman decem. Sed & omnes de natione quacunque mundi venientes, qui petunt deſcribi pro Curia recipiuntur. Sic enim iuſſit Imperator.

Vixit in Cambalu tribus annis.

Sex cuman famulorum.

Quinque Cuman equitum.

Decem Cuman peditum.

Habet & medicos Paganos viginti, & totidem Phyſicos, atque ſine his Medicos Chriſtianos ducentos, & totidem Phyſicos, quoniam iſte Grand Can maiorem gerit confidentiam in Medicis Chriſtianis, quàm in ſuæ propriæ nationis medicis.

Medici Chriſtiani 200. in aula Grand Can.

Hoc ergò firmiter ſcias, quod de Curia Regis accipiunt neceſſaria ſua iugitèr vltrà triginta cuman hominum, præter expenſas animalium & volucrum, cùm tamen in feſtis maioribus ſint homines propè in duplo tanti. Nec valet hic Dominus defectum vllum pati pecuniæ, eò quòd in terra ſua non currit moneta de argento, vel auro, alióue metallo, ſed tantùm de corio vel papyro: horum enim forma denariorum ſigno Imperatoris impreſſorum preciatur minoris aut maioris valoris, ſecundùm diuerſitatem impreſſionis, qui per viſitationem, detriti vel rupti, cùm ad Regis theſaurarios deferuntur, protinùs dantur pro illis noui.

Vnus Cuman continet decem millia, vt in cap 33. Moneta de corio vel papyro.

Quatèr in anno celebrat Imperator feſtiuitates ſolennes.

Quatuor feſta.

Primam de die propriæ Natiuitatis.

Secundam de die ſuæ primæ præſentationis in eorum Templo, quod appellant Moſeath, vbi & fit ijs, neſcio quod genus circumciſionis.

Circumciſio quædam.

Tertiam in thronizatione ſui Idoli in Templo.

Quartam de die quo Idolum cœpit dare reſponſum, ſeu facere diabolica mira. Plures enim in anno non tenet ſolennitates, niſi ſi quando nuptias filij aut filiæ celebrat.

Itaque in iſtis ſolennitatibus eſt populi multitudo abſque numero, omnes tamen in ordine debito, & ſinguli intendentes proprio miniſterio: nam ad hoc ordinandum, & diſponendum, electa ſunt quatuor Baronum nobilium genera, ex quibus nonnulli ſunt Reges, & alij Equites potentes, Duces, & Marchiones, omnes induti holoſericis, quibus inſerti cũ certa diſſeminatione ſunt vbique preciosi lapides, miræ virtutis, & aurifigia ſpecioſa, vt ſi quis in his partibus vnum de talibus haberet mutatorijs, dici non poſſet pauper imò prædiues. Et habet quodlibet millenariorum in his veſtibus colorem ſibi proprium: primum viridem, ſecundum vermiculum, tertium croceum, quartum purpureum, ſeu indicum. Ergo in die ſolenni, dum de mane Maieſtatis thronum conſcenderit, veniunt ſe præſentare hoc modo Regi.

Deſcriptio pomparum ſolennium.

Ante primum millenarium procedit copioſa ſymphonia dulcis chordarum, ſicut de violis, cytharis, lyris, & pſalterijs, non autem de tubis aut tympanis: & præcedunt Barones per tranſuerſum Aulæ coram reſidente Domino ordinatè bini, & bini ſub ſilentio, ferentes ambabus manibus ante pectus tabulam de Iaſpide, ebore, chriſtallo, pyropo, vel Hæmatiſto, & ante faciem throni inclinant ſe Imperatori profundè.

Illiſque pertranſeuntibus, ſuccedit ſimili modo millenarius ſecundus, & tertius, atque quartus, nec auditur à quoquam vnicum verbum. Hac præſentatione cum debita maturitate perfecta, reſident in baſſo à latere throni ad proprias menſas, multi Philoſophi, ſeu Artiſtæ, ſicut de Aſtronomia, Geomantia, Pyromantia, Hydromantia, Chiromantia, Necromantia, augurijs, ac aruſpicijs, & huiuſmodi, tenentes coram inſtrumenta ſuæ artis, alij Aſtrolabium, & Sphæras de auro, alij in aureis vaſis arenam, prunas ardentes, aquam, vinum, oleum, & caluarias mortuorum, loquentes & reſpondentes, nec non de auro horologia ad minùs duo: & ad cunctas horas ſecundum curſum horrologiorum innuunt Philoſophi ſeruis ſibi ad hoc deputatis, vt faciant præſtari auditum per aulam, quorum vnus aut duo conſcendentes ſcallum, alta voce proclamant, audite, auſcultate, & omnibus intendentibus dicit Philoſophorum vnus: Quilibet nunc faciat reuerentiam Imperatori, qui eſt filius Dei excelſi, Dominus & ſuperior omnium Dominorum mundi, quia ecce hæc eſt hora. Et mox ſinguli in aula inclinato corpore & capite ſe inclinant maieſtati manẽtes accliui, donec idem Philoſophus dicat, leuate. Atque protinùs ſuper hoc factum, Muſici ſuis inſtrumentis, ſuauem perſonant melodiam.

Poſteà

Posteà ad aliquantam moram simili modo dicit alius Philosophorum, minimus digitus in aure: & ecce hoc omnes faciunt, donec dicat, sufficit: sic in aliam horam, seu moram dicit, manus vestra super os, & posteà manus super caput. Atque in hunc modum iuxta temporis cursum imponunt facienda signa diuersa. Innuunt in eis latère magna mysteria, & quodlibet horum factorum melodia terminat Musicorum. Et sciatis me quandoque in tempore opportuno ab eis interrogasse de his signis, qui responderunt quòd inclinare caput Domino ad illius horæ momentum, foret confirmatio omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, ad obediendum ipsi & fidelitatem obseruandam imperio, nec posse corrumpi promissionibus siue donis, quódque digitum in auricula imponere, obturatio est auditus contra omnia Imperatori, & Imperio contraria. Et sic de singulis factis singula mysteria confingentes decipiunt audientes: horum itaque fraudulento ingenio, iste Grand Can festiuatus, non nisi ad talium iudicium parari permittit cibaria, aut fieri indumenta pro suo corpore.

Mandeuilli interrogatio.

Dum autem est visum Curiæ gubernatoribus satis de prædictis auditum, faciunt proclamatores silentium imperari, & incipit fieri offerenda Imperatori hoc modo. Intrant omnes qui sunt de cognatione Imperatoris Barones adornati nobilissimè pro cuiusque decentia balteis, & indumentis, quorum primus cum resouante symphonia præmittit ad oblationem quotquot valet de dextrarijs albis, & inclinans ante thronum pertranfit, atque per eundem modum singuli Baronum offerentes aliquid dignum iocale inclinant transeuntes, silentio firmè seruato.

Offerẽda Imperatori facta.

Post hos intrantes simili modo prælati & Abbates, de iurisdictionibus & religionibus Paganorum offerunt singuli pro suo statu se reuerenter inclinantes maiestati, & maior prælatorum benedicit Regi, & suis ac Curiæ quadam suæ legis oratione.

Benedictio prælati.

Deinde introducuntur elephantes, leones, pardi, simiæ, marmotæ, & diuersę bestiæ, quarum ductores singuli transeuntes inclinant reuerenter, & intentè. Postremò afferuntur aquilæ, struthiones, gryphandi, accipitres, & papingi, cum diuersis auibus & auiculis, nec non serpentes ac pisces, quorum portitores inclinant profundè, quoniam dicunt omnes terrenas creaturas debere adorationem Imperatori Grand Can filio Dei excelsi: & his perfectis,

Musicæ Camena persoluunt debita plenè.

Deplorat Paganorum tenebras.

Nos igitur intendamus hoc loco quæso quomodo veraciter Pagani in tenebris ambulant: diabolica inuolutione mens eorum obtenebrata non videt quomodò, cùm Imperator sit homo mortalis nuper natus, & similiter sicut illi infirmitate circundatus, atque in breui cum ipsis moriturus, quem etiam non dubitant sub Deo, clamant eum non Deum, sed Dei filium, vbi vtique prorsus ignorant illũ non esse laudandũ, nec adorandũ, sed eum non intẽdunt alium filium, filium increatum & connaturalem, qui & ipsos & eum creauit, solum superlaudabilem in secula.

Insignis Mandeuilli pietas, & desiderium conuersionis Paganorum.

Ex hoc alto corde considerantes, laudemus, adoremus, glorificemus & superexaltemus totis viribus Deum, qui nos filios lucis esse voluit, & salutis, nasci, baptizari, educari, erudiri sub sinceritate fidei Christianæ, excluso schismate & errore, atque sub instituto sacrosanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, in qua sola penè ab omni circumferentia orbis terræ fides, quæ saluat, & per dilectionem operatur nunc remansit.

Et oremus instantèr pro ipsis Paganis, vt agnita veritatis luce videre possint quò ambulant, vt perueniant ad Iesum Christum coæqualem Dei filium, atque in ipso, & per ipsum laudare & adorare solum vnum verum Deum.

CAPVT 36.

De ludis & prestigijs in suo festo, & de suo comitatu.

Semel in die comedunt.

CElebrato post hoc prandio satis morosè, quia nunquam est vltrà semel edendum in die, de quo & eius administratione nunc longum est scribere, adsunt gesticulatores, mira visu, suauiáq; auditu pedibus, manibus, brachijs, humeris, capitibus, & toto corpore, ac ad singulos gestus, correspõdẽtes debito vocis sono. Et semper finẽ horũ mirabiliũ cantilena subsequitur musicorũ. Ex hoc ioculatores præstò sunt, & Magi, qui suis incantationibus prestãt prestigia multa.

Magi insignes

Inprimis faciunt videri Solem & Lunam, oriendo, descendendo consuetum diei intra Basilicam peragere cursum, cum tanta nimierate splendoris, vt vix se inuicem homines valeant recognoscere præfulgore, dicentes & mentientes, Solem & Lunam cæli hanc mittere reuerentiam Imperatori.

Hinc pari ludo comparent speciosæ puellæ ducere semitas & choreas, nobili gestu nobilissimum ferre poculum lactis equarum in aureis vasis, de quo, ponentes se in genibus, tradunt potum dominis & dominabus.

Tunc portantur & milites in equis, & armis quoq; pleni atque parati, qui feruentibus sonipedibus se inuicem cuspidibus ad fragorem magnum configentes lanceas comminuunt, & fragmenta per mensas, & pauimenta discurrunt. Ac deindè fantasticè venantur per aulam, cum canibus

canibus & papionibus,ad ceruos,lupos,vrſos,& apros, ad lepores, & marmotas. Quæ ſingula cùm ad horam paſcant vana delectatione ſenſus corporeos,miſeriam tamen inſerunt piæ menti,quòd tot & tanti homines,neglecta prorſus animi ſalute, his diabolicis operationibus ſe dederunt in toto.Nam certò non ita ſine dæmonum conſolatione & familiaritate præmilla confingi dicerem.

Nota: à Cambalu ad viginti dietas, eſt pulchrum nemus girans octo dietas in circuitu, in quo ſunt omnia genera animaliuin: cuſtodes habet circa eum. Triennio vel quadriennio viſitat illud Imperator,& cum multa gente nemus circumdat,canes emittuntur & aues, cum multo clamore, & feras congregant in medio nemoris,ad planiciem ſibi ſitam. Tunc Imperator priùs iacit quinque ſagittas,poſteà alij: tunc Imperator dicit,Eya,hoc eſt,mina beſtijs, & ſicut quilibet capit ſagittam ſuam ſignatam,percuſſam, aliis recedentibus ad ſua loca.Odericus. Pulchrum nemus octo dietarum in circuitu.

Præterea ante Imperatoris menſam eriguntur latæ tabulæ aureæ cum ſculptis,ac ſi viuerent, imaginibus gallorum, pauonum ac diuerſarum volucrum artificioſè, quas præſtigiator facit pro libitu ſine apprehenſione manus ire, tripudiare, chorizare, tremere, compugnare, bibere, manducare,ſed & cantare: quod quidem inter cætera mihi videbatur mirabilius & aſpectu delectabilius.Nullus iſtud plenè intueri potuit,niſi qui erat in throno vel circà: & me oportet hoc loco fateri ſtultitiam propriam, quòd hac delectatione tractus, magnam adhibui apud Artiſtam diligentiam,verbis blandis,& quibuſcunque munuſculis, ac melioribus promiſsis, quod de tali mihi traderet artem,qui ſagax ſimul & fallax inprimis, ſpem meam trahebat ſponſionum funibus: ſed ad vltimum penitùs abſcindebat,dicens ſe vouiſſe Deo immortali, ne cuiquam doceret niſi proprio filio ſeniori,ac per hoc me Deus ab illo malo conſeruauit inuitum, & gratias nunc reddentem. Mandeuilli curioſitas.

Certum eſt illic homines eſſe ſubtiles ad quaſdam humanas artes, & ingenioſos ad fraudes ſuper omnes,quas noui mundi partes,vnde & inter ſe dicunt prouerbium, ſe ſolos videre duobus oculis,& Chriſtianos vno,cæteros autem homines cæcos:ſed mentitur iniquitas ſibi, quoniam ipſi vident ſolo oculo terrena & tranſitoria,& nos Chriſtiani duobus, quia cum terrenis videmus ſpiritualia,& manſura: percuſſit enim "Naas,id eſt, humani generis hoſtis cum illis fœdus,vt erueret omnibus oculos dextros,ſcilicet ſpirituales. Hoc eorum dictum in nouis Chinæ hiſtoriis refertur. Inſignis ſententia. " 1.Sam.11.2.

Cùm itaque narrata de præmiſsis debeant ſufficere, quando Imperator Grand Can de vno quatuor palatiorum ad aliud tranſire velit,vel fortè gratia viſitationis aut ardui negotii per Imperium de Regno ad Regnum tendit per comitatus, quatuor exercitibus antè & retrò, & ex ambobus lateribus.

Primus exercitus præcedit perſonam Regis per vnam deſuis dietis, vt ſemper in hoſpitium, de quo receſsit exercitus Rex intret nocte ſequenti, & eſt hic primus comitatus deſcriptus, & ſtatutus de numero quinquaginta cuman virorum,hoc eſt,quingentorum millium,ſempérque præuiſum,& prouiſum eſt,vt inueniant neceſſaria in locis, vbi habent quieſcere, vel tardare ſiue in hoſpitiis,ſiue in tentoriis.

Secundus & tertius comitatus ſunt eiuſdem numeri virorum cum primo, quorum vnus ad dextram tendit Imperatoris, alius ad ſiniſtram in diſtantia ab ipſo ad trium vel duarum leucarum.

Quartus autem qui maior eſt omnibus, ſubſequitur Imperatorem quaſi ad ſpatium iactus baliſtæ.Et adhuc ſciendum eſt,quòd perſonę horum comitatuum ſunt ſigillatim,& ſummatim omnes deſcriptæ,vt dum vna moritur vel recedit,protinùs alia inſcribatur,& numerus non minuatur.Ipſe verò Imperator tendit reſidens in cella ſeu camera ædificata ſuper currum grandem forma,fortem robore,nobilem in ſtructura,eſt cella de ligno Aloes optimi odoris,& parietes cellæ operti in quibuſdam locis laminis aureis,quæ & ipſæ diſtinguuntur gemmis variis,& margaritis. Cella ſeu camera ædificata ſuper currum.

Eſt autem currus quatuor rotarum duntaxat,quem trahunt quatuor Elephantes ad hoc curioſè inſtructi,cum quatuor hippis albis equæ doctis & ipſi cooperti ditiſsimis tegumentis, ac præter aurigas nobiliter indutos, qui currum cautiſsimè ducunt, adſunt & quatuor de maioribus palatii Dominis,indè ad vehiculum habentes iugem curam, de minatione eius, & ne vltimo exercitu appropriet infra iactum (vt dixi) ſagittæ. Ipſe autem interdum pro ſodalitate iubet ſecum aſcendere quam vult perſonam, ſed minimè vltrà duos. In cellæ quoque culmine, quod aperiri valet & claudi,aſtant in pertica quatuor gruſandi,vel oſtiones. Odericus: duodecim Girfalcones,vt ſi fortè Imperator in aere aquilam,vulturum,ardeam,vel collectorem cerneret,citò dimitteret iſtorum duas aut plures ad aucupandum. Quatuor Elephantes & quatuor equæ albæ trahentes currum Imperatoris.

Nota,per Dromedarios, & curſores,& veloces, qui de hoſpitio ad hoſpitium permutantur, ſcit de remotis noua.Curſor enim appropinquans cornu ſonat,& tunc alius præparat,& vlteriùs Hæc hodiè vſque narrantur in hiſtorijs Chinarum.

us currit. Odericus. Sciendúmque tam primogenitum Regis, quàm singulas de tribus vxoribus ducere similem apparatum in itinerando post ipsum, scilicet cum quatuor comitatibus, antè, & retrò, & à lateribus, sed in valdè minori numero personarum pro placito, & in singulis curribus sequentibus se inuicem per vnam dietam.

Præmissa omnia sic fiunt, dum Imperatori tendendum est remotè, aliàs autem minuuntur, & distinguuntur comitatus, iuxta quod decet, vt nonnunquam omnes Imperatores etiam cum filio simul tendant, cum vna comitatuum distinctione. Transeunte autem sic Imperatore per ciuitates & villas quilibet ante fores proprias præparato igne iactat puluerem aromata redolentem, stans genibus flexis ad reuerentiam illi. Et sciatis vbi propè transitum illius habentur Christianæ Abbatiæ, quas olim constituit Dux Ogerus, exeunt obuiam illi in processione cum vexillis, & sancta cruce, & aqua benedicta, & thuribulo, hymnum, Veni Creator spiritus, decantantes.

Nota: Ego semel cum Episcopo nostro, & alijs fratribus, iuimus obuiam per duas dietas, & portaui thuribulum. Odericus. quos ipse à remotis videns, consueuit ad se appellare, & ad crucem suum galeatum deponere, ac reuerenter nudo capite inclinare: & prælatus dicens super eum aliquam orationem signat cruce, & aqua benedicta aspergit. Et quoniam necesse est, vt quisque extraneus ante Regem apparens, offerat ei aliquid, prælatus in disco præsentat ei fructus, & poma, vel pyra, & hoc in numero nouenario, (ratio penitur primo capitulo proximo, quod iste numerus est plus cæteris acceptus,) de quibus Imperator vnum sibi sumens, reliqua tradit Dominis præsentibus: quo facto habent relligiosi recedere citò, ne opprimantur multitudine populi subsequentis.

Præfatum Domini galeatum, est ita intextum auro, diamantibus, gemmunculis, & orientalibus margaritis, granellis, & dubletis, & prædiues in materia & artificio, vt ei non sit æquandus magni in partibus istis Regis thesaurus. Item sicut hæc fiunt transeunti Imperatori, fiunt & Imperatricibus, & filio seniori.

Caput. 37.

Qua de causa dicitur Grand Can.

SI placet audire, dicam cur hic Imperator sit appellatus Grand Can. Audieram ego in partibus Ierosolymorum hunc esse sic dictum, à filio Noe, Cham: sed in terra Cathay accepi & aliam, & meram huius rei veritatem. Nam & scribendo hæc duo nomina habent differentiam, quòd filius Noe Cham scribitur quatuor elementis, quorum vltimum est M. & iste Can tribus tantùm, quorum vltimum est N.

Vera ratio huius nominis Can. Guis Can.

Post annos Christi 1100. illa prima Tartaria (de qua suprà scripsi in prima parte, capitulo quinto) fuit nimis oppressa seruitute sub Regibus circumiacentium sibi nationum. Quandò autem Deo placuit, maiores illius Tartariæ eleuauerunt de seipsis sibi Regem dictum Guis Can, cui & promiserunt subiectissimam obedientiam.

Idem cùm esset prudens & strenuus 12. viriles habens filios, debellauit cum ijs & populo suo, & vicit, ac subiecit cunctos in circuitu Reges, quibus terra indebitè diù subiacuerat. Quin etiam apparente sibi in visione Angelo Dei velut milite in albo equo, & candidis armis, & hortante se, vt transiret Alpes, per montem "Beliam, & per brachium maris, ad terram Cathay, & ad alias illic plurimas regiones transiuit, & cœpit cum filijs suis aliquas ex illis debellare, & subijcere, Deo in omnibus adiuuante patentèr. Et quoniam in equo albo ei Angelus apparuit, qui etiam antè passum prædicti maris nouem orationes Deo facere iussit, ideò successores vsq; hodiè diligunt equos albos, & nouenarium numerum habent præ cæteris in gratia. Dúmque Guis Can morti præ senio appropinquaret, conuocatos ante se filios hortabatur, & mouebat exemplo 12. telorum in simul colligatorum, quæ à nullo filiorum paritèr frangi potuerant, sed dissoluta vnumquodque per se facilè frangebatur, sic filij (inquit) dilectissimi, si per concordiam vos inuicèm dilexeritis, & vixeritis seniori fratri obedientes, confido in Deo iuxtà promissionem mihi ab Angelo factam, quòd omnem latissimam istam terram, & optimam illius imperio subijcietis, quod & pòst patris discessum strenuissimè, ac fidelissimè (Deo sibi prosperante) perfecerunt. Et quia cum propriis nominibus habebant cognomen Can, primogenitus pro differentia obtinuit nomen Grand Can, id est, Magnus Can, videlicet suprà cæteros fratres, qui sibi in omnibus obediebant.

"Vel Belgiam

Cur albi equi, & nouenarius numerus Tartaris sint in pretio.

Grand Can.

Ochoto Can. Gui Can. Mango Can.

Itaque iste secundus Imperator vocabatur Ochoto Can,

Post quem filius eius regnauit dictus Guican.

Quartus autem, qui Mango Can baptizabatur, permansitque fidelis Christianus, qui etiam misso magno exercitu cum fratre suo Hallaon in partes Arabiæ & Aegypti mandauit destrui in toto Mahometi superstitionem, & terram poni in manibus Christianorum. Et fratre

cum

procedente, accepit rumores de fratris sui Imperatoris morte inopinata, quapropter & redijt negotio imperfecto.

Quintus Cobilacan, qui etiam fuit Christianus, & regnauit 42. annis, & ædificauit magnam ciuitatem Long, maiorem satis vrbe Roma, in qua & continetur valdè nobile palatium Imperiale. Hinc vsque hodie omnes successores paganismo fœdantur. Cobilacan.

Tempore autem meo erat nomẽ Imperatoris Echiant Can, & primogenitus eius Cosuecan preter quem & alios filios habuit 12. de quorũ nominibus conscribendis non est cura presentis. Echiant Can, Imperator Tartarorum tempore Mandeuille.

Prima vxorum suorum vocabatur Serochan, quæ & est filia Præsbyteri Ioannis scilicet Imperatoris Indiæ. Serochan vxor Grãd Can.

Secunda Verouchan.

Tertia Caranthcan.

Istis duobus Imperatoribus non creditur inueniri maior Dominus sub firmamento Cœli.

In literis quę huius Imperatoris Tartarię scribuntur nomine ponitur semper iste Titulus. Can filius Dei excelsi, omninm vniuersam terram colentium summus Imperator, & Dominus Dominantium omnium.

Circumferentia magni sui sigilli, continet hoc scriptum.

Deus in Cœlo, Can super terram, eius fortitudo. Omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

Sciendum quoque quod quamuis populi ibi dicuntur, & sunt Pagani, tamen & rex & omnes credunt in Deum immortalem, & omnipotentem, & iurant per ipsum appellantes, Yroga, id est, Deum Naturæ. Sed nihilominus colunt & adorant idola, & simulachra aurea, & argentea, lapidea, lignea, filtria, lanea, & linea. Yroga, Deus Naturæ.

CAPVT. 38.

De territorio Cathay, & moribus Tartarorum.

TOtum Imperium Imperatoris Grand Can distinctum est in 12. magnas prouincias, iuxta numerum duodecim filiorum primi Genitoris Can, quarum quelibet in se continet circiter 6. millia ciuitatum, præter villas non numeratas quæ sunt velut absque numero. Habent & singulæ prouinciæ regem principalem, hoc est 12. reges prouinciales, & horum quisque sub se reges Insularum plurimos, alij 50. alij cẽtum, alij plures, qui omnes & singuli subiectissimè obediunt Grand Can Imperatori. Harũ prouinciarũ maior, & nobilior dicitur Cathay, quę consistit in Asia profunda. Tres enim sunt Asię, scilicet quæ profunda dicitur, & Asia dicta maior quæ nobis est satis propinquior & tertia minor intra quam est Ephesus beati Ioannis Euangelistę sepultura, de qua habes in præcedentibus. Audistis statum magnatum & nobilium esse permagnificũ, & gloriosum, sed sciatis longè secus esse apud communes & priuatos homines tam in ciuitatibus quam in forensibus totius Tartariæ. In prouincijs autem Cathay habetur tantum de mercimonijs specierum, & de operibus sericosis, quòd multis facilius acquirere esset prætiosum indumentum, quàm camisium de lino. Vnde & quicunq; sunt alicuius honestatis non carent desuper precioso vestimento. 12. Prouinciæ Chinæ. Numerus ciuitatum. Cathay. Abundancia serici in Cathay.

Omnes tam viri quam feminæ similibus in forma vestibus inducuntur, videlicet valdè latis, & breuibus vsque ad genua cum apertura in lateribus quam firmant (dum volunt) ansis quibusdam, nam vterque sexus est brachijs seu femoralibus plenè tectus. Nunquam vtuntur toga aut collobio, sed nec caputio, vndè nec per aspectum indumentorum potest haberi differentia inter virum & mulierem innuptam. Sed nupta (vt supra dictum est) gestat per aliquod tegumentum in capite formam pedis viri. Vestitus Tartarorum.

Nubit illic vir quotquot placet mulieribus, vt nonnulli habeant decem vel duodecim vxores aut plures. Nam quisque maritus iungitur licenter cuilibet mulieri, exceptis matre, & amita, sorore, & filia. Sicut viri equitant, tendunt, & currunt per patriã pro negotijs sic & mulieres, quoniam & ipsę operantur omnia ferè artificia mechanica sicut pannos & quicquid efficitur de lino, corio, sericoq;, minantq; carrucas, & vehicula, sed viri fabricant de ferro et de omni metallo lapidibus atq; ligno, nec vir nec mulier nobilis aut degener comedit vltra semel in die communiter. Multa nutriunt pecora sed nullos porcos, parum comeditur ibi de pane exceptis magnatibus & diuitibus, sed carnes edunt pecorum, bestiarum, & bestiolarum vtpote boum, ouium, caprarum, equorum, asinorum, canum, cattorum, murium, & rattorum, ius carnium sorbentes, & omnis generis lac bibentes. Tartari lac equarum bibunt.

Nobiles autẽ bibunt lac equarũ, seu iumentorũ, pro nobilissimo potu & panperes aquã bullitã cũ modico melliti, quia nec vinũ ibi habetur, nec ceruisia cõficitur: & multi ac plurimi fontes cõsulunt in sua siti, per villas, & rura. Domus, & habitacula rotundę sunt formę, compositæ & cõtextę paruis lignis, & flexilibus virgulis, ad modũ cauearũ quas nos facimus pro auiculis, habẽtes rotundam Appellatur Medo. Formæ domorum.

Formæ domorum. Tartari Hamaxouij, i. in plaustris viuentes. Nouilunium in precio. Ceremoniæ Tartarorum.

rotundam in culmine aperturâ præstantem duo beneficia habitationi, quoniam & ignis quem in medio domus cõstituunt fumum emittit, & pro aspiciendo lumen immittit. Intrinsecus sunt parietes vndiq; de filtro, sed & tectum filtreũ est: has domus, dum locum habitandi mutare volunt, vel dum in diutina expeditione procedunt, ducunt secum in plaustris quasi tentoria.

Multas superuacuas obseruant ceremonias, quia respiciunt in vanitates & insanies falsas: solem & lunam præcipuè adorant, eisque frequentèr genua curuant, & ad nouilunium, quicquid est magni estimant inchoandum.

Nullus omnino vtitur calcaribus in equitãdo, sed cogunt equum flagello scorpione, reputantes peccatum non leue, si quis ad hoc flagellum appodiat, aut iumentum percuteret suo freno, pleraq; similia, quę parũ aut nihil nocent, põderant vt grauia, sicut imponere cultellum in igne, os osse confringere, lac seu aliud potabile in terram effundere, nec non & huiusmodi multa.

Mingere intra domum peccatũ capitale.

Sed super hęc, tenẽt pro grauiori admisso mingere intra domũ quę inhabitatur, & qui de tanto crimine proclamaretur assuetus, mitteretur ad mortem. Et de singulis necesse est vt confiteatur peccator Flamini suę legis, & soluat summã pecuniarũ delicti. Et si peccatũ deturpationis habitaculi venerit in publicum, oportebit reconciliari domũ per sacerdotem, priusquã vllus audebit intrare. Insuper & peccatorem necesse erit pertransire ignem, semel, bis, aut ter iuxta iudicium Flaminis, quatenus per ignis acrimoniam purgetur à tanti inquinatione peccati.

Neminem hominum probibent inter se habitare, sed indifferentèr receptant, Iudæos, Christianos, Saracenos, & homines cuiuscunque nationis, vel legis, dicentes se satis putare suum ritum non ita securũ ad salutem, nisi quandoq; traherentur ad ritũ magis salutarem, quem tamen determinate nunc ignorant, imò multi de nobilibus sunt iam in Christianitate baptizati.

Attamen qui illorum sunt curiales Imperatoris non vellent in palatio publicari.

Pœnè oblitus eram, quod nunc hic dico notandum, quia dum ab extra Imperium, quis veniens nuntius aut legatus cupit tradere proprijs manibus literas Imperatori, vel deponere coram illo mandata, non permittur, donec prius in puris transeat lineis ad vnũ ad minus ‖regum pro sui purgatione, ne quid forsitan afferat cuius visu, vel odoratu seu tactu rex possit grauari.

‖Seu Gubernatorum. Arma Tartarorum.

Porrò Tartari in præcincto expeditionis habent singuli duos arcus, cum magna pluralitate telorum: Nam omnes sunt sagittarij ad manum & cum rigida & longa lancea. Nobiles autem in equis preciosè phaleratis ferunt gladios, vel spatas breues & latas, scindentes pro vno latere, & in capitibus galeas de corio cocto, non altas, sed ad capitis formam depressas.

Tartari retro sagittantes.

Quicunq; de suis fugerit de prælio, ipso facto conscriptus est, vt siquãdo inuentus fuerit occidatur. Si castrũ vel ciuitas obsessa se illis reddere voluerit, nullam acceptant cõditionẽ nisi cum morte omnium inimicorum, vel si quis homo singularis se dederit victum nihilominus absque vlla miseratione occidunt, detruncantes illi protinus aures, quas postea coquentes, & in aceto (dum habuerint) ponentes mittunt inuicem ad conuiuia pro extremo ferculo: dumq; ipsi in bellis arte fugam simulant, periculosum est eos insequi, quoniam iaciunt sagittas à tergo, quibus equos & homines occidere norunt. Et quando in prima acie comparant ad bellandum, mirabilitèr sese constringunt, vt media pars numeri eorum vix credatur.

Tartari habent paruos oculos & raram barbam.

Generalitèr noueritis, omnes Tartaros habere paruos oculos, & modicam vel raram barbam: In proprijs locis rarò inter se litigant, contendunt, aut pugnant, timentes legũ pergraues emendas. Et inuenitur ibi rarius vilipilio, latro, fur, homicida, iniurijs, adulter, aut fornicarius, quia tales criminatores inuestigatione sollicita requiruntur, & sine redemptione aliqui perimuntur.

Mos sepulturæ.

Dũ quis decumbit infirmus figitur lancea iuxta illum in terra, & cũ appropinquauerit morti, nullus remanet iuxta ipsum, cũ verò mortuus esse scitur, confestim in campis, & cum lancea sepelitur.

Caput. 39.

De sepultura Imperatoris Grand Can, & creatione successoris.

IMperator Grand Can postquam eius cognita fuerit defunctio, defertur mox à paucis viris in parco palatij, ad præfixum locũ vbi debeat sepeliri. Et nudato prius toto illo loco à graminibus cum cespite figitur ibi tentorium, in quo velut in solio regali de ligno corpus defuncti residens collocatur, paratuq; mensa plena coram eo cibarijs præciosis, & potu de lacte iumentorum. Instabulatur ibi & equa cum suo pullo, sed & ipse albus, nobiliter phaleratus, & omnibus certo pondere auri & argenti. Et est totum Tentorij pauimentum de mundo stramine stratum.

Tuncq; effodiunt in circuitu fossam latam valdè, & profundam vt totum tentorium cum omnibus contentis descendat in illam. Eoq; facto ita equalitèr terram planificantes adoperiunt graminibus, vt in omni tempore locus sepulturę non valeat rpparere. Et quoniam ignorantiæ nubilo turpiter excęcati putant in alio seculo homines delectationibus frui, dicunt quòd tentorijũ erit ei pro hospitio, cibi ad edendũ, lac ad potandum, equus ad equitandum, aurum & argentũ ad respiciendũ, sed & equa lac sẽpèr præstabit, & pullos equinos succeßiue generabit.

Post

Post has itaq; Imperatoris defuncti miseras exequias, nullus omnino audebit de ipso loqui coram vxoribus & filijs, & propinquis, sed nec nominare, quia per hoc putarent derogari paci, & quieti illius, qua non dubitant eum dominari, in maiori satis gloria Paradisi quã hic stetit.

Igitur Imperatore Grand Can sepulto obliuioni tradito, conueniunt quàm citò nobiles de septem tribubus prouinciæ Cathay, & cui Imperium ex propinquitate competit, dicunt sic.

Ecce volumus ordinamus, atque precamur, vt sis noster Dominus & Imperator.

Qui respondet.

Si vultis me super vos, sicut & iuris mei est, imperare, oportebit vos fore mihi obedientes tam ad mortem quàm ad vitam.

Et respondentes dicunt.

Nos faciemus quicquid preceperitis.

Tuncque Imperator addit hæc verba: Ergo scitote, quod ex nunc verbum meum acutum & scindens erit vt meus ensis: Pergit quoq; sessum in suo ‖Philtro nigro super pauimentũ in conspectu throni expanso, & cum ipso Philtro eleuatur ab omnibus, & infertur Imperij solio, ac coronatur diademate precedentis Imperatoris. 1. cathedra.

Deinde singuli principes, & singulæ ciuitates, oppida, & villæ per vniuersum imperium mittunt ei munera iocalia, vasa, pannos, equos, elephantes, aurum, argentum, & lapides pretiosos, quorum, qualium, & quantorum vix vel in numero haberi potest æstimatio.

CAPVT. 40.

De multis regionibus Imperio Tartaria subiectis.

BReuitèr & nunc intendo cursum describere aliquarum magnarum regionum & Insularum Imperij Tartariæ. Et primò illas quæ descendunt à prouincia Cathay per septentrionalem plagam, vsque ad fines Christianitatis Prussiæ, & Russiæ.

Ergò prouincia Cathay descendens in sui oriente à regno Tharsis iungitur ab occidente regno ‖Turquescen, in quo & sunt plurimæ ciuitates, quarũ formosior dicitur Octopar. Ipsum autem Turquescen regnũ iungitur ad occidentem sui regno seu Imperio Persiæ, & ad septentrionem regno Corasine, quod spaciosum est valde, habens versus orientem sui vltra centum dietas desertũ: hoc regnũ est multis bonis abundans, & appellatur eius melior ciuitas etiam Corasine. Turqueſtan. Octopar. Corasine. Regnum Cõmanorum.

Isti quoq; regno iungitur in occidente versus partes nostras regnum Commanorum, quod & similiter longum est, & latum, sed in paucis sui locis inhabitatum: Nam in quibusdam est frigus nimium, in alijs nimius calor, & in nonnullis nimia musearum multitudo.

De istis Commanis venit olim fugata quædam pluralitas populi vsque in terram Ægypti quæ ibidem succreta nunc ita inualuit, vt suppressis indigenis videatur regnare: Nam & de ipsis constituerunt hunc, qui modo est Soldanus, Melech Mandibron. Per Commanorum regnum decurrit Grandis fluuius ‖Echil, qui omni hyemali tempore in magna spissitudine gelatur: in superiori quoq; parte huius regni inter duo freta Caspię, & Oceani, mons sublimis est valde ‖Chocas. Nota quod à nostris partibus non possit vsque in Indiam superiorem duci magnus exercitus per terras, nisi per tres tantummodo transitus, quorum iste est vnus, qui tamen non valet transiri nisi tempore glaciei, & hic appellatus est Lodekonc. Id est Volga. ‖Vel Caucasus. Iter faciendũ tempore glaciei.

Alter per Turquescen, & per Persiam, tamen ibi sunt deserta plurium dietarum, in quibus nisi esset exercitus bene prouisus, posset perire.

Tertius ad primos fines regni Commanorum, transfretando tamen mare vsque in regnum Abchaz: principalis ciuitas Commanorum dicitur Sarach. Sarach.

Ab hoc regno versus partes nostras inuenitur regio Laiton quæ est vltima paganismi, iungitur iste finis terræ Christianitatis regno Prussiæ, & Russiæ. Laiton, vel Lituania.

Post potestatem Imperij Tartariæ descendendo à prouincia Cathay in Australem plagam venitur versus Persiam, Syriam, & Greciam. Versus terram Christianorum possum aliqualiter in summa (quantum conuenit huic scripto) cõnotare. Dixi supra iam prouinciam Cathay iungi regno Turquescen ad occidentem, & illud quoq; iungi regno seu Imperio Persiæ. Adquod sciendum, quamuis rex Persiæ habet etiam ab olim nomen Imperatoris; quia (cũ tenet aliquas terras sui Imperij ab Imperatore Tartarorum) necesse est vt in tanto subiectus sit illi.

Sunt autem in Persia duæ regiones: vna altæ Persiæ, quę à regno Turquescen descẽdens, iungitur ad occidentem sui fluuio ‖Pyson. In ista habẽtur renominatę ciuitates, quarũ meliores duę dicuntur Bocura & Seonargant, quam aliqui appellant Samarkand: Et altera Regio bassæ Persiæ, descendens à flumine Pyson, qui ad sui occidentem iungitur regno Mediæ, & terræ minoris Armeniæ, & ad Aquilonem mari Caspio, & ad Austrum terræ minoris Indiæ. Id est, Eustrate. Bocura, vel Bohare. Samarkand. ‖Seu Nessab. ‖Seu Sarmasane.

In hac bassa Persia tres principaliores ciuitates sunt ‖Aessabor, Saphaon, ‖Sarmasaule. In terra autẽ maioris Armeniæ quondã habebantur quatuor regna, quę nunc dicuntur subesse Imperio Persarum Maior Armenia.

Maior Armenia.

Perſarum, habetque famam terræ nobilis, & ad occidentem ſui iungitur Regno Turciæ.

Hęc Armenia multas valdè bonas continet ciuitates, quarũ famoſior eſt Tauriſa, Regnũ Mediæ quod ſubeſt Regi Perſarum quamuis non latum eſt, tamen longũ eſt, & ad occidentem ſui regno Chaldeę coniunctum. In Media meliores duæ ciuitates ſunt, Seras, & Keremen.

Tauriſa. Regnum Mediæ. Georgia. Abchas, aliàs Alchaz.

Hinc ad occidentẽ ſui, iuncta eſt regio Georgiæ, quę modo conſtat diuiſa in duo regna: Nam pars ſuperior, quę iungitur Medię, reſeruauit ſibi nomen Georgię, ſed inferior pars dicitur regnũ Abchaz. Ambo hęc regna, & reges eorũ, ſunt de fide Chriſtiana, & homines ita deuoti vt ad minus ſemel in hebdomadə cómunicent ſacramentis, iuxta ritũ Gręcorum confectis. Et quidem regnum Georgię ſubiacet imperio Grand Can: ſed Abchaz nunquam ab ipſo Imperatore Tartariæ, neque Perſarum, neq; Medorum domino ſubdi potuit, eo quòd munitum eſt aquis & rupibus & aljs prouiſionibus contra impugnationes hoſtiles.

In parte regni Georgiæ ſunt tenebræ.

Iuxta hoc regnũ Abchaz habetur vnũ mirum & mirabile, nam magnus eſt territorij locus dictus Hamſon, & continens in circuitu ſpacium vię quatuor dietarũ: videtur ſemper opertus tenebris denſis vt nemo audeat illic intrare profundè, quoniam ſi qui præſumpſerint, non ſunt viſi reuerti. Attamen fatentur vicini ſub illis ſe tenebris audiſſe nonnunquã clamores hominũ, hinnitus, mugitus, rugitus, & boatus pecudum, & beſtiarum, ſed & cantus gallorum, vt per hęc & alia ſigna conſtet ibi habitare gentes: nam & fluuius decurrens monſtrat ſigna ſępè certiſſima in ſuo exitu: ignoratur tamen ſi tenebræ per totum territorium ſint eiuſdem denſitatis, an forte ſint in circuitu per aliquod ſpacium, & intrinſecus plus luminoſum.

Dicuntur autem tenebrę iſtę olim per diuinum miraculum adueniſſe. Saboere enim Imperatore Perſarum, circa annum Gratię ducenteſſimum quinquageſſimũ in perſecutione Chriſtianorũ tendente cum pleno exercitu per hunc locum, & Chriſtianis tyrannidem eius fugientibus, contigit ex improuiſo eos ità arctari, vt ſe effugere deſperarent, quapropter ſtatim ad orationis refugium omnes ſe ſtementes clamauerunt ad Chriſtum auxiliatorem ſuum: Et deus, qui pro puro corde Chriſtianos ad ſe orantes ſemper exaudit, expleuit illic literam vaticinij Iſaiæ: quia ecce tenebræ operient terrã & caligo populos, monſtrans per tenebram terrenam, quam eis ſuperduxit, quas paſſuri eſſent inimici nominis Chriſti tenebras infernales, indicansque per temporalem vitam, quam ſibi fidelibus conſeruauit, eam quam poſſeſſuri ſunt viri Chriſtiani vitam perpetuam, & cœleſtem.

Itaq; hoc regnum Abchaz ad occidentem ſui iungitur regno Turciæ, quod in longo & lato valdè extẽſum multas cótinet prouincias ſcilicet Iconię, Cappadocię, Saure, Brike, Beſicon, Patan, & Gennoch; hij omnes Turci, cum tota Syria & Arabia vſq; ad Galliziam Hiſpanię, ſubſunt Imperatori Babylonię Soldano, & ſunt in ſingulis prouinciis & regionibus ciuitates magnę, ac multę nimis. Conſequẽtèr huic regno Turcię ad Occidentem ſui in ciuitate ‖Cathaſa iungitur per mare Grecię ſuperior pars poteſtatis Imperatoris Conſtantinopolitani, & quaſi ad Aquilonem contiguatur regno Syrię: cuius vna prouincia eſt terra promiſſionis, prout hoc ſatis dictum eſt ſuprà. Sunt & alię terrę, & Inſulę, & patrię latę, & ſpatioſę, continentes in ſe multa regna, & reges, & gentes diuerſas, de quibus nunc per ſingula pertractare non eſt conſilij.

‖ Vel Sathata.

Extenſio Imperij Grand Can.

Ad ſupradictã Chaldeã iungitur Meſopotamia, & minor Armenia, & velut ad Auſtrum eius Æthiopia, Mauritania, Lybia alta & baſſa, & Nubia. Excepto ergò duntaxat diſtrictu Imperij Perſię & poteſtate Soldani, omnes ſępè pertractatę terræ, regiones, regna & Inſulę deſcendendo tam per Aquilonem, quã ad Auſtrum à prouincia Cathay, vſq; ad Chriſtianitatem ſunt de Imperio Tartariæ Grand Can.

Diſtantia à Roma ad Cathayam per Inſtitores.

Et notandum de ſpacio diſtantiæ, quod inſtitores de Roma, vel Venetia feſtinantes tam per terras, quàm per mare, expendunt de tempore 11 menſes, & quandoque duodecim, priuſquam in Cathay valeant peruenire.

Cadilla Regio orientalior Cathaya.

Hijs itaq; viſis deſcribam ſaltem aliquas à prouincia Cathay in oriẽtem terras Imperij Tartarorum. Illic habetur regio Cadilla ſpacioſa multũ, ſimul & ſpecioſa: creſcunt namq; in ea fructus ad quantitatẽ magnorũ Cawardorũ, in quibus inuenitur vna beſtiola, in carne & ſanguine ad formam agnelli abſq; lana, & manducatur totus fructus cũ beſtiola. Sunt & alij plures diuerſi fructus, quorũ penes nos non eſt reſpectus nec vſus. Nam & ſunt ibi nonnullæ ſpeciales vites ferentes botros incredibiliter magnos, quorum vnum vix virilis vir valet in haſta portare.

Angli noſtri hanc beſtiolam nuper viderunt in Perſia.

Et deinde in meridiem per aliquas diætas, poteſt peruenire ad primas Caſpiæ alpes, quę deſcendendo deſcendunt vſque ad Amazoniam, inſulam mulierũ, de qua tractatum eſt. Inter has Alpes retinetur maxima multitudo Iudæorum decem tribuũ Iſrael, per Dei voluntatem ita incluſa, vt in copioſa numeroſitate non poſſint à noſtra parte exire, quamuis aliqui pauci nonnunquam ſunt viſi tranſiſſe. Haberent autem competentem exitum circa inſulam Amazonię, ſed illum diligenter regina obſeruat.

Bacchariæ Regnum vel Bogharię.

Porrò de regione Cadilla in orientem venitur ad regnum Backariæ, in qua mali & multum

crudeles

crudeles habitant homines, nec eſt ſecurum itinerare per illam, quòd ad modicam occaſionem (ſi Deus non conſeruaret) occiderent viatorem & manducarent. Illic ſunt arbores ferentes lanam velut ouium, ex qua texunt pannos ad veſtimenta. Hyppocentauri ſunt ibi pro media ſuperiori parte in forma humana, & pro inferiori figura equorum, ſeu taurorum, venantes in terris, & piſcantes in aquis quod comedunt, & ſuper omnia carnes hominũ, quos capere poſſunt. Arbor Lanifera.

Nec non & gryphi illic apparent pro media poſteriori parte in forma leonis, pro anteriori in forma aquilę. Sed ſciatis, corpus magni gryphi maius eſſe octo leonibus de partibus illis. Nam poſtquã equum, bouem vel hominem, etiam aſinum occiderit, leuat & aſportat pleno volatu: tanquã cornua bouis aut vaccę ſunt illi vngulæ, de quibus etiam fieri ſolent ciphi ad bibendum, qui plurimùm reputantur precioſi. Fiunt quoq; de pennis alarum eius arcus rigidi, & fortes, ad iaciendum miſſilia & ſagittas. Gryphones, de quibus Paulus Venetus.

Ad iſtius regni Baccarię extremitates in Orientem finitur terra poteſtatis Grand Can: Et iungitur ei terra poteſtatis magni Imperatoris Indiæ, qui ſemper vocatur Preſbyter Ioannes. Notandum, quoties per prouincias totius Imperij Grand Can, quicquam accidit, quod Imperatorẽ non oportet latere, confeſtim mittuntur per reges aut barones nuncij in dromedarijs aut equis, qui celerrimè feſtinant ad certa hoſpitia, ad hoc ipſum, velut abſque numero per imperium inſtituta: Iſque nuncius hoſpitio appropinquans, & cornu reſonans, dum auditur paratur nuncius alter, qui de manu ſuſcipiens literas, per recentem dromedarium feſtinat ad aliud hoſpitium, & ſic in breui tempore perferuntur rumores ad curiæ aures. Similiq́ue modo nuncij pedites permutantur de hoſpitio in hoſpitium, vt citiùs percipiatur negocium huius nuncij: appellantur ſua lingua Chidibo. Curſores, Chidibo Tartarcè dicti.

Ergò per premiſſa ſatis elucet magnam eſſe nobilitatem, poteſtatem, reuerentiam, & dominationẽ Imperatoris Tartarię Grand Can de Cathay, & quòd nullus ab iſta parte Imperator, nec Perſię, nec Babylonię, nec Grecię, ſed nec Romę eſt illi comparandus. Vnde & multũ miſerandũ eſt, quia ipſe cùm toto Imperio nec eſt fide Catholica illuſtratus, nec ſalutari lauachro regeneratus: & hoc oremus vt in breui eueniat, per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Chiras Mandeuilli.

Explicit pars ſecunda huius operis.

¶ *Tertia pars.*

CAPVT. 41. *De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ & preciositate Palatij.*

QVm in præcedentibus Imperator Indiæ dictus ſit magnus, reſtat de illius magnificentia aliquid poni hoc loco: cuius vtiq́; gloria, nobilitas, & poteſtas, dici non habetur minor, quàm dicti Imperatoris de Cathay: nam etſi in aliquibus videatur forſitan minor, eſt tamen in aliquibus ſatis maior, quia omne equale nõ eſt idem cum illo cui equatur: itaq́; à finibus regni Bachariæ ſupradicti vbi contiguatur Imperio Indię, eundo per multas dietas intratur in regnum ‖ Pentoxyrię quod eſt magnę latitudinis, & abundantię in multis bonis: huius nominatior ciuitas, dicitur Nyſe, & in ea habet Imperator palatiũ Imperiale, in quo reſidet dum ſibi placet. Imperator iſte ſemper vocitatus eſt Preſbyter Ioannes, cuius nominis cauſam audieram quandoq; non veram: ſed in illis partibus accepi rationem indubitatã, quam breuiter hîc enarro. Circa annũ ab incarnatione Domini octingenteſſimũ, dux Ogerus de Danemarchia, cum quindecim cognationis ſuę baronibus, & armatis viginti milibus tranſiuit mare Grecię, & fauente ſibi Deo conquiſiuit Chriſtianitati per multa prelia penè omnes terras, regiones, & inſulas, quas eſſe de poteſtate Grãd Can prędixi, nec non & omnes, quę ſunt de poteſtate Imperij huius Imperatoris Indię. Eratq; inter Barones vnus denominatus Ioannes filius Goudebucf, regis Friſonũ, qui dictus Ioãnes Deo deuotus fuit, & dũ licuit Eccleſiarũ limina iniuit, vnde & barones ei dabant quaſi per iocum Preſbyter Ioannes vocabulum. Dum ergo Ogerus dictas regiones expugnatas diuideret in hijs quindecim ſuis cognatis, & quemlibet eorũ in ſuo loco cõſtituere t regem, quatenus Chriſtiana religio in illa orbis ſuperficie ſemper ſtabilis permaneret, tradidit iſti Preſbytero Ioanni ſuperiorẽ Indiam, cũ 4000. inſulis, regionibus, & ipſũ prefecit Imperatorẽ ſuper reliquos cognatos, vt ei certa tributa impenderent, & in omnibus obedirent, atq; ex tunc omnes ſucceſſores Indiæ ſunt vocati Preſbyter Ioannes, & vſq; in hodiernũ tempus boni mãſerunt Chriſtiani, & religionis æmulatores. Interim cum cauſa matrimoniorum aut procurationis filiorum diſperſa eſt primi Imperij integritas, & multę de inſulis conuerſę vel potius peruerſę retroceſſerunt ad vetuſtum ſqualorem paganiſmi primi. Nota. Recedens à Cambalu verſus orientem poſt 50. dietas ad terram Preſbyteri Ioannis, principalis ciuitas terrę vocatur Coſan, ſatis parua ſicut Vincentia: habet etiam ſub ſe multas alias ciuitates. Ex pacto ſemper habet in vxorem vnam de filiabus Grand Can. ‖ Seu Pentoxoria. Ciuitas Nyſe. Narratio de rebus geſtis Ogeri Ducis Daniæ. Vndè Presbyter Ioannes ſit dictus. 4000. Inſulæ. Coſan ciuitas.

Per multas peruenitur ad prouinciam Caſan, quę eſt ſecunda melior de mundo. vbi ſubtilior eſt, habet dietas 50. longior, 60. & eſt vna de duodecim partibus Imperij Grand Can. Oderi- Caſan.

Thebeth.

cus. Vide infra capitulo 49. de Cassan, & de Epulone. Deinde venitur in Thebeth prouinciam, quæ Indiæ est confinis. Itaque Rex & Imperator ille tenet spatiosissimum Imperium plenum valdè multis Regionibus & Insulis amplis, diuisum inter quatuor flumina magna de Paradiso terrestri descendentia, Pyson, Gyon, Tygrim, & Euphratem. Nam vltra fines orientales eius Imperij, & terrestrem Paradisum, nullus hominum habitat vel dominatur.

Insulæ Orientales.

Præterea imperat multis alijs regionibus & Insulis quæ distinguntur per brachia maris Oceani, & in quibus singulis continetur grandis numerositas ciuitatum ac villarum, & multitudo innumera populorum præ abundantia & præciositate omnium terrenorum bonorum.

Imperium Indiæ habetur famosum per vniuersum orbem. Sed & famosius haberetur si mercatores mundi communitèr possint & auderent adire sicut Cathay. Nostratibus enim perrarus est illic accessus, tam præ longinquitate, quàm præ marinis periculis. Nam exceptis alijs sunt ibi quamplures Adamantini colles, ad oram maris, & intra mare, qui sua virtute attrahunt sibi naues ferrum continentes. Quoniam & mihi nauiganti mõstrabatur per nautas à remotis quasi parua Insula in mari, quam asserebant totalitèr ab antiquis temporibus paulatim ibi cumulatam de nauibus per Adamantes retentis.

Latitudo Imperij præsbyteri Ioannis est 4. mẽsium iter.

Æstimatur autem latitudo huius Imperij per dietas quatuor mensium, sed longitudini non datur æstimatio, eo quòd tenditur vsque Paradisum vbi nullus accedit.

Duodecim reges prouinciales.

Distinctum est Imperium per duodecim prouincias, quibus totidem præsunt reges principales seu prouinciales, & quorum singuli habent sub se Reges, Duces, Marchiones, & Barones, præstantes atque reddentes præsbytero Ioanni promptam obedientiam, & certa tributa. Sæpius & cõmunitèr tenet sedem Imperator in palatio vrbis Imperialis Susæ. Hoc autem Palatium tale & tantum est, vt per me non credatur debite æstimandum. Istud tamen dico audentèr in summa, quòd grandius, nobilius, preciosius, & placidius est, in auro, gemmis, structuris, & schemate supra descripto palatio Grand Can in Caydo.

Susæ sedes Imperialis.

Et ex speciali sciatis, istius palatij principales portas esse de Sardonico, vndiq; in ebore circumclusos: sed & transuersæ lineæ sint omnes Eburneæ, aularum & cubiculorum fenestræ christallinæ. Mensarum quædam Smaragdinę, aliquæ Hæmatistinæ, cæterorumq; lapidum preciosorum per aurum sibimet coniunctorum. Et nonnullæ in toto aureæ vel gemmunculis dissemnatæ, & vnaquæque de mensis cum stabilimento proprij generis. De throni quoque preciositate, quia meæ demonstrationis excellit modũ, solummodo dico, singulos ascensionis gradus esse singulorum lapidum preciosorum: Primum onychis, secundum christalli, tertium iaspidis, quartum hæmatisti, quintum sardij, sextum cornelij. Et septimus qui est sub sedentis Imperatoris pedibus, ipse est, chrysolitus, omnes circumfusi, & incluſoria arte formati, auro splẽdido relucentes. Sed & ambo throni reclinatoria ex smaragdis auro combinatis, eoque distincto nobilissimis granis, & gemmis: cuncti pũrij in camera Regis dormitoria cõsistunt de auro fuluo, disseminati baccis, & quamplurimis carbunculorum rubetis, totum de nocte habitaculum illustrantibus.

Magnificentia palatij presbiteri Ioannis.

Et nihilominus in ea christallina lampas plena balsamo pistico sed ardens & lucens, tam pro augendo lumine, quàm pro corrigendo aere, tamen etiam pro ministrando optimo odore.

Forma lecti Imperatoris compacta est de puris & nobilissimis Saphyris, concluſi vtiq; aureis vel eburneis ligaturis, vt virtute lapidũ capiat suauem somnũ, motusq; carnis inhonesti stimuli, in eo refrenentur. Nunquã enim iungitur mulieri nisi soli coniugi propriæ, sed nec illi nisi quatuor quindenis anni videlicet in capite hyemis, veris, æstatis, & autumni causa sobolis generãdę.

Vtq; breuitèr transeam de multa huius palatij nobilitate, mirabile hoc solummodo præmissis super addo. Quia circa medium illius in summo apice turris maioris, duo sunt nodi seu pomella de decoctissimi auri metallo miræ magnitudinis, & serenę resplendentiæ, & in ipsis formati duo carbuncul: grandes, & lati, sua virtute tenebras effugantes, & velut splendorem plenilunij nocturno tempore mentientes.

Caput. 42.

De frequentia palatij & comitatu Imperatoris.

Seruiunt & præstò sunt iugitèr Domino Imperatori septem reges, qui in capite singulorum mensiũ, alijs septem regibus pro illis palatiũ ingredientibus recedunt ad propria, donec reuoluatur eis tempus statutum. Hij curam habent de gubernatione administrationũ in aula maiori per subiectos eis 72. duces, & 300. & 63. comites seu barones, quorum vnusquisque optimè nouit & diligentèr intendit proprio ministerio.

Nam isti sunt Imperatoris Cubicularij, isti Camerarij, isti scindunt Regi morsellos: alij de apponendis curam gerunt ferculis & deponendis, deafferendis, de asportandis, alij pincernæ, Archimandritæ, ostiarij, & sic de singulis.

Nec

Nec non abſque iam dictis, manducant omni die in aula coràm Imperatore, duodecim Archiepiſcopi, 220. Epiſcopi, quibus etiam alij totidem certis temporibus ſuccedunt per vices. Verumtamen ad quotidianas expenſas vſque præmiſſas, veniunt de Curia 300. millia perſonarum, ſed non ampliùs: ſed ſicut prædixi de Curia præcedentis Imperatoris ſic nullus hîc, cuiuſcũq; ſit ſtatus, aut ſexus, comedit vltrà ſemel in die, & hoc ipſum ſobriè ſatis: quoniam prout æſtimare poſſum, expenſæ duodecim hominum de noſtris communiter compenſarent triginta hominum in partibus illis. Taxat gloſitatem Europæorum.

Dum Ioannem Presbyterum contingit procedere cum exercitu in plena exhibitione, non deferuntur vexilla, ſed tredecim cruces magnæ altitudinis, & groſſitudinis, de auro diſtincto pretioſiſsimis petris, in honorem Chriſti & ſuorum Apoſtolorum duodecim. Hæ vt ſtantur in ſingulis curribus, & ſingularum ad hoc maximis curribus cum cuſtodia cuiuſcunque crucis, decem mille equitum, & centum mille peditum, nec tamen hic numerus auget vel minuit principalem exercitum Paganorum.

Tempore pacis per terras proprias de palatio ad palatium, aut de regno ad regnum, dum tendere ei placet, comitatur vtique magna multitudine hominum antè & retrò, & ex vtroque laterum.

Túncque portantur coràm eo tria valdè notabilia, quæ tam illi quàm omnibus ea dignè notantibus eſſe poſſunt ſalutaria. Præcedit enim eum in ſpatio circiter octodecim paſſuum diſcus onuſtus velut omni genere pretioſorum vaſorum auri & argenti, gemmarum, & inæſtimabilis artificij. Illúmque diſcum ſubſequitur propinquiùs Imperatori ad ſpatium centum paſſuum, alia crux lignea nullo penitùs auro, nulloue colore aut preciоſitate artificialis operis adornata.

Dehinc ad ſex paſſuum ſuccedit ibidem propinquans Imperatori diſcus aureus terra nigerrima plenus. Sunt enim prædicti comitatus in cuſtodiam & honorem perſonę Imperatoris, diſcus vaſorum in oſtenſionem diuitiarum, & maieſtatis Imperialis. Crux in recordatione paſſionis & mortis, quam in cruce ligni ſimplice Chriſtus paſſus eſt pro nobis. Et terra nigra in memoriam diræ mortis, qua caro ipſius Imperatoris, quæ terra eſt, in terram ibit corruptionis.

Caput 43.

De quibuſdam miris per regiones India.

Licèt plurima mira habeantur in terra Imperij Presbyteri Ioannis, ne materia operis nimium proteletur, multa tego ſilentio: & ſolùm de quibuſdam in principalibus Inſulis narro.

Ergò inprimis dico vidiſſe me magnum mare arenoſum, quod de ſolùm minuta arena ſine vlla aqua cum lapillorum granellis currit, & fluit per altas eleuationes, & depreſsiones ad ſimilitudinem maris aquæ, nec vnquam quieſcit: & quòd ipſe non ceſſo ſtupere, inueniuntur piſces ad littus proiecti, qui cum ſint alterius formæ & ſpeciei, quàm de noſtro mari, videntur tamen guſtui in edendo delicatiores. Nullo tamen humano ingenio videtur hoc mare tranſuadari, aut nauigari, aut illo piſcari, ſed nec propter ſui longitudinem, & plura impedimenta de propè circuiri. Magnum mare arenoſum.

Item ab hoc latere maris per tres dietas habentur magnæ montium alpes, inter quas venit quaſi oriens de Paradiſo fluuius decurrentibus petris, nihil penitùs habens aquę, in quibus æſtimandæ ſunt plurimum magnarum eſſe virtutum, quamuis de ſingulis humanę ſcientiæ conſtare non poteſt. In orientali India vſque hodie venti anniuerſarij, arenis oſtia fluminum ſuffocant.

Hic petrarum fluuius currit ad interciſum tempus, quaſi in tribus ſeptimanę diebus, per ſpatium deſerti Indiæ plurium dietarum, velut fluuius, quouſque tandem ſe perdat in mare arenoſum prædictum, atque ex tunc ipſi lapides penitùs non comparent. Tempore autem ſui curſus nullus appropinquare præſumit, præ ſtrepitu eius & motu: ſed tempore quietis aditur ſine periculo vitæ.

In Orientem verſus fluuij originem ad ingreſſum deſerti magni inter quoſdam de montibus, cernitur grandis terræ planicies tanquam ſpatioſi campi totalitèr arenoſi, in quo videntur ad Solis ortum exurgere de arena, & ſecundùm eleuationem Solis excreſcere quædam virgulta, atque in ſeruore meridiei producere fructum. Ac de illo in Solis decliuo fructus cum arbuſculis paulatim minui, & in occaſu penitùs deperire, vnde & nullus hominum audet illorum vti fructibus, ne ſit quid ſantaſticum & nociuum.

In huius deſerti interioribus, vidi homines in toto ſylueſtres, qui etſi in ſuperioribus formam prætendere videantur humanam, deſcendunt in ſubterioribus ad formam beſtiæ alicuius.

Horum quidam frontes gerunt cornibus aſperatas, grinientes vt feræ vel apri: alij nonnulla vti videntur loquela, quam nemo rationalium nouit, & quibuſdam ſignis concepta depromunt. Et eſt illic pluralitas ſylueſtrium canum, qui dicuntur papiones, quibus poſtquam edemiti,

Papagalli. miti,& ad venandum instructi fuerint,valent capi multæ bestiæ per desertum. Est & copiositas papingonum auium viridium in colore quas appellant phicake,&quarum diuersa sunt genera, nobiliores habent latas in rostro linguas, & in vtroque pede digitos duos. Et quædam ex istis naturaliter loquuntur verba aut prouerbia,seu salutationes,in patriæ idiomate, vt euidenter salutes concedant,& reddant viatoribus,& nonnunquam debitum iter errantibus per desertum ostendant.Minùs autem nobiles non loquuntur ex natura, sed si latas habent linguas, & non sunt vltra duorum annorum ætatis,possunt per assiduitatem instrui ad loquelam.

Aliæ nec loquuntur,nec erudiuntur,sed solùm clamitant pro voce milui, & nisi tres digitos habent in pede.

Nota: in quarta orientali Deus dedit fratribus minoribus magnam gratiam,vnde in magna Tartaria ita expellunt ab obsessis dæmones,sicut de domo canes: vnde quandoque per decem dietas ad eos adducuntur dæmoniaci alligati,& statim fratribus præcipientibus in nomine Iesu Christi, exeunt,& liberati baptizantur,& comburunt idola, & plures credunt, & quandoque exeunt idola de igne, & fratres proijciunt aquam benedictam, & clamat dæmon, Vide,de meo habitaculo expellor propter fratres minores. Ita multi credunt, & baptizantur. Odericus.

Melescorde Regio. Item nota:dum recederem de terra Præsbyteri Ioannis versus occidentem,applicui ad contratam vnam, quæ dicitur Melescorde,quę pulchra est, & multùm fertilis: inter montes duos huius "contratę fecerat quidam murum circundantem mõtem,& in eo fontes nobilissimos,& omne delectabile.Et hunc locum dicebant paradisum,sicut hic ferè continetur.Ideò Odericus, qui posteà narrat de valle infausta in hoc se terminat.

"Vel regionis.

Ad supradictum Indiæ regnum Pentexoriæ satis propè, & lata est & longa Insula, Mischorach,bonis copiosè referta,de qua vnum scribo præteritum mirum.

Mischorach.

Ante paucos hos annos, villanus ditissimus, sibi valdè preciosum construxerat palatium, quasi pro Paradiso terrestri,circundatum, munitum fortalitijs, ac repletum omnibus corporalibus delicijs.

Illic areæ,turres,cameræ,cubicula,cum alijs ædificijs,in multo numero,& gloria permagnifica,ac historiarum picturis,inter quas,nonnunquam prodigioso artificio bestiæ & bestiolæ,aues & auiculæ discurrebant,volitabant,& per pugnas,garritus,collusiones,mẽtiebantur viuere.

Illic prata, & pometa,& seruatoria circà deliciosi collis congestum, distincta velut omni genere florum, arborum, & herbarum, cum multis fontibus & riuulis, quorum perspicuitas,& fluxus in glaris suauem & auditui præstabant refectionem, & super aliquos fuerunt exceptioris artificij, circumstructi auro,& argento,& gemmis, & tres principales fontes emittentes ad palatium Domini per occultas conductas,riuulos vini,lactis,& mellis.

Ditissimi villani paradisus fictitius.

Copiosus quoque numerus formosorum puerorum,& puellarum, ætatis inter decem & sex decem annos,indutorum torquibus,& cycladibus exauratis,exercentium inter iocos cantus & spectacula,ac seruientium suo Domino prope nutum.Audiebantur ex turrium costodibus, nec non videbantur dulcisonæ symphoniæ,generum diuersorum,vt certissimè putares, non hominum,sed Angelorum: & in istis,ac similibus,deliciebatur iste villanus.

Sed & aurum liuido nil iuuat,imò nocet:quia enim hic inuidiæ & otij facibus super ingenuitatem mentis omnium generaliter nobilium principum verebatur in corde: (ingenuitas enim, & rusticitas nunquam cohabitãt in cordis vno domicilio) Composuerat ista sibi in hunc finem, vt per se singulos aduocaret aliquos vasallos corpore robustos,mentéq; audaces,atq; ad omnẽ proteruiam benè procliues:& cuilibet pro placitis muneribus commisit vt illum seu illum principem seu Baronem,quem dicebat sibi aduersariũ,clàm per insidias vel impetũ occideret,promittens quenquam post factum ad se recepturum perpetuò in hunc locum: sed & velut vaticinans pseudopredicauit.si quem illorum pro his flagitijs contigeret corporaliter tradi morti,nihilominùs animam eius in hunc amœnum Paradisum recipi, & viuere in æternum.

Mandeuillus oculatus testis. Per hunc igitur modum nonnullis nobilibus occisis, & interfectis,tandem nudabatur eius nequitia tanta,& congregati regionis Barones miserum occiderunt,eius opera destruentes.Ipse ego inibi ductus, vidi fontium loca,& multa rei vestigia.

CAPVT 44.

De loco & dispositione vallis infaustæ.

HVius ad insulæ extremitates non procul à fluuio Pyson, habetur locus mirabilis pariter & terribilis,vltrà omne mundanũ,penè & procul:de euentibus,ac laboribus infinitis,quæ mihi meisque in tempore itinerationis acciderunt hucusque subticui,cùm iam vnum de maioribus ecce narro.

Est

Eſt illic in alpibus vallis infauſta, quatuor fermè leucarum: longitudo vallis, quaſi ad quatuor milliaria Lombardica, appellata vallis incantationis, ſeu periculoſa, ſeu propriùs dæmoniosa: intrà quam diebus ac noctibus reſonant boatus & tumultus tonitruorum, tempeſtatum, clamorum, & ſtridorum, diuerſique generis ſonituum terribilium, quos illic exercet multitudo ſpirituum malignorum.

Propè ad vallis medium ſub vna rupium, apparet omni tempore viſibiliter integrũ ac maximum caput dæmonis vſque ad humeros tantùm, cuius ſpeciem præ horrore nullus pleno intuitu humanus audet diu oculus ſuſtinere: nam reſpicientes contrà aſpicit truculentèr, agitans oculos minacitèr, tanquam ex palpebris eiecturus (quæ & ſcintillant) flammas in altum. Totúmque caput ſeſe rotat ad minas, & variat terribiliter modum & continentiam ſub repentè diuerſis maneriebus. Exitque de illo per totum ignis obſcuratus fumo, & fœtor tantus, quòd per magnum ſpatium viæ peſſimam vallem infectat.

Ingredi autem volentibus, apparet ſemper ad introitum vallis, magna copia auri, argenti, vaſorum, veſtium, & rerum pretioſarum, quas proculdubio ibi dæmones confingunt, quibus & ab olim multi inſipientium hominum concupiſcentia tracti intrarunt, & vſque nunc intrant pro colligendo theſauro: ſed de Infidelibus pauciſſimi reuertuntur, imò nec de Chriſtianis, qui auaritiæ cauſa ingrediuntur: per vallis autem ſemitam, quæ inter montes & monticulos, tortuoſa & aſpera eſt, gradientes vident, & audiunt, dæmoniacos ſpiritus multos volutantes, & imaginibus corporum viſibilium, ſerpentum, volucrum, vlularum, lamiarum, & huiuſmodi ſpecierum horribilium dentibus minitantes, vngulas erigentes, incognitos ſibilos ſpirantes propè ſuper capita ad aures tranſgredientium. Sempérque minuitur lumen aeris, donec ventum fuerit ad terribiliſsimum locum capitis antedicti.

Si quis autem ſincerę fidei Chriſtianus per contritionẽ verã & confeſsionẽ, ſe poſuerit in ſtatu ſaluationis, munitus corporis Chriſti myſterijs, ac ſigno crucis, cum intentione ibidem agendi pœnitentiam de admiſsis, & cauendi de admittendis, putatur poſſe hanc tranſire vallem ſecurus quidem à morte, non tamen liber à laboribus, horroribus, & tormentis, & exire, de omnibus culpis præteritis corruptis, ac de futuris magis ſolito cautus, ſicut ſcriptum eſt, territi purgabuntur.

Nota aliud mirabile magnum. Vidi cùm irem per vnam vallem poſitam iuxta flumen quod egreditur de paradiſo, vidi in ea multa corpora mortuorum, in qua etiam audiui multa genera Muſicorum, qui ibi mirabilitèr pulſabant: tantus erat ibi tinnitus Muſicorum, quòd incuſsit mihi timorem horribilem.

Eſt autem longitudo illius vallis quaſi ad quatuor milliaria Lombardica, in qua ſi vnus Infidelis intrat, nunquam egreditur, ſed ſine mora moritur: Et licet ſciui, quòd intrantes moriuntur, tamen acceptaui intrare, vt viderem quid ibi eſſet. Dum intraſſem tot humana cadauera ibi vidi, quod niſi quis videret, credere non poſſet.

In hac valle, ab vno eius latere, vidi faciem hominis valdè horribilem, qui tantum horrorem mihi incuſsit, quòd putaui me ſpiritum exhalare, propter quod ſæpè repetij verbum vitæ, ſcilicet, verbum Caro factum eſt.

Ad illam faciem non audebam accedere, niſi ad diſtantiam octo paſſuum: poſteá iui ad caput vallis, & aſcendi ſuper montem arenoſum, in quo vndique circumſpiciens, nihil videbam, niſi inſtrumenta muſicalia, quæ audiebam fortitèr pulſare. Cùm fuiſſem in capite montis, reperi multum argentum congregatum ibi in ſimilitudinem ſquammarum piſcium, vnde poſui in gremio, ſed quod de ipſo non curabam, dimiſi illud, & ſic illæſus tranſiui Deo concedente.

Sarraceni cùm hoc ſcirent, reuerebantur me eſſe baptizatum, & ſanctum: mortuos nunc in valle dicebant, homines infernales.

Odericus ad literam hic terminat ſuum librum: non fuit tot perpeſſus in valle, ſicut ego. Anno Domini 1331. Ianuarij nono, migrauit ad Chriſtum, in conuentu Minorum: cuius vitam ſtatim in fine, & vſque nunc claris miraculis diuina prouidentia approbat, & commendat, prout continebatur in quaterno, à quo concordantias hic ſuperſeminaui.

Caput 45.

De periculo & tormentis in valle eadem.

ITaque dico vobis, cùm ego cum ſodalibus, qui ſimul eramus, quatuordecim diuerſarum nationum ante ingreſſum huius tanti periculi peruenisſemus, nos tractatu longo, & deliberatione acuta conſiliabamur, vtrùm nam ingredi deberemus, & quidam affirmabant, alii verò negabant. Erãt autem in numero duo deuoti fratres, de religione beati Franciſci, natione Lombardi, qui videbantur pro ſeipſis non multum curare ingreſſum, niſi quia noluerunt nos animare ad ingreſſum,

ingressum,dicentes,si qui nostrum per confessionem, & Eucharistiæ susceptionem se ibidem præmunirent, ingrederentur cum illis: quo, ab omnibus mediante debita prouisione, quam ipsi fratres penes se gerebant peracto, parauimus mentes nostras cum pedibus ad intrandum.

Sed ecce quinque de nobis, duo Græci & tres Hispani, semetipsos ab alijs segregantes, visi sunt alium requirere introitum nos precedere cupientes, & certè nos illos exinde non vidimus, & quid eis accident an periculum subierint, vel ne ignoramus.

Nos autem nouem per vallem processimus in silentio, & cum cordis ea deuotione, quam quisque sibi potuerit obtinere: & ecce in breui transacto spatio apparuerunt cumuli massarum auri & argenti, & precioforum copia vasorum. Sed dico vobis pro parte mea, quia nihil horum tetigi, reputans id fallaciam dæmonum confinxisse ad mittendum concupiscentiam in cor nostrum, imò sine intermissione conabar cor meum custodire ad deuotionem inceptam.

Procedentibus igitur nobis lux cæli minuebatur paulatim & augebatur horror, quoniam propè nos vndique etiam sub pedibus nostris apparebant iacere cadauera mortuorum hominum penitùs defuncta: alia adhuc spirantia, & nonnulla semiuiua, super quæ dum nos aliquando calcare contingeret, conquerebantur, ac dolorosè submurmurabant.

Et licèt non certum id habebam, æstimaui hoc fieri in parte vel in toto fictione dæmonum, reputans in breui tempore tantam multitudinem hominum spontaneè vallem intrasse, & si à longo tempore in ea perijssent putrefactos fuisse.

Ergò in initio nostri processus quasi propè leucam inuenitur iter sub pedibus satis promptum, sed lumine tanquam ad medium nobis sufficiente, via torquebatur nimis, & asperabatur: & ecce figuræ dæmonum, circum & suprà in aere se ferentium, ad imagines horribilium luporum, leonum, laruarum, megerarum, iuxtà cuiuscunque genus, vlulantium, rugentium, stridentium, gannientium, hiantes ore, intentantes dentibus, rostris, ac vnguibus, nos terrere, mordere, discerpere, deglutire.

Quapropter pro breui interdum soluto silentio nos inuicèm hortabamur, ne quis pro pusillanimitate terrori cederet, & tanto deficeret in agone. Hoc igitur modo per secundam leucam expirante nobis vsque ad tenebras lumine, quousque quis vix vmbram proximi agnoscere posset, præter prædicta in aere tormenta, incurrebant nobis ad tibias, & pedes pluralitas quasi porcorum, vrsorum, & caprarum grinnientium, & impellentium nos ad lapsum, quod vel ad tertium, vel quartum, aut sextum passum solatenus cadebamus in palmas, seu genua, vel prosternebamur in faciem, aut supini.

Ac superuenere præter hoc ventorum turbines, fulgurum coruscationes, tonitruorum boatus, grandinum casus & exundatio pluuiarum, quantas & quales nunquam accepimus in hoc mundo, quibus iactabamur, ruebamus, quassabamur, & periclitati fuimus extrà narrandum.

Interdum quoque sensimus tanquam graues baculorum ictus, per humeros, dorsa, latera, & adrenes, alij quidem grauiores, alij vt puta secundum demeritum vniuscuiusque. Et certè dum per tanta tormẽta, quasi exhaustis totis viribus, iam propè medium locum vallis erat ventum, accidit repentè, sub vnico instanti temporis, quibusdam nostrum expalmatio ita dura, vt omnes paritèr collisi, & prostrati iaceremus in extasi per vnam vel duas forsitan horas.

Et isto defectu vidit quilibet suo modo spiritualem visionem supermirabilem, & excedentem omne dictum, & scriptum.

Ego verò de visione mea nihil ausus sum scribere, vel loqui, quia & fratres singuli inhibuerunt, nisi de his, quæ corporalitèr intuebamur, & passi sumus.

Grauissimum singuli sustinuimus ictum per corporis loca diuersa, vnus in facie, alius in pectore, ad costas, in dorso, vel ad humerum, & mansit cuique signum percussuræ nigerrimum, ad formam virilis manus humanæ:

Mirabilis ictus. Ictum autem meum in colli ceruice tali ac tanta passione, vt putabam caput abscissum de corpore auolare: & hinc ad octodecimũ annum mansit mihi in prima magnitudine signum: sed & vsque nunc variato colore locus ille demonstrat plenissimè cicatricem, donec cum cadauere tota mutabitur in sepulchro: porrò vbi nos ab extasi in his tenebris separauimus singuli per diuinam gratiam respirando, loquendo, palpando, erigendo nos ipsos mutua humanitate, vt potuimus, recollegimus, & cohortabamur, cùm subitò nobis apparuit sub tenebroso lumine, vel potiùs fumosa caligine, locus ille spatiosus mediæ vallis, continens antedictum horribile caput dæmonis, plenus fœtore inæstimabili, & iugi occupatus exercitatione innumerorum spirituum malignorum.

Hunc ergò locum ineptũ cùm vitare vellemus, in toto nequiuimus extremitatem eius, quocunque girantes, nullus nostrorum perfecto aspectu audebat respicere quę gerebantur ibidem, quia

quia inuadens tremor ſtatuebat horripilationem, extrahebat ſudorem, & pudorem omnes extinguere videbantur. Nec tamen potuit eſſe conſilium de reuertendo, ne propter immutatum propoſitum confeſtim à dæmonibus ſtrangularemur.

Tranſiuimus, Dei gratia nobis opitulante, ſed non ſine maximo horroris, fœtoriſque tormento: rurſúmque ex tunc procedentes nos apprehendebat tenebroſa, validáque tempeſtas, ventorum, coruſcationum, tonitruum, grandinum, & pluuiarum, cuius quaſſatione collabebamur in facies, & in dorſo dextrorſum, & ſiniſtrorum, interuoluente ad tibias, ſicut priùs multitudine grinnienſium beſtiarum, nec dubito ſcribere quoque ampliùs, quàm 500. vicibus per hanc vallem quiſque noſtrum ſternebatur ad terram.

Pòſt verò exactam tertiam leucam, cœpit nobis augeri lux aeris, ex quo animoſiores effecti, in vno tranquilliori loco nos parùm pauſantes, gratias Deo palmis extenſis in cælum, reddidimus immenſas, & præcipuè quòd nullus deeſſet de nouenario numero ſociorum.

Nihilominùs tamen ſpiritus in aere nobis minari non ceſſabant, prætendentes in deriſionem ſua pudenda ſimul, & fœda virilia & poſteriora.

Pro certo ergò habeatis de his quæ vidi, & ſenſi, nullam poſſum vobis tradere ꝛquipollentiam verborum, cùm quia grauiſſima erant, tum quia ſingulis ne mihi deuotionem minueret non attendebam, tum etiam, quod præ horrore, labore, & dolore multa memoriæ non commendabam.

Per quartam autem leucam (ductrice gratia) leuiùs tranſeuntes, ſuſtinuimus tamen ſub pedibus hominum cadauera mortuorum, propè vallis exitum rerum tentamina precioſarum.

Nunc itaque obſecro magno cordis affectu, hæc legentes & audientes ego, qui in illa hora quid erga me agebat miſericordiſsimi Dei pietas ignorabam, vt velitis pro me, ſimul & mecum ex mentis intimo collaudare ipſum Dominum, qui tunc de poteſtate tenebrarum illarum eripuit me indignum, & prout confido, à delictis iuuentutis me purgauit, quatenùs de poſteà commiſsis, & committendis, mihi propitius fore dignetur, cùm iam ſenior ſim effectus. Quoniam etſi ex tunc propoſui mores corrigere, ex nunc ſtatuo in melius emendare, per filium eius Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum.

Ad hoc, addo breuitèr, quòd non auderem hortari quenquam, me conſulentem, vt ſponte ingrederetur hanc vallem infauſtam, quamuis ego curioſus intraui. Venientes poſthac ad proximas habitationes, neceſſe fuit nobis intendere ad recreandum corpora cibarijs, & balneis, & ad medendum vulneribus, & quaſſaturis, donec per aliquod tempus vnuſquiſque acciperet deliberationem ſuper ſuo futuro.

CAPVT. 46.

De quibuſdam aliis admirandis per Indorum inſulas.

VT modò procedam in tractatu. Sciatis ad paucas inde dietas grandem inſulam haberi gigantium, ad ſtaturam altitudinis viginti quinque pedum noſtrorum, de quibus ipſe vidi nonnullos, ſed extrà terram eorum, & audiuimus eſſe intrinſecùs quoſdam triginta pedum, & vltrà: hi operiuntur non veſtibus, ſed beſtiarum pellibus vtcunque ſibi appenſis, comedentes animalium carnes crudas, & lac pro potu ſorbentes, atque appetentes ſuper omnem eſum carnes humanas. Gigantes Anthropophagi.

Iſtorum non curaui intrare inſulam: nam & audiui quòd ad maris littus ſolent inſidiari nauigantibus, nauéſque ſubmergere, niſi interdum redimantur tribus aut quatuor per ſortem hominibus ſibi datis.

Verſus Auſtrum hinc in mari Oceano, habetur inter alias inſulas, vna, vbi crudelibus quibuſdam mulieribus naſcitur in oculis lapis rarus, & malus, qnę ſi per iram reſpexerint hominem, more Baſiliſci interficiunt ſolo viſu. Lætiferi aſpectus mulierum

Et vltrà hanc inſulam alia maior & populoſior, vbi cùm multi ſint vſus nobis inſueti, vnum deſcribo.

Dum deſponſauerit vir puellam, virginem, mandat hominem incompoſitum, velut ribaldum, qui ſua idonea claue per expertos ſuper hoc diligenter conſiderata, ſi reputatur idonea reſeret & veſtiget ſub nocte vnica virginalem conclauem, pro mercede ſibi tradita competenti. Et ſi poſtera nocte accedens ſponſus ita non inuenerit, poterit, & conſueuit hominem impetere ad mortis iudicium indeclinabile. Cúmque huius moris diſcere voluiſſem cauſam, accepi reſponſum, pro certis temporibus apud eos, virgines habuiſſe in matricibus paruos ſerpentes, quibus nocebantur primi ad illas intrantes. Inſula vbi virgines viri-cantur antequam nubant

Ideóq; & viri, qui pro mercede tantum ſubeunt periculum, vocant ſua loquela cadibrum, eſt, ſtultos deſperatos.

Ex

Ex hac,apparet Inſula in qua inter alios vſus, peruerſæ ſunt matres contra naturam & ſcripturã,cum pepererint contriſtantur, & dum proles moritur iocũdantur, iactantes in magno igne cum conuiuio & exultatione,dumque maritus ante vxorem decedit,patebit vxoris plena dilectio,ſi cum corpore mariti,quod rogo traditur ſe iactat cremandam,vt quia in iſto ſeculo fleterunt amoris vinculo colligati,non ſint alio ſeparati.

Nec tamen intelligunt illud ſeculum,niſi quod ſibi confingunt terreſtem Paradiſum . Puerum aut minorẽ annis,trahet mater ſecum ſi placet,ſed ætatis puer perfectæ,eliget pro proprio placito viuere ſuperſtes,aut mori iuxta parentes.

Hic etiam non ſuccedunt Reges per generationem ſed per electionem,vt aſſumatur non nobilior, aut fortior, ſed morigeratior,& iuſtior, 50 ad minus annorum, nullam habens ſobolem aut vxorem, ſeruatúrque illic iuſticiæ rigor in plena cenſura, in omnibus & contra omnes, etiamſi forefecerit ipſe Rex, qui nec eximitur a traditis legibus pro concupiſcentia vel contemptione quarumlibet perſonarum.

Veruntamen Rex ſi peccauerit non occiditur ob reuerentiam, ſed quòd ſub pœna mortis, publicè inhibetur, ne quiſpiam in Regione ei verbo vel vllo facto communicet, & quoniam ſui loco alter rex conſtituitur,neceſſe eſt illi breui vita degere vel perpetuò exulare.

Conſtat poſt ipſam, & alia Inſula multis bonis locuples,& hominibus populoſa, de qua recolo ſcribendum, quod nulla occaſione comedunt tria genera carnium, gallinarum, leporum,& aucarum,quas etſi nutriant in copijs,vtuntur duntaxat pellibus aut plumis.

Cæterarum verò beſtiarum & animalium licitè veſcuntur carnibus pro victu, & lacte pro potu. Ibi quiſq; vir licitè poteſt coniungi cuíque mulieri, quantumcúnque propinquet, exceptis progenitoribus,patre & matre . Nam cohabitatio, & commixtio omnium virorum ad ſingulas mulieres apparet ibi communis,vnde mater natum paruulum ſuum,adicit pro ſui placito cuicúnque viro, qui circa generationis tempus ſecum dormierit, nec valet vllus virorum eſſe certus de proprio generato,quem modum exlegem arbitror & turpem.

Sicut ergò præfatus ſum,multa mira videntur per Regiones Indorum, mira quidẽ nobis,ſed illis aſſueta, quibus ſi noſtra recitarentur aſſueta, audirent pro miris. Nam & dum quibuſdam dixi aucas viuas apud nos naſci in arboribus, admirati ſunt ſatis. In multis locis ſeminatur ſingulis annis ſementum de ‖ Cothon, quod nos dicimus lanam arboream , exurgunt ei modica arbuſta,vel potius arbuſtula de quibus talis lana habetur:eſt arbor Iuniperus,de cuius ligno deſiccato, ſi carbones viuos ſub proprijs cineribus tenueris diligenter opertos, igniti ſeruabuntur ad annum.

‖Vel Cotton.

Deſcriptio arboris Bombaſum ferentis.

Eſt & genus Nucum incredibilis magnitudinis ad quantitatem magni capitis : & beſtia vocata, oraſians,vel ſerſans, corpore in noſtrorum altitudine caballorum, & collo in 20 longitudine cubitorum ad proſpiciendum vltra domos & muros, quorum poſteriora apparent vt hinniculi ſiue lerni.

Nux Indica. Oraſians beſtia.

Camelliones.

Genus eſt etiam Camelionum ad formam hynnulorum, qui ſemper patulo tendunt ore, vel nil manducantes. Viuunt de aere, quæ etiam ad ſuum libitum videntur ſibi variare colorem, exceptis (vt dicitur) albo vel rubeo.

Maximi quoq; ſerpentes,inuicem qualitate,& genere differentes atq; colore.

Aliqui criſtam in capite gerunt, quidam more hominum ad duos pedes erecti incedunt, & nonnulli qui dicuntur Reguli,venenum per ora diſtillare non ceſſant,nec non quam plures cocodrilli, de quibus aliquid in præcedentibus retuli : & apri in noſtrorum magnitudine boum, ſpinoſi etiã,in quantitate porcorum,leones albi in altitudine dextrariorum. Louherans, ſeu Edouches per Indiam habentur, quod ferarum genus ſatis eſt maius noſtris communibus equis, gerens in fronte tetri capitis tria longa cornua, ad formam pugionis, ex vtráque parte ſcindentia,vt eis nonnunquam interficiant Elephantes.

Apri ingentes Leones albi. Louherans.

Aliæ quoq; beſtiæ crudeles vt vrſi cum capitibus ferè aprorum & habentes pedes ſenos, qui finduntur latis vngulis bis acutis,& cum caudis leonum ſiue pardorum.

Et quod vix credetur,mures pro quantitate, 10, aut 12. noſtrorum & veſpertiliones ad modum coruorum.

Sed & aucæ in triplo maiores noſtris, plumis indutæ rubris, niſi quod in pectore & collo apparet nigredo.

Et breuiter tam ibi quàm alibi,habentur piſces,beſtiæ,volucres,aut vermes diuerſorum generum,aut ſpecierum,de quibus hoc loco,vel inutilis,vel prolixa poſſet fieri narratio,quod nec illis qui nunquam propria exierunt,credibilis videretur.

CAPVT

CAPVT. 47.

De Bracmannorum & aliorum Inſulis.

BRacmannorum Inſula quaſi ad medium Imperij cõſiſtit: Preſbyteri Ioannis. Hij licet Chriſtiani non ſunt, viuunt tamen naturali optimo more. Rudes enim & incomparati, ſimplices, & inſcij omnis artis apparent. Non cupidi, ſuperbi, inuidi, iracundi, guloſi, aut luxurioſi nec iurant, fraudant, aut mentiuntur. Laborant corpore, ſed intendunt animo implere quoad valent naturale mandatum, hoc facias alijs quod tibi vis fieri: credentes & adorantes omnium creatorem Deum, & ſperantes ab ipſo ſimpliciter Paradiſum.

Sobrij quoque ſunt, quapropter & longo tempore viuunt: & ſi quis ab eorum moribus degeneret, proſcribitur perpetuò ſine mora, omnibus nulla poſita differentia perſonarum, vnde & in iuſto Dei iudicio, quòd naturalem exercere iuſtitiam contendunt, Elementa eis naturaliter obſequuntur, & rarò eos tangit tempeſtas, aut fames, peſtilentia aut gladius.

Magna riparia dicta Chene currit per Inſulam, miniſtrans piſcium & aquarum copiam: Iſtos olim Alexander rex Grecorum debellare cupiens, miſit eis literas comminationis, cui inter cætera notabilia remandauerunt, nihil ſe habere curioſi, quod Rex tantus deberet concupiſcere, nihilque ita ſe timere perdituros ſicut pacem bonam, quam hactenus habuerunt inconcuſſam: ſicque diuino nutu eſt actum vt Rex truculentus ad alia ſe verteret, atque in breui poſtmodum caderet, quia diſſipat Dominus eos, qui bella volunt, & iſtis manet pax multa diligentibus eam. Flumen Chene.

Pytan Inſula breuis continet paucos & breues habitatores, Pygmæis modico longiores, qui decoris vultibus nullo vnquam cibo veſcentes, ſpecialis pomi quod ſecum portant ſuſtẽtantur odore, quo ſi carerent ad parum, color in vultu marceſceret, & die tertia vita periret. Pytan.

Diſcretio & rationabilitas ijs adeſt modica, nec enim habent laborare niſi pro veſtitu, quem ſibi circa arbuſta colligunt: ſic conficit vnuſquiſq; pro 12. annis vitæ ſuæ.

Vltra hanc Inſulam ſilueſtres & fortes habentur homines, ſed beſtiales, veſtiti per totum corpus proprijs capillis & pilis, exceptis palmis, & faciebus, qui videntur penitus gubernatione & polita carere: venantur canes per ſiluas, & diſcurrunt piſcantes in aquis, omnia cruda vorantes.

Huius ad terræ metas manat fluuius Briemer latitudinis duarum leucarum, & ſemis, quem nos tranſire nequiuimus, nec auſi fuimus. Quoniam illo tranſmiſſo inſtant deſerta 15. aut plurium dierum inhabitata nũc temporis (preut audieramus) diuerſis & nobis ignotis generibus beſtiarum, ſerpentum, draconum, gryphiũ, aſpidum, dypſarum, & colebrorũ in multitudine tanta, vt centum millia armatorum ſimul pertingere vſque ad arbores, quæ ibi dicuntur ſolis & lunæ, vix poſſent. Attamen ſuo tempore Alexander magnus ſcribitur pertigiſſe, & quædam ab arboribus fictitia ſuccepiſſe reſponſa. Fluuius Briemer.

Circa has arbores excolitur Balſamum, cuius liquoris comparatio nuſquam ſcitur contineri ſub cœlo. Nam ibidem homines, de iſtarum arborum fructibus & Balſamo vtentes dicuntur illorum virtute quadringentis aut pluribus annis viuere. Balſamum indicum.

Peruenit autem & Dux Danus Ogerus, ac manducauit de illis, vnde & nonnulli præ ſenſus ſtoliditate vel fidei leuitate putant ipſum adhuc alibi viuere in terris. Ego autem quia tantum pro dilatanda Chriſtianitate laborauit arbitror magis, eum regnare cum Chriſto in cœlis.

Verſus orientales partes Indorum conſiſtit magna regio Taprobane exuberans optimis terrenorum bonorum, in quam nauigio intrauimus in octo vel circa dictis per aquam ſatis tenuem, haud profundam. Ibi, ſicut & in alijs multis Inſulis, rex non naſcitur ſed eligitur per partes terræ: & eſt hæc vna de quindecim nominatis Regionibus conquiſitionis Ogeri. Iſta, cum modicum declinet à circulo terræ ſub Æquatore, patitur in anno duas æſtates, & duas hyemes, ſi tamen hyems aliqua dici debeat, & non magis æſtas, quia nullus hic dies anni caret fructu, flore, germine. Taprobana Inſula, & eius deſcriptio.

Habitatores ſunt diſcreti, & honeſti, vnde & mercatores, de remotis partibus libenter cum ijs cõmunicant: & ſparſim per regionem habitant plurimi diuites Chriſtiani.

Hijs iunguntur duæ inſulæ (quas nos vocamus, Orilla, & Argita,) quanquam illa lingua aliter nominentur. In quarum prima ſunt multæ mineriæ auri, in ſecunda argenti, & propter quandam craſſitudinem aeris continuam, perpauca apparent ſydera, præter vnum quod dicunt Canopũ, quod æſtimo planetam Veneris. Et quod mirum eſt valdè, de omni lunatione ijs apparet niſi 2. quarta. Cuius rei probabilis ratio effugit etiam Aſtronomos valdè peritos. Atque per has Inſulas quoddam rubrum mare à mari Oceano ſegregatur. Orilla. Argita. Hunc locum notat Gerardus Mercator in ſua charta generali.

Itaq; in Orilla in locis multis effoditur, colligitur, & conflatur optimum auri metallum, per viros, mulieres, & paruulos in hoc inſtructos, ſed & in nonnullis ibi montibus monſtrantur

congregationes bestiolarum in quantitate nostrorum catulorum, in formicarum forma ac natura totali: qui pro suis viribus effodiunt, purificant, & colligunt cum intenta occupatione auri minutias, eas reponentes, & repositas retrahentes de cauernis & specubus in cauernas & specus. Et in conseruando sunt diligentes & acres, vt vetino audeat de facili propinquare, nisi quod interdum ab illis pausantibus, seu ab æstu se occultantibus, aliqui non sine periculo in dromedarijs & veredarijs rapiunt, vel furantur.

Solet etiam ab eis obtineri, quòd excogitato ingenio super equam quæ nuper fœtum ædiderit, imponentes homines duas de ligno cistulas seu cophinos nouos, vacuos, & apertos à lateribus dependentes propè terram: hanc famelicam dimittunt vt se pascat ad herbas in montem: Quam formicæ videntes solam, saltantes & iocantes, colludunt ad eam & ad eius confines pro nouitate: & quoniam eis est naturale, vt circa se omne vacuum implere contentur comportant certatim aurum suum in vasculis suis mundis. Cumque homines a remotis tempus obseruauerint, emittunt pullum equæ vt videat matrem, cuius aspectu iam diu stetit priuatus, ad cuius hinnitum protinus equa reuertitur onusta de auro. Hijs ergò & similibus modis homines aurum diripiunt à formicis.

Caput. 48.

Aliquid de loco Paradisi terrestris per auditum.

A Finibus Imperij Indiæ recta linea in orientem nihil est habitatum vel habitabile, propter rupium, & montium altitudinem, & asperitatem, & propter aeris inter Alpes diuersitatem: nam in multis locis, licet quandoque aer sit serenus, nunc fit spissus nunc fumosus, vel venenosus, & frequenter die medio tenebrosus. Durantque aut potius aggrauescunt huiusmodi difficultates, vsque ad illum amœnissimum Paradisi locum, quem protoplausti per inobedientiam sibi & posteris perdidisse noscuntur, quod spacium si metiri posset, est multarum vtique diætarum. Quia iam non vlterius processi, nec procedere quiui, pauca duntaxat de illo loco referam verisimilia, quæ didici per auditum.

Descriptio Paradisi.

Paradisus terrestris dicitur locus spacioſus ad amplitudinem quasi quinq; Insularum nostrarum, Angliæ, Normanniæ, Hiberniæ, Scotiæ, & Norwegiæ, aut forsan satis plurium. Cuius situs est pertingens in altitudine ad aeris supremam superficiem, eò quod illic terra vel terræ orbis sit multum spissior quàm alibi per modum excentricum à vero centro mundi, nec valet hoc deinde ab aliquo experto refelli, scriptura veritatis clamante, quòd ibi sit fons irrigans vniuersam superficiem terræ: aquæ enim est natura semper fluere ad ima.

Exeunt autem ab illo fonte versus nostri partes hemisspherij, hoc est nobis de illo loco in occidentem quatuor flumina, Pyson, Gyon, Tygris, & Euphrates, ab ista dimidia parte terræ circa Æquatoris circulum terræ influentes, quapropter & merito credendum videtur, exire de eodem fonte & alia quatuor flumina irrigantia terram oppositam, quæ est circa alteram dimidiam partem circuli Æquatoris, quamuis nos eorum fluminum loca, virtutes, & nomina ignoramus, quòd homines habitant ab alia parte Æquinoctij.

Gentes ad austrum Aequatoris.

Hoc tamen volo sciri pro verò & audiui, illic terræ faciem inhabitatam in maxima multitudine ciuitatum, vrbium, & regionum, quoniam & eorum institores Indiam frequentant, & nunciant sibi inuicem gentes & principes per literas, ac alijs modis destinare sunt visi.

Ganges fluuius.

Vnus nostrorum fluuiorum Pyson currit per Indiam, & per eius deserta quandoque sub terra, sed æpius supra, qui & Ganges illic appellatus est, ab illo vltimo Paganitatis rege, quem Dux Ogerus deiectum cùm baptizari renueret in ipso flumine proiectum submersit.

Ad littus huius reperiuntur multi lapides præciositatis immensæ & metalli grana cariſſimi, nec non & auri mineriæ, multumque descendit in eo natans lignum Aloes ex Paradiso, quod rebus miræ virtutis inserit Salomon in Canticis.

Hinc secundus fluuius Gyon, currit per Aethiopiam, vnde dum venit in Ægyptũ, accipit nomen Nilus. Tertius Tygris veniens per Assyriam influit maiorem Armeniam & Persiamtandemq; fluuij singuli per loca singula se iactant in mare per quod defluunt vsq; ad Nador, id est, ad oppositum diametrum paradisi: Ideoq; merito æstimantur omnes vniuerso orbe aquæ dulces originẽ capere, à supradicto paradisi fonte, quamuis secundũ distãtiam maiorem vel minorem, & secundum naturas rerum per quas meant diuersos habere inueniuntur sapores, atq; virtutes.

Porrò ipsum Paradisi locum audiui à tribus plagis, orientali, meridionali, & septentrionali, inaccessibilem tam hominibus quàm bestijs, eo quòd apparet ripis perpendiculariter abscisis, tanquam inestimabilis altitudinis. Et ab occidente idest nostra parte tanquam super omnium humanorum intuitum rogus ardẽs, qui in scripturis rumphea flammea appellatur, vt nulli creaturę terrenę accẽsus in eũ credatur nisi quibusdam volatilibus, prout decreuit iusti iudicij Deus.

Ambu-

Ambulantibus enim illuc ſiue repentibus hominibus obſtarent tenebræ imo rupes,aër infeſtus,beſtiæ,ſerpentes,frigus, & cauma. Nauigare autem contra ictum fluminis nitentes impediret intrinſecus recurſus, ac impetuoſus & quandoque ſubterraneus aquæ curſus deſcendentis cum vehementia ab euectiſſimo, vt dictum eſt, loco,qui ſuo quoque ſtrepitu, per petras atq; ſtrictos alioſque diuerſos cadens gurgites,efficeret ſurdos,& aeris mutatio cæcos,vnde & multi eam nobiles quàm ignobiles,fatua ſeſe audacia in iſto ponẽtes periculo perierunt,alijs excæcatis,alijs abſurdatis,& nonnullis in ipſo acceſſu ſubitanea morte peremptis. Ex quo nimirum credi habetur iſtum Deo diſplicere conatum.

Quapropter & ego ex illo loco ſtatui animum ad repatriandum,quatenus Deo propitio,Anglia quæ me produxit ſeculo viuentem,ſuſciperet morientem.

Caput. 49.

In reuertendo de Caſſan,& Riboth,& de diuite Epulone.

Via per quam Mandeuillus redijt in Angliam.

EXhinc de illis quæ in reuertendo vidi ſcribo curſim pauca, ne modum excedere videatur materia, Reuertebar itaque quaſi per Aquilonare latus Imperij Presbyteri Ioannis,& nunc terræ, non mari nos commendantes, tranſiuimus Deo Ductore, multas Inſulas in multis diætis, & peruenimus ad regionem magnam Caſſan: hæc cum ſit vna de quindecim habens longitudinem diætarum 60.& latitudinem propè 30.poſſet eſſe nominatior omnibus ibi circa prouincijs,ſi a noſtris frequentaretur.

Caſſan.

Notandum. Caſſan (ſecundum Odericum) eſt melior prouincia de mundo,vbi ſtrictior eſt, habet diætas 50. vbi longior 60.& eſt vna de 12.prouincijs Imperij Grand Can. eſt iſta populoſa, diſtincta ciuitatibus, vt quiſque à quacunque plaga de vna exeat ciuitate nouerit aliam in media diæta propinquam. Tenetque iſtam regionem Caſſan rex diues & potens, pro parte de Imperio Præsbyteri Ioannis,& pro parte de Imperio Grand Can.

Riboth.

De iſta in reuerſione noſtra venimus ad regnum Riboth,quod ſimiliter eſt vnum de quindecim,latum,& ſpecioſum, in quo de multis bonis, habetur plena copia. Hoc tenetur in toto de Imperio Tartarorum.

Labaſſi, ſummus idolorum pontifex.

Vna eſt ibi inter & ſuper omnes ciuitas Sacerdotalis,& Regia,in qua Rex habet ſuum magnificum palatium, & ſummus idolorum Pontifex quem Labaſſi appellant, cui omnes Regni obediunt,& populi ſicut Domino Papæ nos Chriſtiani,quoniam & iubet,& benedicit,ac confert ſacerdotibus beneficia idolorum.

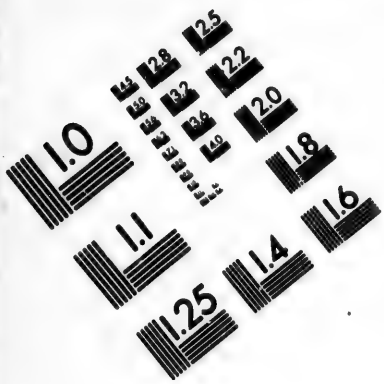
Ciuitatis vndique muri ſunt compacti albis & nigris lapidibus conquadratis ad modum ſcakarij, omnesque contractæ ſimili pauimento ſunt ſtratæ, Tanta eſt illic reuerentia ſacrificiorum vt ſi quis vel in modica quantitate, ſanguinem hominis, ſeu immolaticię pecudis fudiſſe deprehenſus fuerit,nequaquam iudicium mortis euadet.Et inter innumeras ſuperſtitiones eſt illic vna talis.

Hæres cuius pater defungitur, ſi alicuius vult eſſe reputationis, mandat cognatos, amicos, Relligioſos, & ſacerdotes pro poſſe, qui certo Die conuenientes ſub magno Symphoniæ feſto, comportant defuncti cadauer, in montis ſublime cacumen. Ibi accedens dignior Prælatorum,funeris caput abſcindit, tradens hæredi in aureo diſco decãtanti ſub deuotione ſuas orationes cum ſuis in propria lingua. Atque interim aues regionis rapaces, & immundæ, vt corui, vultures,& aquilæ, quæ pro conſuetudine optimè morem norunt,aduolant magno numero in aëre: Tuncque Relligioſi cum ſacerdotibus detruncant corpus in fruſta velut in macello, proijcientes pecias in altum auibus,ac decãtantes certam ad hoc compoſitam orationem,tanquam ſi noſtri ſacerdotes cantarent. Subuenite ſancti Dei.&c.

Et habet eorum oratio, hunc ſenſum in ſua lingua. Reſpice quàm iuſtus & ſanctus extitit homo iſte, quem Angeli Dei coueniunt accipere & in Paradiſum deferre, Talique diabolico errore deluſi, putant filius,& amici,quod defunctus ſit in Paradiſum tranſlatus,viuat illic ſempiterne beatus, quoniam, vbi plures conuenere volucrum, ibi maiorem lætantur & iactant fuiſſe numerum Angelorum.

Hinc deinde reuertentes,cum choris, & reſonantia Muſicorum,filius paratum præſtat omnibus conuiuium, in cuius fine pro extremo ferculo, tradit ſingulis particulam, de patris capite ſumma cum deuotione. Hanc etiam capitis caluariam filius facit poſtmodum debitè formari & poliri ſibi pro cypho, in quo bibit in conuiuijs,ob recordationem amantiſſimi patris.

Ab hoc Regno decem dietis per poteſtatem Imperatoris Grand Can, inuenitur Inſula delectabilis,& ſpecioſa ſatis: cuius Rex eſt præpotens in gloria,& in diuitijs ſuperabundans,& de multis quæ illic geruntur admirandis vnum recito ſolum.



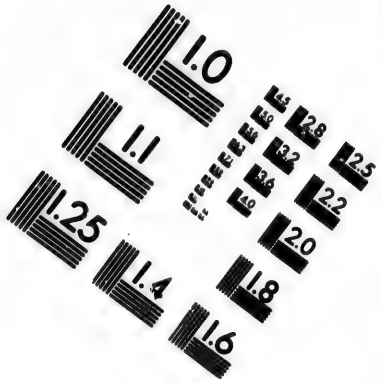
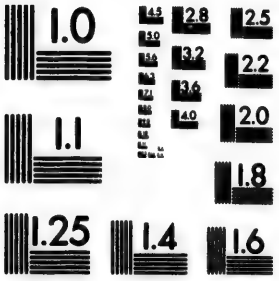


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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Diués Epulo.

Quòd est ibi homo quidam ditissimus nullius dignitatis nomine honoratus, sed byssо, ac serico adornatus, & splendide omni tempore epulatus: non ergo vult dici princeps, Dux, comes, miles, aut huiusmodi, licet superioritatem habeat super marchiones aliquos & barones.

Eius possessionis valor æstimatur in anno 30. cuman de assinarijs blədi, & risi, nec quærit nisi delitiosè viuere in isto seculo, vt cum diuite Epulone sepeliatur in inferno. Cum etiam sibi derelictus sit, iste viuendi modus a retrogenitoribus, eum & ipse posteris derelinquet. Hic tanquam Imperiali residet palatio, cuius muri ambitus ad tractum leucæ tenditur, continens arbusta, vineta, riuulos, fontes & stagna, aulas, & cubicula auro strata depictaque mirè, & sculpta artificiosè, vltra quam vales explicare, & inter omnia ad medium palatium in celso vertice atrium amænum, valdè tamen modico, sed cunctis præciosius, ædificio, quasi ad scema nostrarum Ecclesiarum, cum turribus, pilarijs, & columnis, in quibus nihil prominet indignius auro. Nunquam vel rarò hìc exit de suo palatio cum solis pulchris quos sibi conuocat & conuariat paruis pueris & puellis, non excedentibus 16. annos ætatis. Tendit dum libet pedibus, quandoque vectatur equo, interdum ducitur vehiculo, nonnunquam vult ferri gestatorio, vel certè puellaribus brachijs, & visitat sæpissimè præfatum præciosius ædificium: atque hijs & modis alijs excogitat delectare visum pulchris, auditum suauibus, olfactum redolentibus, tactum lenibus, & gustum pascere delicatis. Electas semper habet præsto 50. puellas ei, & de proximo exquisitissimè ministrantes tam ad mensam quàm ad cubiculum, & ad omne libitum.

Hæ ad prandium recumbenti afferunt processionis more pro singulo ferculo semper 5. genera dapum nobilium cum dulcisonæ resonantia camtilenæ, quarum aliquæ ei singulos detruncant genu flexo morsellos, aliquæ ponunt in ore, mundis tergentes comedentis labia mappis.

Versus.

Nam ipse quidem in mensa continet iacentes manus puras & quietas. Post deseruitionem ferculi primi, seruitur pro secundo in 5. alijs dapum generibus modo quo supra, & renouatur in apponendo cantus suauior melodia.

Ista absque vlla Domini cura per ministros quotidiè reparantur, etiam in maiori satis quàm effor nobilita[illegible], nisi dum ipse pro placito iusserit, quandoque temperari.

Delicioſius igitur quo vult deducit carnem, non curans animam, sed nec probitatem curans terrenam, pascit sterilem, & viduæ non benefacit. Et

Quia vnxit sicut porcum,
Morientem suscipit orcus.

Longitudo vngnium. Vtuntur etiam in Florida principes longis vnguibus.

Porrò quod eum dixi manus tenere quietas, noueritis nimirum nil posse manibus capere vel tenere, propter longitudinem, & recuruitatem vnguium in digitis, qui sibi nullo tempore præscinduntur. Seruatur enim hoc pro nobili more patrię, & viri diuites delicati, qui proprios possunt habere ministros nũquàm sibi dimittunt vngues resecare, vnde & nonnullis circumdantur vndique manus, acsi uiderentur armatæ.

Noua historia Chinensis hoc testatur.

Fœminarum autem mos est nobilis si habeant paruos pedes, vnde & generosarum in cunis strictissimè obuoluntur, vt vix ad medium debitæ quantitatis excrescere possint.

CAPVT. 50.

De compositione huius tractatus in nobili ciuitate Leodiensi.

IN reuertẽdo igitur venitur ab hac insula per prouincias magnas Imperij Tartarorum, in quibus semper noua, semper mira, imo nonnunquam incredibilia viator potest videre, percipere, & audire.

Et Noueritis, vt prædixi, me panca eorum vidisse, quæ in terris sunt mirabilium, sed nec hìc scripsisse centesimam partem eorum quæ vidi, quod nec omnia memoriæ commendare potui, & de commendatis multa subticui, propter modestiam, quam decet omnibus actibus addi.

Idcirco vt & alijs, qui vel antè me in partibus illis steterunt, vel ituri sunt, maneat locus narrandi siue scribendi, modum huius pono tractatus, potius decurtans, quàm complens, quoniam aliàs loquendi non esset finis, nec aures implerentur auditu.

Concludit opus suum.

Itaque anno à natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christ 1355. in patriando, cum ad nobilem Legiæ, seu Leodij ciuitatem peruenissem, & præ grandeuitate ac artericis guttis illic decumberem in vico qui dicitur, Basselanemi, consului causa conualescendi aliquos medicos ciuitatis: Et accidit, Dei nutu, vnum intrare physicum super alios ætate simul & canicie venerandum, ac in sua arte euidenter expertum, qui ibidem dicebatur communiter, Magister Ioannes ad barbam.

Is, dum paritèr colloqueremur, interseruit aliquid dictis, per quod tandem nostra inuicem renouabatur

renouabatur antiqua notitia, quam quondam habueramus in Cayr Aegypti apud Melech Mādibron Soldanum, prout ſuprà tetigi in 7. capitulo libri.

Quj cum in me experjentiam artis ſuæ excellenter monſtraſſet, adhortabatur ac præcabatur inſtanter, vt de hijs quæ videram tempore peregrinationis, & itinerationis meæ per mundum, aliquid digererem in ſcriptis ad legendum, & audiendum pro vtilitate.

Sicque tandem illius monitu & adiutorio, compoſitus eſt iſte tractatus, de quo certè nil ſcribere propoſueram, donec ſaltem ad partes proprias in Anglia peruenijſſem. Et credo præmiſſa circa me, per prouidentiam & gratiam Dei contigiſſe, quoniam à tempore quo receſſi, duo reges noſtri ‖ Angliæ, & Franciæ, non ceſſauerunt inuicem exercere deſtructiones, deprædationes, inſidias, & interfectiones, inter quas, niſi à Domino cuſtoditus, non tranſiſſem ſine morte, vel mortis periculo, & ſine criminum grandi cumulo. Et ecce nunc egreſſionis meæ anno 33. conſtitutus in Leodij ciuitate, quæ à mari Anglię diſtat ſolum per duas diætas, audio dictas Dominorum inimicitias, per gratiam Dei conſopitas: quapropter & ſpero, ac propono de reliquo ſecundum maturiorem ætatem me poſſe in proprijs, intendere corporis quieti, animęq; ſaluti. Edwardus tertius.

Hic itaque finis ſit ſcripti, in nomine Patris, & Filij, & ſpiritus ſancti, AMEN.

Explicit itinerarium à terra Angliæ, in partes Hieroſolimitanas, & in vlteriores tranſmarinas, editum primò in lingua Gallicana, à Domino Ioanne Mandeuille milite, ſuo authore, Anno incarnationis Domini 1355. in Ciuitate Leodienſi: Et Paulò poſt in eadem ciuitate, tranſlatum in dictam formam Latinam.

Richardi Hakluyti breuis admonitio ad Lectorem.

IOannem Mandeuillum noſtratem, eruditum & inſignem Authorem (Balæo, Mercatore, Ortelio, & alijs, teſtibus) ab innumeris Scribarum, & Typographorum mendis repurgando, ex multorum, eorumque optimorum exemplarium collatione, quid præſtiterim, virorum doctorum, & eorum præcipuè, qui Geographiæ, & Antiquitatis periti ſunt, eſto iudicium. Quæ autem habet de monſtriferis hominum formis itinerarij ſui præcedentis capitibus trigeſſimo, trigeſſimo primo, trigeſſimo tertio, & ſparſim in ſequentibus, quanquam non nego me ab illo fortaſſe quædam eorum alicubi viſa fuiſſe, maiori tamen ex parte, ex Caio Plinio ſecundo hauſta videntur, vt facile patebit ea cum his Plinianis, hic ideo à me appoſitis, collaturo, quæ idem Plinius, ſingulis ſuis authoribus ſingula refert, in eorum plariſque fidem ſuam minimè obſtringens. Vale, atque aut meliora dato, aut his vtere mecum.

Ex libro ſexto Naturalis hiſtoriæ C. Plinij ſecundi, *Cap. 30.*

VNiuerſa verò gens Ætheria appellata eſt, deinde Atlantia, mox à Vulcani filio Æthiope Æthiopia. Animalium hominumque effigies monſtriferas circa extremitates eius gigni minimè mirum, artifici ad formanda corpora effigiéſque cælandas mobilitate ignea, Ferunt certè ab Orientis parte intima gentes eſſe ſine naribus, æquali totius oris planitie, Alias ſuperiore labro orbas, alias ſine linguis, Pars etiam ore concreto & naribus carens, vno tantùm foramine ſpirat, potúmque calamis auenæ trahit, & grana eiuſdem auenæ, ſponte prouenientis ad veſcendum. Quibuſdam pro ſermone nutus motúſque membrorum eſt. &c.

Ex libro eiuſdem Plinij ſeptimo, CAP. 2. cui titulus eſt, *De Scythis, & aliarum diuerſitate gentium.*

ESſe Scytharum genera, & quidem plura, quæ corporibus humanis veſcerentur, indicauimus. Idipſum incredibile fortaſſe, ni cogitemus in medio orbe terrarum, ac Sicilia & Italia fuiſſe gentes huius monſtri, Cyclopas & Læſtrigonas, & nuperrimè trans Alpes hominem immolari gentium earū more ſolitum: quod paulum à mandendo abeſt. Sed & iuxta eos, qui ſunt ad Septentrionem verſi, haud procul ab ipſo Aquilonis exortu, ſpecúque eius dicto, quem locū Geſclitron appellant, produntur Arimaſpi, duos diximus, vno óculo in fronte media inſignes: quibus aſſiduè bellum eſſe circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum volucri genere, quale vulgò traditur, eruente ex cuniculis auruni, mira cupiditate & feris cuſtodientibus, & Arimaſpis rapientibus, multi, ſed maximè illuſtres Herodotus, & Ariſteas Proconneſius ſcribunt. Super

alios autem Anthropophagos Scythas, in quadam conualle magna Imai montis, regio est, quæ vocatur Abarimon, in qua syluestres viuunt homines, auersis post crura plantis, eximiæ velocitatis, passim cum feris vagantes. Hos in alio non spirare cœlo, ideóque ad finitimos reges non pertrahi, neque ad Alexandrum magnum pertractos, Beton itinerum eius mensor prodidit. Priores Anthropophagos, quos ad Septentrionem esse diximus decem dierum itinere supra Borysthenem amnem, ossibus humanorum capitum bibere, cutibúsque cum capillo pro mantelibus ante pectora vti, Isigonus Nicæensis. Idem in Albania gigni quosdam glauca oculorum acie, à pueritia statim canos, qui noctu pluspquàm interdiu cernant. Idem itinere dierum x. supra Borysthenem, Sauromatas tertio die cibum capere semper. Crates Pergamenus in Hellesponto circa Parium, genus hominum fuisse tradit, quos Ophiogenes vocat serpentum ictus contactu leuare solitos, & manu imposita venena extrahere corpori. Varro etiam nunc esse paucos ibi, quorum saliuæ contra ictus serpentum medeantur. Similis & in Africa gens Psyllorum fuit, vt Agatharchides scribit, à Psyllo rege dicta, cuius sepulchrum in parte Syrtium maiorum est. Horum corpori ingenitum fuit virus exitiale serpentibus, vt cuius odore sopirent eas. Mos verò, liberos genitos protinus obijciendi sæuissimis earum, eóque genere pudicitiam coniugum experiendi, non profugientibus adulterino sanguine natos serpentibus. Hæc gens ipsa quidem prope internicione sublata est à Nasamonibus, qui nunc eas tenent sedes: genus tamen hominũ ex his qui profugerant, aut cùm pugnatum est, abfuerant, hodiéque remanent in paucis. Simile & in Italia Marsorum gentis durat, quos à Circes filio ortos seruant, & ideo inesse ijs vim naturalem eam. Et tamen omnibus hominibus contra serpentes inest venenum: ferúntque ictas saliua, vt feruentis aquæ contactũ fugere. Quòd si in fauces penetrauerit, etiam mori: idq; maximè humani ieiuni oris. Supra Nasamonas confinésque illis Machlyas, Androginos esse vtriusq; naturæ, inter se vicibus cocuntes, Calliphanes tradit. Aristoteles adijcit, dextram mammam ijs virilem, læuam muliebrem esse. In eadem Africa familias quasdam effascinantium, Isigonus & Nymphodorus tradunt quarum laudatione intereant probata, arescant arbores, emoriantur infantes. Esse eiusdem generis in Triballis & Illyrijs, adijcit Isigonus, qui visu quoque effascinent, interimántque quos diutius intueãtur. Ijs præcipuè oculis: quod eorum malum facilius sentire puberes. Notabilius esse quòd pupillas binas in oculis singulis habeant, Huius generis & fœminas in Sythia, quæ vocantur Bithyæ, prodit Apollonides. Philarchus & in Ponto Thibiorum genus, multósque alios eiusdem naturæ: quorum notas tradit in altero oculo geminã pupillam, in altero equi effigiem. Eosdem prætereà non posse mergi, ne veste quidem degrauatos. Haud dissimile ijs genus Pharnacum in Æthiopia prodidit Damon, quorum sudor tabem cõtactis corporibus afferat. Fœminas quidem omnes vbique visu nocere, quæ duplices pupillas habeant, Cicero quoque apud nos autor est. Adeò naturę, cùm ferarum morem vescendi humamanis visceribus in homine genuisset, gignere etiam in toto corpore & in quorundam oculis quoque venena placuit: ne quid vsquã mali esset, quod in homine non esset. Haud procul vrbe Roma in Falisco rum agro familiæ sunt paucæ, quæ vocantur Hirpię: quæ sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur. Et ob id perpetuo senatusconsulto militiæ omniúmq; aliorũ numerum vacationem habent. Quorundam corpore partes nascuntur ad aliqua mirabiles sicut Pyrrho regi pollex in dextero pede: cuius tactu lienosis medebatur. Hunc cremari cum reliquo corpore non potuisse tradunt, conditúmque loculo in templo. Præcipuè India Æthiopúmq; tractus, miraculis scatent. Maxima in India gignuntur animalia, Indicio sunt canes grandiores cæteris. Arbores quidem tantæ proceritatis tradũtur, vt sagittis superari nequeant. Hæc facit vbertas soli, temperies cœli, aquarum abundantia (si libeat credere) vt sub vna ficu turmæ condantur equitum. Arundines verò tantę proceritatis, vt singula internodia alueo nauigabili ternos interdum homines ferant. Multos ibi quina cubita constat longitudine excedere: non expuere: non capitis, aut dentium, aut oculorum vllo dolore affici, raro aliarum corporis partium: tam moderato Solis vapore durari. Philosophos eorum quos Gymnosophystas vocant, ab exortu ad Occasum præstare, contuentes Solem immobilibus occulis: feruentibus harenis toto die alternis pedibus insistere. In monte cui nomen est Milo, homines esse auersis plantis, octonos digitos in singulis pedibus habentes, autor est Megasthenes. In multis autem montibus genus hominum capitibus caninis, ferarum pellibus velari, pro voce latratum edere, vnguibus a....tum venatu & aucupio vesci. Horum supra centum viginti millia fuisse prodente se, Ctesias scribit: & in quadam gente Indiæ, fœminas semel in vita parere, genitósque confestim canescere. Item hominum genus, qui Monosceli vocarentur, singulis cruribus, mirę pernicitatis ad saltum: eosdemque Sciopodas vocari, quòd in maiori æstu humi iacentes resupini, vmbra se pedum protegant, non longè eos à Troglodytis abesse. Rursúsque ab his Occidentem versus

quos-

quosdam sine ceruice, oculos in humeris habentes. Sunt & Satyri subsolanis Indorum montibus (Cartadulorum dicitur Regio) pernicissimum animal, tum quadrupedes, tum rectè currentes humana effigie propter velocitatem, nisi senes aut ægri, non capiuntur. Choromandarum gentem vocat Tauron siluestrem sine voce, stridoris horrendi, hirtis corporibus, oculis glaucis, dentibus caninis. Eudoxus in meridianis Indiæ viris plantas esse cubitales, fœminis adeò paruas, vt Struthopèdes appellentur. Megastenes gentem inter Nomadas Indos narium loco foramina tantùm habentem, anguium modo loripedem, vocari Syrictas. Ad extremos fines Indiæ ab Oriente, circa fontem Gangis, Astomorum gentem sine ore, corpore toto hirtam vestiri frondium lanugine, halitu tantùm viuentem, & odore quem naribus trahant: nullum illis cibum, nullúmque potum: tantum radicum florúmque varios odores & syluestrium malorum, quæ secum portant longiore itinere, ne desit olfactus, grauiore paulò odore haud difficulter exanimari. Supra hos extrema in parte montium Spithamæi Pygmæi narrantur, ternas spithamas longitudine, hoc est, ternos dodrantes non excedentes, salubri cælo, sempérque vernante, montibus ab Aquilone oppositis, quos à gruibus infestari Homerus quoq; prodidit: Fama est, insidentes arietum, caprarúmque dorsis, armatos sagittis, veris tempore, vniuerso agmine ad mare descendere, & oua, pullósque earum alitum consumere, ternis expeditionem eam mensibus confici, aliter futuris gregibus non resisti. Casas eorum luto, pennísque, & ouorum putaminibus construi. Aristoteles in cauernis viuere Pygmæos tradit. Cætera de his, vt reliqui. Cynos Indorum genus Ifigonus annis centenis quadragenis viuere. Item Aethiopas Macrobios, & Seras existimat, & qui Athon montem incolant: hos quidem quia viperinis carnibus alantur, itaque nec capiti, nec vestibus eorum noxia corpori inesse animalia. Onesicritus, quibus in locis Indiæ vmbræ non sint, corpora hominum cubitorum quinum, & binorum palmorum existere, & viuere annos centum triginta, nec senescere, sed vt medio æuo inori. Crates Pergamenus Indos, qui centenos annos excedant Gymnætas appellat, non pauci Macrobios. Ctesias gentem ex his, quæ appellatur Pandore, in conuallibus sitam, annos ducenos viuere, in iuuenta candido capillo, qui in senectute nigrescat. Contra alios quadragenos non excedere annos, iunctos Macrobijs, quorum fœminæ semel pariant: idque & Agatharchides tradit, præterea locustis eos ali, & esse pernices. Mandrorum nomen ijs dedit Clitarchus & Megastenes, trecentósque eorum vicos annumerat. Fœminas septimo ætatis anno parere, senectam quadragesimo anno accedere. Artemidorus, in Taprobana insula longissimam vitam sine vllo corporis languore traduci. Duris, Indorum quosdam cum feris coire, mistósque & semiferos esse partus. In Calingis eiusdem Indiæ gente quinquennes concipere fœminas, octauum vitæ annum non excedere, & alibi cauda villosa homines nasci pernicitatis eximiæ, alios auribus totos contegi. Oritas ab Indis Arbis fluuius disterminat. Ii nullum alium cibum nouere, quàm piscium, quos vnguibus dissectos solè torreant, atque ita panem ex his faciunt, vt refert Clitarchus. Troglodytas super Aethiopiam velociores esse equis, Pergamenus Crates. Item Aethiopas octona cubita longitudine excedere. Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Aethiopum, secundùm flumen Astapum ad Septentrionem ‖vregentium. Gens Menisminorum appellata, abest ab oceano die- ‖vel, vergentium
rum itinere viginti, animalium, quę Cynocephalos vocamus, lacte viuit, quorum armenta pascit maribus interemptis, præterquam sobolis causa. In Africæ solitudinibus hominum species obuiæ subinde fiunt, momentóque euanescunt. Hæc atque talia, ex hominum genere ludibria sibi, nobis miracula, ingeniosa fecit natura: & singula quidem, quæ facit indies, ac propè horas, quis enumerare valeat? Ad detegendam eius potentiam, satis sit inter prodigia posuisse gentes.

This note following, concerning the aide and assistance of the *Englisn Marchants, giuen to King Iohn the first of Portugal, for the* winning of Ceut in Barbarie, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoueries, is taken out of *Thomas Walsinghams Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.*

HOc anno, Ioannes primus Rex Portugalliæ, fretus auxilio Mercatorum Angliæ quàm maximè, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Betinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Cereris destinatis: cepítque ciuitatem eorum quàm amplissimam supra mare sitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua.

¶ *The same in Englisn.*

THis yeere Iohn the first king of Portugal, being principally assisted by the help of the Englisn Marchants, and Almaines, ouercame the Moores in the dominion of the King of Barbarie, 1415.

barie, putting many thousands of them to the sworde, and he tooke their Citie which was very mightie, seated vpon the sea, which is called Ceut in their language.

The voyage of Macham an Englishman, wherein he first of any *man, discouered the Iland of Madera, recorded* verbatim *in the Portugall* historie, written by Anthonio Galuano.

Madera first discouered by one Macham an Englishman.

IN the yeere 1344. King Peter the fourth of that name, raigning in Arragon, the Chronicles of his age, write, that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32. degrees, was discouered by an Englishman, which was named Macham, who sayling out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stolne, ariued by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that hauen or baye, which now is called Machico, after the name of Macham. And because his louer was sea sicke, he went on land with some of his companie, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loued her deerely, built a chappell, or heremitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Iesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or grauen vpon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arriuall there: And afterward he ordained a boate made of one tree, (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coast of Affricke, without saile or oare. And the Moores which sawe it, tooke it to be a marueilous thing, and presented him vnto the King of that Countrey for a wonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the King of Castile.

Macham made there a chappell, naming it Iesus Chappell.

In the yeere 1395. King Henry the third of that name, raigning in Castile, by the information which Macham gaue of this Iland, and also the shippe of his companie, mooued many of France and Castile to goe and to discouer it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417. King Iohn the second, raigning in Castile, and his mother Ladie Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demaunding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur Iohn Betancourt, after that the Quetne had giuen him them, and holpen him, he departed from Siuyl with a good armie. And they affirme also, that the principal cause which moued him to this, was to discouer the Iland of Madera, which Macham had founde, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of Anthonio Galuano.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Anglię Eduardum quar*tum, & Ioannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, datarum in oppido montis* Maioris 8. Februarij, & apud Westmonasterium 13. Septembris, 1482. anno regni 22. Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

LIBRO DAS OBRAS DE GARCIA DE RESENDE, que tracta da vida è feitos del Rey dom Ioham secundo. Embaxada que el Rey mandou à el Rey D'Inglaterra. Cap. 33.

EDaqui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores à el rey dom Duarte de Inglarerra Ruy de Sousa pessoa principal è de muyto bon saber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiaua: é ho doutor Ioam d'Eluas, é fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del vey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condiçan dellas ho nouo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera mostrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey D'inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar à Guinee: é assi mandasse desfazer huna armada que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam é hum Guilherme fabiam Ingreses. Com ha qual embaixada el rey D'Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento: é foy delle com muyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido: de que elles trouxeran autenticas escrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones fizeram: é assi as prouisones das aprouaçones que eran necessarias: é com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey se vieram.

Theie writings are in the Towre.

The

The Ambassage which King Iohn the second, King of Portugall sent to Edward the fourth King of England, which in part was to stay one

Iohn Tintam, and one William Fabian Englishmen, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Ginnee, 1481. Taken out of the Booke of the workes of Garcias de Resende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don Iohn the second King of Portugal. Chap. 33.

AND after wards the king sent an ambassadours from the towne of Montemaior to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wisedome, and estimation, and in whome the King reposed great trust, with Doctor Iohn Deluas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as Secretarie. And they made their voyage by sea very honorably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their King, to confirme the auncient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned, that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shewe and make him acquainted with the title which the King held in the segneurie of Ginnee, to the intent that after the King of England had seene the same, he should giue charge through all his kingdoms, that no man should arme or set foorth ships to Ginnee: and also to request him, that it would please him to giue commandement to dissolue a certaine fleete, which one Iohn Tintam, and one William Fabian, Englishmen, were making, by commandement of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforesaid partes of Ginnee. With which ambassage the King of England seemed to be very well pleased, and they were receiued of him with very great honour, and he condescended vnto all that the Embassadours required of him, at whose hands they receaued authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the Heralds: and also prouisoes of those confirmations which were necessarie. And hauing dispached all things well, and with the Kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

The first cause of this ambassage.
The second cause.
The third cause.

The manner of the entring of Solyman the Great Turke, with his armie into Aleppo in Syria, marching toward Persia against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, present at that time.

THere marched before the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, 6000. Esperes, otherwise called light horsemen very hyaue, clothed all in scarlet.

After, marched 10000. men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to ꝑ Great Turk, clothed all in yellow veluet, and hats of the same, of the Tartarie fashion, two foote long, with a great role of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimson veluet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thousand men of armes well armed with their morrions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a short weapon by their sides, called in their language, Simiterro.

After came 16000. Ianizaries, called the slaues of the Grand Signior, all afoote, euery one hauing his harquebuhe, who be his gard, al clothed in violet silke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a strange forme, called Cuocullucia, fashioned in this sort: the entring in of the forehead is like a skull made of white veluet, & hath a traine hanging downe behinde, in manner of a French hoode, of the same colour, and vpon the forepart of the saide skull, iust in the middes of his forehead there is standing bolt vpright like a trunke of a foote long of siluer, garnished most richely with Goldsmiths worke, and pyecious stones, and in the toppe of the saide trunke, a great bush of feathers, which wauereth vp and downe most brauely when he marcheth.

After this, there came 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of golde, the halfe of them carying harquebushes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes, with their trusses of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and vpon their harnesse coates of the Turkes fashion, of Lisard skinnes, and morrions vpon their heads, their speares charged, and at the ende of their staffe hard by the head of ꝑ speare, a horse taile died in a bloody colour, which is their ensigne: they be the challengers for the Turkes owne person.

After them came seuen pages of honour in cloth of siluer, vpon seuen white horses, which be-

ses were couered with cloth of siluer, all embrodered and garnished with pretious stones, emeraudes, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came six more pages of honour, clothed in cloth of golde, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turks fashion by his side.

Immediatly after them came the Great Turke himselfe with great pompe, & magnificence, viing in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull Maiestie, hauing onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of golde: he himselfe was mounted vpon a goodly white horse, adorned with a robe of cloth of golde, embrodered moste richly with the most pretious stones, and vpon his head a goodly white tuck, containing in length by estimation fifteene yards, which was of silke and linnen woouen together, resembling something Callicut cloth, but is much more fine and rich, and in the toppe of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Ostrich feathers, and his horse most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him followed six goodly young Ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of siluer, which were of the fashion of mens garments, embrodered very richly with pearle, and pretious stones, and had vpon their heades caps of Goldsmiths worke, hauing great slackets of heare hanging out on each side, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the same colour, euery of them hawing two eunuches on each side, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike fashion.

After marched the Great Basha, cheefe conductor of the whole armie, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimson, and vpon the same another short garment very rich, and about him fiftie Ianizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimson veluet, being armed as the Great Turks owne Ianizaries.

Then after ensued three other Bashas, with slaues about them, being afoote, to the number of three thousand men.

After came a companie of horsemen very brane, and in all pointes well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this aforesaid armie, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure score and eight thousand men, encamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Grand Signior himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle, situated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a branch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The rest of his armie passed ouer the mountaines of Armenia, called nowe the mountaines of Camarpe, which are foure daies iourney from Aleppo, appointed there to tarie the comming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his armie, intending to march into Persia, to giue battell to the Great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also those that came to Aleppo, in companie with him, with horsemen and footemen, and the conductors of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which caried munition and victuals, for the said armie, were in number 200000.

A note of the presents that were giuen at the same time in Aleppo, to the Grand Signior, and the names of the presentors.

FIrst the Basha of Aleppo, which is as a Viceroy, presented 100. garments of cloth of golde, and 25. horses.

The Basha of Damasco, presented 100. garments of cloth of golde, and twentie horses, with diuers sortes of comfits, in great quantitie.

The Basha of Amante, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. horses, and a cup of gold, with two thousand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis, presented six camels, charged all with silkes, 20. horses, and a litle clocke of golde, garnished with pretious stones, esteemed worth two hundred duckets.

The Consul of the companie of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kisse the Grand Signiors hand, and presented him a great basen of golde, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The safe conduct or priuiledge, giuen by Sultan Solyman the Great Turke, to Master Anthony Ienkinson at Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere, 1553.

SOlyman Sultan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Cadiz, and other our Iustices, Officers, and Subiects of Tripolis in Syria, Constantinople, Alexandria in Egypt, and of all other Townes, and Cities, vnder our Dominion, and iurisdic-

iuriſdiction: we will and commaund you, that when you ſhall ſee Anthony Ienkinſon, bearer of theſe preſent letters, marchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other, bearing the ſaid letters for him, arriue in our portes and hauens, with his ſhippe or ſhippes, or other veſſels whatſoeuer, that you ſuffer him to lade or vnlade his marchandiſe where ſoeuer it ſhal ſeeme good vnto him, trafficking for him ſelfe in all our countries and dominions, without hindring or any way diſturbing of him, his ſhippe, his people, or marchandiſe, and without enforcing him to pay any other cuſtome or tole whatſoeuer, in any ſorte, or to any perſons whoſoeuer they be, ſaue onely our ordinary duties, contayned in our cuſtome houſes, which when he hath paide, we will that he be franke, and free, as well for himſelfe, as for his people, marchandiſe, ſhippe, or ſhippes, and all other veſſels whatſoeuer, and in ſo doing that he may traffick, bargaine, ſell, and buy, lade, and vnlade, in all our foreſaide Countries, landes, and dominions, in like ſorte, and with the like liberties and priuiledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians vſe, and inioy, and more if it be poſſible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore we charge and commaunde all Viceroyes, and Conſuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Conſuls reſident in our Countreys, in what port or prouince ſoeuer they be, not to conſtraine, or cauſe to conſtraine by them, or the ſayde Miniſters and Officers whatſoeuer they be, the ſayde Anthony Ienkinſon, or his factor, or his ſeruants, or deputies, or his marchandiſe, to pay any kinde of conſullage, or other right whatſoeuer, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to moleſt nor trouble him any manner of way, becauſe our will and pleaſure is, that he ſhall not pay in all our Countries, any other then our ordinarie cuſtome. And in caſe any man hinder, and impeach him aboue and beſides theſe our preſent letters, we charge you moſt expreſſly to defende, and aſſiſt him againſt the ſayde Conſuls, and if they will not obey our preſent commaundement, that you aduertiſe vs thereof, that we may take ſuch order for the ſame, that others may take example thereby. Moreouer, wee commaunde all our Capteines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foyſtes, or other veſſels, that when they ſhall finde the ſayde Ienkinſon, or his factor, his ſhippe or ſhippes, with his ſeruants, and marchandiſe, that they hurt him not, neyther in bodie nor goods, but that rather they aſſiſt, and defend him againſt all ſuch as ſeeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with victuals, according to his want, and that whoſoeuer ſhall ſee theſe preſents, obey the ſame, as they will auoide the penaltie in doing the contrarie: Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy Prophet Mahomet, & in the yeere of Ieſus, 1553: ſigned with the keeper and ſignet of the Grand Signior, with his owne proper hande.

The very originall hereof was deliuered me Rich. Hakl. by Maſter Ienkinſon in the Turkiſh and French tongues.

A voyage made out of England into Guinea in Affricke, at the *charges of certaine Merchants aduenturers of the Citie of London, in the* yeere of our Lorde. 1553.

BEing deſired by certaine of my friends, to make ſome mention of this voyage, that ſome memorie thereof might remaine to our poſteritie, if either iniquitie of time, conſuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbaroufines and contempt of knowledge, ſhould hereafter bury in obliuion ſo worthy attempts, ſo much the greatlier to be eſteemed, as before neuer enterpriſed by Engliſh men, or at the leaſt ſo frequented, as at this preſent they are, and may be, to the great commoditie of our Merchants, if the ſame be not hindred by the ambition of ſuch, as for the conquering of 40. or 50. miles here and there, and erecting of certaine fortreſſes, thinke to be Lords of halfe the world, enuying that other ſhould enioy the commodities, which they themſelues can not wholy poſſeſſe. And although ſuch as haue bene at charges in the diſcouering & conquering of ſuch landes, ought by good reaſon to haue certaine priuiledges, preheminences, and tributes for the ſame, yet (to ſpeake vnder correction) it may ſeeme ſomewhat rigorous, and againſt good reaſon and conſcience, or rather againſt the charitie that ought to be among Chriſtian men, that ſuch as violently inuade the dominions of other, ſhould not permit other friendly to vſe the trade of merchandiſe in places neerer, or ſeldome frequented of them, wherby their trade is not hindred in ſuch places, where they themſelues haue at their owne election appointed the marres of their traffick. But foraſmuch as at this preſent, it is not my intent to accuſe or defend, approoue or improoue Ambition.

proue, I will cease to speake any further hereof, and proceede to the description of the first voyage, as briefly and faithfully as I was aduertised of the same, by the information of such credible persons, as made diligent inquisition to knowe the trueth hereof, as much as shall be requisite, omitting to speake of many particular thinges, not greatly necessarie to be knowen: which neuertheless, with also the exact course of the nauigation, shall be more fully declared in the second voyage. And if herein fauour or friendship shall perhaps cause some to thinke that some haue bene sharpely touched, let them lay apart fauour and friendship, and giue place to trueth, that honest men may receiue praise for well doing, and leude persons reproch, as the full stipend of their euil deserts, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceede in honest attempts.

Affrica. The coast of Guinea.

But that these voyages may be more plainely vnderstoode of all men, I haue thought good for this purpose, before I intreate hereof, to make a briefe description of Affrica, being that great parte of the worlde, on whose West side beginneth the coast of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelue degrees in latitude, on this side the Equinoctiall line, and two degrees in longitude from the measuring line, so running from the North to the South, and by East in some places, within fiue, foure, and three degrees and a halfe vnto the Equinoctiall, and so foorth in manner directly East and by North, for the space of thirtie six degrees, or there about, in longitude from the West to the East, as shall more plainely appeare in the description of the second voyage.

A briefe description of Affrike, gathered by Richard Eden.

Tunes. Bugia. Tripoli. Numidia.

IN Affrica the lesse are these kingdomes: the kingdome of Tunes and Constantina, which is at this day vnder Tunes, and also the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Affrike is very barren by reason of the great deserts, as the deserts of Numidia and Barcha. The principall portes of the kingdome of Tunes, are these: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Boua, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunes, are Constantina, and Boua, with diuers other. Under this kingdome are

Ilandes of Tunes. Malta.

many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoso, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this present is the great Master of the Rhodes. Vnder the South of this kingdome, are the great

The deserts of Libia.) Barbarie.

deserts of Lybia. All the nations in this Affrica the lesse, are of the sect of Mahomet, and a rusticall people, liuing scattered in villages. The best of this part of Affrike, is Barbaria, lying on the coast of the sea Mediterraneum.

Mauritania. The kingdoms of Fes and Marrocco

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is diuided into two partes, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cęsariensis. Mauritania Tingitana, is nowe called the kingdome of Fes, and the kingdome of Marrocco. The principall citie of Fes, is called Fessa: and the chiefe citie of Marrocco, is named Marrocco.

Mauritania Cęsariensis, is at this day called the kingdome of Tremisen, with also the citie called Trémisen or Telensin. This region is full of desarts, and reacheth to the sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Massaquiber. The kingdome of Fes reacheth vnto the Ocean sea, from the West to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the saide kingdome is called Salla.

Tremisen. Oran. Massaquiber. Salla.

Azamor.

The kingdome of Marrocco is also extended aboue the Ocean sea, vnto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are aboue the Ocean sea, towarde the West of the saide kingdome. In Mauritania Tingitana (that is to say, in the two kingdomes of Fes, and Marrocco) are in the sea, the

The Ilands of Canarie. Guinea. Aethiopians.

Ilands of Canarie, called in olde time, the fortunate Ilandes. Toward the South of this region, is the kingdome of Guinea, with Senega, Ialofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the blacke Moores, called Aethiopians, or Negros, all which are watered with the riuer Negro, called in olde time Niger. In the said regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plastered with chauke, and couered with strawe. In these regions are also very great deserts.

Marrocco. Fes. Tremisen. Guinea.

The kingdome of Marrocco hath vnder it these seuen kingdomes: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocco, Duchala, Hazchora, and Telde. The kingdome of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temesne, Azgar, Elabath, Errifi, Garet, and Elcauz. The kingdome of Tremisen hath these regions: Tremisen, Tenez, and Elgazaet, all which are Machometistes. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profession of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the lawe of nature.

Affrica

Africa the great, is one of the three partes of the world, knowen in olde time, and seuered from Asia, on the East by the riuer Nilus, on the West, from Europe by the pillers of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Libya and Ethiopia. Afrike the lesse, is in this wise bounded: On the West it hath Numidia: On the East Cyrenaica: On the North, the sea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble citie of Carthage.

Africa the great.

Affricke the lesse.

Carthage.

In the East side of Africke, beneath the red sea, dwelleth the great and mightie Emperour and Christian king Prester John, well knowen to the Portingals in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on euery side: and hath vnder him many other kinges both Christian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called Dauid the Emperour of Ethiopia. Some write, that the king of Portingall sendeth him yeerely eight shippes laden with marchandize. His kingdome confineth with the red sea, and reacheth farre into Afrike toward Egypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other side with the sea of sand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous sea, lying betweene the great citie of Alcayer, or Cairo in Egypt, and the countrey of Ethiopia: In the which way are many vnhabitable desarts, continuing for the space of fiue dayes iourney. And they affirme, that if the said Christian Emperour were not hindered by those desarts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, and especially of water) he would or now haue inuaded the kingdome of Egypt, and the citie of Alcayer. The chiefe citie of Ethiopia, where this great Emperour is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whose inhabitants are of the colour of an Oliue. There are also many other cities, as the citie of Saua vpon the riuer of Nilus, where the Emperour is accustomed to remaine in the Sommer season. There is likewise a great citie named Barbaregaf, and Ascon, from whence it is said that the Queene of Saba came to Hierusalem to heare the wisdome of Salomon. This citie is but little, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiope. In the said kingdome is a prouince called Manicongo, whose king is a Moore, and tributarie to the Emperour of Ethiope. In this prouince are manie exceeding high mountaines, vpon the which is said to be the earthly Paradise: and some say that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can passe thither, by reason of great desarts of a hundred dayes iourney. Also beyond these mountaines, is the cape of Bona Speranza. And to haue said thus much of Afrike it may suffice.

Prester John.

Cape de Bona Speranza.

The sea of sand.

Alcair.

Amacaiz.

From whence the Queene of Saba came.

Manicongo.

The earthly Paradise.

The trees of the Sunne and Moone.

The first voyage to Guinea, and Benin.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of August, sailed from Porchmouth two goodly shippes, the Primrose and the Lion, with a pinnesse called the Moone, being all well furnished afwel with men of the lustiest sort, to the number of seuen score, as also with ordinance and victuals, requisite to such a voyage: hauing also two captaines, the one a stranger, called Antony Anus Pinteado, a Portingall, borne in a towne named the Port of Portingall, a wise, discreet, and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being afwell an expert pilot as a politike captaine, was sometime in great fauour with the king of Portingall, and to whom the coastes of Brasile and Guinea, were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terror on the sea in those parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his maisters house. But as fortune in maner neuer fauoreth but flattereth, neuer promiseth but deceiueth, neuer raiseth but casteth downe againe: and as great wealth and fauor hath alwayes companions emulation and enuie, he was after many aduersities and quarels made against him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was euill matched with an vnequall companion, and vnlike match of most sundrie qualities & conditions, with vertues few or none adorned. Thus departed these noble shippes vnder saile on their voyage: But first captaine Windam, putting foorth of his ship at Porchmouth a kinseman of one of the head merchants, and shewing herein a muster of the tragicall partes he had conceiued in his braine, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a byrth, that more happie, yea and blessed was that young man being left behinde, then if he had beene taken with them, as some doe wish he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on their voyage, vntill they came to the Ilands of Madera, where they cooke in certaine wines for the store of their shippes, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portingall, full of men and ordinance: yet such as could not haue preuailed if it had attempted to withstand or resist our shippes, for the which cause it was set foorth, not onely to let and interrupt these our shippes of their purposed voyage, but all other that should attempt the like: yet chiefly to frustrate our voyage. For the king of Portingall was sinisterly informed, that our shippes were armed to his castell of Mina in these parties, whereas nothing lesse was ment.

The Primrose.

The Lion.

The Moone.

Pinteado.

Brasile.

Guinea.

The flattering of fortune.

The Ilands of Madera.

A galeon of the king of Portingall.

The castell of Mina.

After that our ships departed from the Island of Madera forward on their voyage, began this woorthy captaine Pinteados sorow, as a man tormented with the company of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattered with him, & made him a faire countenance and shew of loue. Then did he take vpon him to command all alone, setting nought both by captaine Pinteado, and the rest of the merchant factors: sometimes with opprobrious wordes, and sometimes with threatnings, most shamefully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the seruice of the boies and certaine mariners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leauing him as a common mariner, which is the greatest despite and griefe that can be to a Portingale or Spaniard, to bee diminisht their honour, which they esteeme aboue all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Islands of Canarie, continuing their course frō thence vntill they arriued at the Island of S. Nicholas, where they victualed thēselues with fresh meate, of the flesh of wild goates, wherof is great plentie in that Island, and in maner of nothing els. From hence folowing on their course and tarying here and there at the desart Islands in the way, because they would not come to timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heate, and tarying somewhat too long (for what can be well ministred in a common wealth, where inequalitie with tyrannie will rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the countrey of Guinea, where they fell with the great riuer of Sesto, where they might for their merchandizes haue laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruite, and much like vnto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seedes, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cod, hauing in the midst thereof a hole on euery side. This kind of spice is much vsed in cold countreis, & may there be sold for great aduantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this tragicall Captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie, in comparison of the fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, vntil they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come neere the Castell pertaining to the king of Portingall, which was within the riuer of Mina, made sale of their ware onely on this side and beyond it, for the gold of that countrey, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds waight, there being in case that they might haue dispatched all their ware for golde, if the vntame brayne of Wyndam had, or could haue giuen eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Wyndam not satisfied with the gold which he had (and more might haue had if he had taried about the Mina) commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke vpon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being vnder the Equinoctiall line, and an hundred and fiftie leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to haue their ships laden with pepper: and being counselled of the said Pinteado, considering the late time of the yeere, for that time to goe no further, but to make sale of their wares such as they had for gold, wherby they might haue bene great gainers: Wyndam not assenting hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reuiling the said Pinteado, calling him Iew, with other opprobrious wordes, saying, This whoreson Iew hath promised to bring vs to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring vs vnto: but if he doe not, I will cut off his eares, and naile them to the maste. Pinteado gaue the foresaid counsell to goe no further for the safegard of the men and their liues, which they should put in danger if they came too late, for the rossia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for smothering heate, with close and cloudie ayre, and storming weather, of such putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates off their backs: or els for comming to soone for the scorching heate of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will, brought he the shippes before the riuer of Benin, where riding at an Anker, sent their pinnesse vp into the riuer fiftie or threescore leagues, frō whence certaine of the merchants with Captaine Pinteado, Francisco a Portingale, Nicholas Lambert gentleman, and other merchants, were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from ye riuer side: whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who being a black Moore (although not so black as ye rest) sate in a great huge hall, long & wide, ye wals made of earth, without windowes, ye roofe of thin boords, opē in sundry places, like vnto louers to let in ye aire.

The Islands of Canarie.
The Island of S. Nicolas.
Guinea.
The riuer of Sesto.
Graines.
The thirst of gold.
The Castle of Mina.
The quantitie of gold.
Benin.
Pepper.
Furie admitteth no counsaile.
The Rossia.
Rotting heate.
Scorching heate.
Benin.
Francisco, Nicolas Lambert.
The king of Benin his court.

And here to speake of the great reuerence they giue to their king, it is such, that if wee would giue as much to our Sauiour Christ, we should remooue from our heads many plagues which we daily deserue for our contempt and impietie.

Reuerence toward the king.

So it is therefore, that when his noble men are in his presence, they neuer looke him in the face, but sit cowring, as we vpon our knees, so they vpon their buttockes, with their elbowes vpon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking vp vntill the king commaund them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they doe see him, doe they shew such reuerence, sitting on the ground with their faces couered as before. Likewise when they depart from him, they turne not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reuerence.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was betweene the King and our men,

you

you shall first vnderstand that he himselfe could speake the Portugule tongue, which he had learned of a childe. Therefore after he had commaunded our men to stand vp, and demaunded of them the cause of their comming into that countrey, they answered by Pinteado, that they were merchants, traueiling into those parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought from their countreys, being such as should be no lesse commodions for him and his people. The King then hauing of olde lying in a certaine store house thirtie or fourtie kintals of pepper (euery kintall beyng an hundred weight) willed them to looke vpon the same, and agayne to bring him a sight of such merchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon sent with the Captaine and the merchants, certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters side, with other to bring the ware from the pinnesse to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares seene, the king grew to this ende with the merchants, to prouide in thirtie dayes the lading of all their ships with pepper. And in case their merchandizes would not extend to the value of so much pepper, hee promised to credite them to their next returne: and thereupon sent the countrey round about to gather pepper, causing the same to be brought to the court: So that within the space of thirtie dayes they had gathered fourescore tunne of pepper.

The communication betweene the king of Benin and our men.

Pepper.

The kings gentlenesse toward our men.

In the meane season, our men partly hauing no rule of themselues, but eating without measure of the fruites of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreame heate running continually into the water, not vsed before to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into swellings and agues: insomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on, caused them to die sometimes three, and sometimes foure or fiue in a day. Then Windam perceiuing the time of the thirtie dayes to be expired, and his men dying so fast, sent to the court in poste to captaine Pinteado, and the rest, to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the rest, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantitie of pepper they had already gathered, and looked daily for much more: desiring him furthermore to remember the great prayse and name they should winne, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary. With which answere Windam not satisfied, and many of their men dying daily, willed and commanded them agayne either to come away foorthwith, or els threatened to leaue them behind. Whē Pinteado heard this answer, thinking to perswade him with reason, he tooke his way from the court toward the ships, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

The disorder and death of our men.

In the meane season Windam all raging, brake vp Pinteados Cabin, brake open his chestes, spoiled such prouision of cold stilled waters and suckets as he had prouided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane tyme falling sicke himselfe, died also. Whose death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the dearest friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did spet in his face, some calling him Iewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and some drawing their swordes at him, making a shew to slay him. Then he perceiuing that they would needes away, desired them to tary that he might fetch the rest of the merchaunts that were left at the court, but they would not graunt his request. Then desired he them to giue him the ship boate, with as much of an olde saile as might serue for the same, promising them therewith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the merchants, informing them of all the matter, and promising them if God would lend him life, to returne with all hast to fetch them. And thus was Pinteado kept a boordship agaynst his will, thrust among the boyes of the ship, not vsed like a man, nor yet like an honest boy, but glad to find fauour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leauing one of their ships behind them, which they sunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within sixe or seuen dayes sayling, died also Pinteado for very pensiuenesse and thought, that stroke him to the heart: A man woorthy to serue any prince, and most vilely vsed. And of seuen score men came home to Plimmouth scarcely fortie, and of them many died. And that no man should suspect these wordes which I haue said in commendation of Pinteado, to be spoken vpon fauour otherwise then trueth. I haue thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portingale and the infant his brother wrote vnto him to reconcile him, at such time as vpon the king his maisters displeasure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the sayd letters) he was onely for pouertie inforced to come into England, where he first perswaded our merchants to attempt the sayd voiages to Guinea. But as the king of Portingall too late repented him that he had so punished Pinteado, vpon malicious informations of such as enuied the mans good fortune: euen so may it hereby appeare, that in some cases, euen Lions themselues, may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the helpe of the poore mise, according vnto the fable of Esope.

The death of Windam. Pinteado euil vsed of the mariners.

This Lambart was a Londiner borne, whose father had bene Lord maior of London.

The death of Pinteado.

Pinteado first perswaded our men to the voyage of Guinea.

The copie of Anthonie Anes Pinteado his letters patents, wherby *the king of Portingall made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and* imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had susteined of long time, being at the last deliuered, his cause knowen and manifested to the king by a gray frier the kings Confessor.

Seuen hundred reis are ten shillings. Alcayre is halfe a bushell.

I The king do giue you to vnderstand lord Frances Desseosa, one of my counsell, and ouerseer of my house, that in consideration of the good seruice which Antonie Anes Pinteado, the soune of John Anes, dwelling in the toune called the Port, hath done vnto me, my will and pleasure is, to make him knight of my house, allowing to him in pension seuen hundred reis monethly, and euery day one alcayre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horse, and to be paid according to the ordinance of my house. Prouiding alwayes that he shall receiue but one marriage gift: And this also in such condition, that the time which is excepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such children as might succeed them in this allowance, which is sixe yeeres after the making of this patent, shalbe first expired before he do marry. I therefore command you to cause this to be entred in the booke called the Matricula of our household, vnder the title of knights. And when it is so entred, let the clarke of the Matricula, for the certeintie thereof, write on the backe side of this Aluala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing vnto the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques haue written this in Almarin the twenty and two day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this benevolence the king gaue vnto Anthonie Anes Pinteado the twentie and fiue day of July this present yeere.

Rey.

The secretaries declaration written vnder the *kings grant.*

YOur Maiestie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good seruice of Anthonie Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and soune of Iohn Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seuen hundred reis pension by the moneth, and one alcayre of barly by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be paid according to the ordinance of your house, with condition that he shall haue but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of sixe yeeres after the making of these letters patents. The secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of *Don Lewes* the infant, and brother to the *king of Portingall, sent into England to* Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

ANthonie Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, haue me heartily commended vnto you. Peter Gonsalues is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home againe into your countrey. And for that purpose, hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the king, that thereby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Maiestie hath giuen you, you may do many thinges to your commodation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalues will make further declaration hereof vnto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbone the eight day of December. Ann. 1552.

El

The infant *Don Lewes.*

ALl these foresaid writings I saw vnder seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Liele, with whom Pinteado left them, at his vnfortunate departing to Guinea. But notwithstanding all these friendly letters and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe company with the Portingals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had secret admonitions that they entended to slay him, if time and place might haue serued their wicked intent.

The

The ſecond voyage to *Guinea*, ſet out by Sir *George Barne*, Sir *Iohn Yorke*, *Thomas Locke*, and *Edward Caſtelyn*, in the yeere 1554.

AS in the firſt voyage I haue declared rather the order of the hyſtorie, then the courſe of the nauigation, whereof at that time I could haue no perfect information: ſo in the diſcription of this ſecond voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to ſhew the courſe of the ſame, according to the obſeruation and ordinary cuſtome of the Mariners, and as I receiued it at the hands of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who alſo with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the ſame, as he found and tried all things, not by coniecture, but by the art of ſailing, and inſtruments pertaining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore aſſuming to my ſelfe the commendations due vnto other, neither ſo bolde as in any part to change or otherwiſe diſpoſe the order of this voyage, ſo well obſerued by art and experience, I haue thought good to ſet forth the ſame, in ſuch ſort and phraſe of ſpeech as is commonly vſed among them, and as I receiued it of the ſaid Pilot, as I haue ſaid. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554. the eleuenth day of October, we departed the riuer of Thames with three goodly ſhippes, the one called the Trinitie, a ſhip of the burden of ſeuenſcore tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ſhippe of the burden of ninetie, the third was the Iohn Euangelift, a ſhip of ſeuen ſcore tunne. With the ſaid ſhippes and two pinneſſes (whereof the one was owned on the coaſt of England) we went forward on our voyage, and ſtaid at Douer foureteene dayes, We ſtaid alſo at Rie three or foure dayes, Moreouer laſt of all we touched at Dartmouth. Robert Gainſh was maſter of the Iohn Euangeliſt.

The firſt day of Nouember at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coaſt of England, we ſet of the Start, bearing Southweſt all that night in the ſea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, vntil the third day of the ſaid moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne three-ſcore leagues.

Item from twelue of the clocke the third day, till twelue of the clocke the fourth day of the ſayd moneth, making our way good Southeaſt, did runne euery three houres two leagues, which amounteth to ſixteene leagues the whole.

Item frō twelue of the clocke the fourth day, to twelue of the clocke the fift day, running Southweſt in the ſea, did runne twelue leagues.

Item from twelue of the clocke the fift day, vntill twelue of the clocke the ſixt day, running Southeaſt, did runne eighteene leagues.

And ſo from twelue of the clocke the ſixt day, vntill twelue of the clocke the ſeuenth day, running Southſouthweſt, did run euery houre two leagues, which amount to eighteene leagues the whole.

Item from twelue of the clocke the ſeuenth day, till three of the clocke the eight day, Southſouthweſt running in the ſea, did runne thirtie leagues.

Item from three of the clocke the eight day, vntill three of the clocke the ninth day, running Southſouthweſt, did runne thirtie leagues.

Item frō three of the clocke the ninth day, till three of the clocke the tenth day, in running Southſoutheaſt in the ſea, did run the ſumme of foure and twentie leagues.

Alſo from three of the clocke the tenth day, vntill twelue of the clocke the eleuenth day, did runne Southſouthweſt the ſumme of twelue leagues, & from twelue of the clocke, till ſixe of the ſaid day, did runne ſixe leagues.

Running South and by weſt in the ſea, from ſixe of the clocke the eleuenth, till ſixe of the clocke the twelft day, did runne ſixe and thirtie leagues.

From ſixe of the clocke at after noone the twelft day, till ſixe of the clocke the thirteenth day at after noone, did runne thirteene leagues.

Item from ſixe of the clocke the thirteenth day, til ſixe of the clocke the foureteenth day after noone, we were becalmed, that we could lie Southweſt with a ſaile. And the fifteenth day in the morning, the winde came to the Eaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt.

The ſeuenteenth day in the morning, we had ſight of the iſle of Madera, which doth riſe to him that commeth in the Northnortheaſt part vpright land in the weſt part of it, and very high: and to the Southſoutheaſt a low long land, and a long point, with a ſadle thereby the middeſt of it, ſtanding in two and thirtie degrees: and in the Weſt part, many ſprings of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like vnto corne fieldes, and ſome white houſes to the Southeaſt part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine ſheweth very ragged, if you may ſee it, and in the Northeaſt part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Alſo in the ſaid part, The iſle of Madera.

there is a rocke a litle distance from the shore, and ouer the said bight, you shall see a great gap in the mountaine.

The isle of Palmes. Teneriffa. The Canaries.

The ninteenth day at twelue of the clocke, we had sight of the isle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The isle of Palme riseth round, and lieth Southeast and Northwest, and the Northwest part is lowest. In the South, is a round hill ouer the head land, and an other round hill aboue that in the land. There are betweene the Southeast part of the isle of Madera and the Northwest part of the isle of Palme seuen and fiftie leagues. This isle of Palme lieth in nine and twentie degrees. And our course from Madera to the isle of Palme was South, and South and by West, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeast part of the isle of Palme, & the Northnortheast of Teneriffa, lieth Southeast & Northwest, & betweene them are twentie leagues.

From Madera to the isle of Palmes.

Grancanaria. Forteuentura. The island of Gomera.

Teneriffa and the great Canarie, called Grancanaria, and the West part of Forteuentura, standeth in seuen and twentie degrees and a halfe. Gomera, is a faire island but very ragged, & lieth Westsouthwest off Teneriffa. And whosoeuer will come betweene them two islands, must come South and by East, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the said part of the island: and it standeth in twentie and seuen degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, and a great high pike, like a suger loafe: and vpon the said pike is snow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that picke it may be knowen aboue all other islands, and there we were becalmed the twentith day of Nouember, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, vntill foure of the clocke at after noone.

Teneriffa. Snowe.

The two and twentith day of Nouember, vnder the Tropike of Cancer, the Sunne goeth downe West and by South. Vpon the coast of Barbarie fiue and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes, and good shelly ground, and sand among, and no streames, and two small islands standing in the two and twentie degrees and a terce.

The coast of Barbarie. Cape blanke.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was South and by East. The said Cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is flatte, sixteene or seuenteene fadome deepe. Seuen or eight leagues off from the riuer de Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there vse many Spanyardes and Portingals to trade for fishing, during the moneth of Nouember: and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas Southsouthwest, and Southwest and by South, till we brought our selues in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues seuen leagues off: and that was the least sholes of Cape Blanke.

The riuer de Oro.

Then we went South, vntill we brought our selues in thirteene degrees, reckoning our selues twentie and fiue leagues off. And in fifteene degrees, we did reare the Crossiers, and we might haue reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of Nouember, by reason that the nights are short there. Neuerthelesse we had the sight of them the nine & twentith day of the said moneth at night.

The crossiers or crosse stars.

The first of December being in thirteene degrees, we set our course South and by East, vntill the fourth day of December at twelue of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees & a terce, reckoning our selues thirty leages of the sholes of the riuer called Rio Grande, being Westsouthwest of them: the which sholes be thirtie leagues long.

Rio Grande.

The fourth of December, we began to set our course Southeast, we being in sixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we set our course Eastsoutheast: the foureteenth day of the said moneth, we set our course East, we being in fiue degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues thirtie and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea.

The nineteenth of the said moneth, we set our course East and by North, reckoning our selues seuenteene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape being Eastnortheast of vs, and the riuer of Sesto being East.

Cape Mensurado. The riuer of Sesto.

The one and twentith day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the Southeast, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily knowen, by reason the rising of it is like a Porpose head. Also toward the Southeast there are three trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlemost is like a hie stacke, & the Southermost like vnto a gibet: and vpon the maine, are foure or fiue high hilles rising one after another like round hommockes or hillocks. And the Southeast of the three trees, brandiernwise: and all the coast along is white sand. The said Cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees.

The two and twentith of December, we came to the riuer of Sesto, and remained there vntill the nine and twentith day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before vs the pinnesse

to

to the riuer Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might haue the beginning of the market before the comming of the Iohn Euangeliſt.

At the riuer of Seſto, we had a tunne of graines. This riuer ſtandeth in ſixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the riuer of Seſto to Rio Dulce, are fiue and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce ſtandeth in fiue degrees and a halfe. The riuer of Seſto is eaſie to be knowen, by reaſon there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeaſt part of the Rode. And at the entring into the hauen, are fiue or ſixe trees that beare no leaues. This is a good harborow, but very narow at the entrance into the riuer. There is alſo a rocke in the hauens mouth right as you enter. And all that coaſt betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeaſt and by Eaſt, Northweſt & by Weſt, being three leagues off the ſhore. And you ſhall haue in ſome places rocks two leagus off: and that betweene the riuer of Seſto and cape de las Palmas. The riuer of Seſto. Rio Dulce. Cape de monte. Cape de las Palmas.

Betweene the riuer of Seſto and the riuer Dulce are fiue and twenty leagues: and the high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the riuer of Seſto. And to the Southeaſtward of it, is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get freſh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rocks: and to the Southeaſtward, lieth a hetland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke, are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeaſtward off, is a harborow called ſaint Vincent: Right ouer againſt ſaint Vincent, is a rocke vnder the water, two leagues and a halfe off the ſhore. To the Southeaſtward of that rocke you ſhall ſee an iſland about three or foure leagues off: this iſland is not paſt a league off the ſhore. To the Eaſtſouthward of the iſland, is a rocke that lieth aboue the water, and by that rocke goeth in the riuer Dulce, which you ſhall know by the ſaid riuer and rocke. The Northweſt ſide of the hauen, is flat ſand, and the Southeaſt ſide therof, is like an iſland, and a bare plat without any trees, and ſo is it not in any other place. The land of Cakeado. Shauo. Croke. Saint Vincents harborow. The riuer Dulce.

In the Rode, you ſhall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good ooze & ſand, being the marks of the Rode to bring the iſland and the Northeaſt land together, and here we ankered the laſt of December.

The third day of Ianuarie, we came from the riuer Dulce.

Note that cape de las Palmas, is a faire high land, but ſome low places therof by the water ſide looke like red cliffes with white ſtrakes like bie wayes, a cable length a piece, and this is to the Eaſt part of the cape. This cape is the Southermoſt land in all the coaſt of Guinea, & ſtandeth in foure degrees and a terce. Cape de las Palmas. The coaſt of Guinea.

The coaſt from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepoyntes, or Tres Puntas, is faire and cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and fiue leagues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, vntill we come to Cape Trepoyntes. And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepoyntes, the land riſeth ſtill higher and higher, vntill you come to Cape Trepoyntes. Alſo before you come to the ſaid Cape, after other fiue leagues to the Northweſt part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a caſtell called Arra, pertaining to the king of Portingall. You ſhall know it by the ſaid rockes that lie off it: for there is none ſuch from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepoyntes. This coaſt lieth Eaſt and by North, Weſt and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the ſaid caſtell, is foureſcore and fifteene leagues. And the coaſt lieth from the ſaid caſtell to the Weſtermoſt point of Trepoyntes, Southeaſt and by South, Northweſt and by North. Alſo the Weſtermoſt point of Trepoyntes, is a low land, lying halfe a mile out in the ſea: and vpon the innermoſt necke to the land ward, is a tuft of trees, and there we arriued the eleuenth day of Ianuary. The caſtell of Arra.

The twelfth day of Ianuary, we came to a towne called Samma or Samua, being eight leagues from Cape Trepoyntes toward Eaſtnortheaſt. Betweene Cape Trepoyntes and the towne of Samua, is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the ſea. We continued foure dayes at that towne, and the captaine thereof would needes haue a pledge a ſhore. But when they receiued the pledge, they kept him ſtill, and would trafficke no more, but ſhot off their ordinance at vs. They haue two or three pieces of ordinance and no more. The towne of Samma. The pledge was ſir Iohn Yorke his nephew.

The ſixteenth day of the ſaid moneth, we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don Iohn dwelleth, whoſe men entertained vs friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eaſtward of the caſtell of Mina, otherwiſe called La mina, or Caſtello de mina, where we arriued the eightenth day of the moneth. Heere we made ſale of all our cloth, ſauing two or three packes. Cape Corea. The caſtell of Mina pertaining to the king of Portingall.

The ſixe and twentith day of the ſame moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was ſeuen leagues Eaſtward of vs, where ſhe ſolde her wares. Then they of the

Trinitie

Perecow. Perecow grande. Monte Rodondo.

Trinitie willed vs to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eastermost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hil neere vnto it, named Monte Rodondo, lying Westward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirteenth day of February, & plied vp alongst till we came within seuen or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the fifteenth day at afternoone, we did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceiue you sore. Whosoeuer shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, vntill ye reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastwarde of Cape de las Palmas, is a riuer called De los Potos, where you may haue fresh water and balast enough, and plentie of iuory or Elephants teeth. This riuer standeth in foure degrees, and almost two terces. And when you reckon your selfe as farre shot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go West, and West by North, vntill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Westnorthwest, and Northwest and by West, vntill you come in fiue degrees, and then Northwest. And in sixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could iudge, the currants went to the Northnorthwest. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape verde, go great currants which deceiue many men.

The currants. Fresh Mina homeward.

Rio de los Potos. Iuory. Cabo de las Palmas.

Currants.

The two and twentith day of Aprill, we were in eight degrees and two terces: and so we ranne to the Northwest, hauing the winde at Northeast and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, vntill we were at eighteene degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And so from eighteene and two terces, we had the winde at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast: and then we reckoned the islands of Cape verde Eastsoutheast of vs, we iudging our selues to be eight and fortie leagues off. And in twentie and one and twentie degrees, we had the winde more Easterly to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the Northwest and Northnorthwest, and sometimes North and by West and North, vntill we came into one and thirtie degrees, where we reckoned our selues a hundred and fourescore leagues Southwest, and by South of the island de Flore, or de los Flores, and there we met with the winde at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast.

The Isle de Flores.

In three and twentie degrees, we had the winde at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course North northeast, and so we ran to fortie degrees, and then we set our course Northeast, the wind being at the Southwest, and hauing the Isle de Flores East of vs, and xvii. leagues of.

In the one and fortie degrees, we met with the wind at Northeast, and so we ran Northwestward, then we met with the winde West northwest, & at the West within sixe leagues, running toward the Northwest, and then we cast about, and lay Northeast, vntill we came in two and fortie degrees, where we set our course East northeast, iudging the Isle of Coruo South and by West of vs, and sixe and thirtie leagues distant from vs.

The Isle of Coruo.

A remembrance, that the one and twentie day of May we communed with John Rafe, and hee thought it best to goe Northeast, and iudged himselfe fiue and twentie leagues Eastward to the Isle de Flores, and in nine and thirtie degrees and a halfe.

Where they lost the sight of the North starre.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, vnder nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North starre.

Note also, that in fiue and fortie degrees, the compasse is varied eight degrees to the West.

How the compasse doeth varie.

Item, in fortie degrees, the compasse did varie fifteene degrees in the whole.

Item, in thirtie degrees and a halfe, the compasse is varied fiue degrees to the West.

Be it also in memory, that two or three dayes before we came to Cape Troispoints, the pinnesse went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so we came to anker three or foure leagues West and by South of the Cape Troispoints, where we left the Trinitie.

Then our pinnesse came aboord with all our men, the pinnesse also tooke in more wares. They told me moreouer that they would goe to a place where the Primrose was, and had receiued much gold at the first voiage to these parties, and told mee furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then vpon the coast, did wey and folow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from vs, and there we rode against that towne foure dayes: so that Martine by his owne desire, and assent of some of the Commissioners that were in the pinnesse, went a shore to the towne, and there Iohn Berin went to trafique from vs, being three miles of trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samua, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the Northeast of Cape Troispoints.

The Primrose.

The towne of Samma. Gold.

Hitherto continueth the course of the voiage, as it was described by the said Pilot. Now therfore

I will

I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the countrey & people, and of ſuch things as are brought from thence.

They brought from thence at the laſt voyage, foure hundred pound weight and odde of golde, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in fineneſſe: alſo five & thirtie buttes of graines, and about two hundred and fiftie Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of theſe, I ſaw & meaſured ſome of nine ſpannes in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh about the knee, and weyed about foureſcore and ten pound weight a piece. They ſay that ſome one hath beene ſeene of an hundred and five and twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calues, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof ſome were a foot and a halfe, ſome two foot, & ſome three, or more, according to the age of the beaſt. Theſe great teeth or tuſks, grow in the vpper iaw bowneward, and not in the nether iaw vpward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceiued. At this laſt voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of ſuch huge bigneſſe, that onely the bones or crane thereof, beſide the nether iaw and great tuſks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: inſomuch that conſidering alſo heerewith the weight of two ſuch great teeth, the nether iaw with the leſſe teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge and long ſnout or troonke, with all the fleſh, braines, and ſkinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my iudgement it could weigh little leſſe then five hundred weight. This head diuers haue ſeene in the houſe of the worſhipfull merchant ſir Andrew Iudde, where alſo I ſaw it, and beheld it, not onely with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my minde and ſpirit, conſidered by the worke, the cunning and wiſedome of the workemaiſter: without which conſideration, the ſight of ſuch ſtrange and woonderfull things may rather ſeeme curioſities, then profitable contemplations.

Golde foure hundred weight.
Graines.
Elephants teeth.
The head of an Elephant.
Sir Andrew Iudde.
The contemplations of Gods works.

The Elephant (which ſome call an Oliphant) is the biggeſt of all foure footed beaſtes, his forelegges are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and five toes on his feet vndiuided, his ſnout or troonke is ſo long, & in ſuch forme, that it is to him in the ſtead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his troonke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth vp his maiſter or keeper, therewith he ouerthroweth trees. Beſide his two great tuſks, he hath on euery ſide of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meat: either of theſe teeth, are almoſt a ſpanne in length, as they grow along in the iaw, and are about two inches in height, and almoſt as much in thickeneſſe. The tuſkes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very little, and ſo farre in his mouth, that it cannot be ſeene: of all beaſts they are moſt gentle and tractable, for by many ſundry wayes they are taught, and doe vnderſtand: inſomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke ſenſe and ſharpeneſſe of witte. When the male hath once ſealoned the female, he neuer after toucheth her. The male Elephant liueth two hundred yeeres, or at the leaſt one hundred and twentie: the female almoſt as long, but the floure of their age, is but threeſcore yeeres, as ſome write. They cannot ſuffer winter or colde: they loue riuers, and will often goe into them vp to the ſnout, where with they blow and ſniffe, and play in the water: but ſwimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they vſe none aduulterie. If they happen to meet with a man in wildernes being out of the way, gently they will goe before him, and bring him into the plaine way. Ioined in battell, they haue no ſmall reſpect vnto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the iuice of barley. They haue continuall warre againſt Dragons, which deſire their blood, becauſe it is very colde: and therefore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant paſſeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legges of the Elephant, & ſo ſtaping him, thrulleth his head into his troonke and ouerthroweth his breath, or elſe biteth him in the eare, whereunto he cannot reach with his troonke, and when the Elephant waxeth faint, he falleth downe on the ſerpent, being now full of blood, and with the paiſe of his body breaketh him: ſo that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant, runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that ſubſtance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwiſe called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called cinoper or vermilion, which the painters vſe in certeine colours.

The deſcription and properties of the Elephant.
Debate betweene the Elephant & the Dragon.
Sanguis Draconis.
Cinnabaris.

They are alſo of three kindes, as of the marſhes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no leſſe differing in conditions. Philoſtratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bigneſſe paſſeth the horſe of Nyſea, ſo much doe the Elephants of India exceede them of Libya: for of the Elephants of India, ſome haue beene ſeene of the height of nine cubites: the other doe ſo greatly feare theſe, that they dare not abide the ſight of them. Of the Indian Elephants, onely the males haue tuſkes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya, both kindes are tuſked: they are of diuers heights, as of twelue, thirteene, and fourteene cubits, euery cubit being a meaſure of nine inches. Some

Three kindes of Elephants.

write

write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are blacke, or of the colour of a moule, but they of Ethiope or Guinea, are browne: the hide or skinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or bristles: their eares are two cubyants broad, and their eyes very little. Our men saw one drinking at a riuer in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Of other properties and conditions of the Elephant, as of their marueilous docilitie, of their sight and vse in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the theaters and triumphes of the Romans, how they are taken and tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the vse of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall historie. He also writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly Workes of ivory. workes of iuory or Elephants teeth: as tables, trestels, postes of houses, railes, lattesses for windowes, images of their gods, and diuers other things of iuory, both coloured and uncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginalles. They had such plentie thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Iosephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Iuory gate. The whitenesse there of was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the naturall fairenesse of mans skinne: insomuch that such as went about to set footh (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproued by this prouerbe, Eburatramento candefacere, that is, To make iuory white with inke. The poets also, describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Iuory necks. And to haue said thus much of Elephants and iuory, it may suffice.

The people of Africa. Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and manor of liuing, with an other briefe description of Africa also. It is to be vnderstood, that the people which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the mid parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with diuers other great and large regions about the same, were in olde time called Ethiopes & Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly liuing, without a God, law, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and vexed with the heat of the sunne, that in many places they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya Interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

Libya Interior. Libya Interior, is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses & mountaines, replenished with diuers kindes of wilde and monstrous beasts and serpents. First from Getulia. Mauritania or Barbarie toward the South is Getulia, a rough and saluage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharusij, which wander in the wildernesse, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopes. Nigritæ. Ethiopians, called Nigritæ, occupie a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean. Southward also they reach to the riuer Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the riuer of Nilus, The riuer Nigritis or Senega. forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth footh the like beasts as the Crocodile. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same riuer which the Portingals call Senega: For this riuer is also of the same nature. It is further more marueilous and very strange A strange thing. that is said of this riuer: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and blacke, and on the other side, of browne or tawnie colour, and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

Garamantes. There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they People of Libya. contract no matrimonie, neither haue respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganginæ, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. These haue the same situation in Ptolomie that they now giue to the kingdome of Nubia. Neere are certaine Christians vnder the dominion Prester John. of the great Emperour of Ethiopia, called Prester John. From these toward the West, is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered by coniecture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene, continuing vpon the East parts of Guinea. Regnum Orguene. From hence Westward, and some what toward the North, are the kingdomes of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the riuer of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along Gambra. by the sea coast, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Guinea or Cap. Verde. West side of these regions toward the Ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride (that is) The greene cape, to the which the Portingals first direct their course when they saile The Portingals nauigations to Brasile. to America, or the land of Brasile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the West and the South. But Ethiopia. to speake somewhat more of Ethiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet is Ethiopia chiefly diuided into two parts, whereof the one is called Ethiopia vnder Egypt, a great

and

and rich region. To this pertcineth the iſland Meroc, imbraced round about with the ſtreames of the riuer Nilus. In this iſland women reigned in olde time. Joſephus writeth, that it was ſometime called Sabea: and that the queene of Saba came from thence to Hieruſalem, to heare the wiſedome of Salomon. From hence toward the Eaſt, reigneth the ſaid Chriſtian Emperour Preſter John, whom ſome call Papa Iohannes, and other ſay that he is called Pean Iuan (that is) great Iohn, whoſe Empire reacheth farre beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coaſtes of the red ſea and Indian ſea. The middle of the region is almoſt in threeſcore and ſixe degrees of longitude, & twelue degrees of lacitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Riſophagi, Babylonij, Axiunitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After theſe is the region called Troglodytica, whoſe inhabitants dwell in caues and dennes: for theſe are their houſes, and the fleſh of ſerpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They haue no ſpeech, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are alſo people without heades, called Blemines, hauing their eyes and mouth in their breſt. Likewiſe Strucophagi, and naked Ganphaſantes: Satyrs alſo, which haue nothing of men but onely ſhape. Moreouer Oripei, great hunters. Mennones alſo, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth forth myrrh. After theſe is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Afrike that are beyond the Equinoctiall line, are now aſcribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whoſe inhabitantes are accuſtomed to traffike with the nations of Arabie, and their king is ioyned in friendſhip with the king of Portingall & payeth tribute to Preſter John.

The iſland of Meroe.

The queene of Saba.

Preſter John Emperour of Ethiopia.

People of the Eaſt ſide of Africa.

People without heads.

Myrrh. Azania.

Regnum Melinde.

The other Ethiope, called Ethiopia Interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatneſſe thereof, but onely by the ſea coaſtes: yet is it deſcribed in this maner. Firſt from the Equinoctiall toward the South, is a great region of Ethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beaſtes called Rhinocerontes. Alſo a region that bringeth forth plentie of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Alſo the kingdome of Habech or Habaſia, a region of Chriſtian men, lying both on this ſide and beyond Nilus. Here are alſo the Ethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) ſuch as liue onely by fiſh, and were ſometimes ſubdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Ethiopians called Rhapſij, and Anthropophagi, that are accuſtomed to mans fleſh, inhabite the regions neere vnto the mountaines called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazatia is vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. After this, followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, (that is) the Cape of good hope, by the which they paſſe that ſaile from Spaine to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, foraſmuch as the ſame are in euery globe and card, it were here ſuperfluous to rehearſe them.

Ethiopia Interior.

White Elephants.

Habaſia.

Ichthiophagi.

Anthropophagi.

Montes Lunæ.

Gazatia.

Cape bonæ Spei.

Some write that Affrica was ſo named by the Grecians, becauſe it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A, ſignifieth priuation, void, or without: and Phrice, ſignifieth colde. For in deed although in the ſtead of Winter, they haue a cloudie and tempeſtuous ſeaſon, yet is it not colde, but rather ſmoothering hotte, with hotte ſhowres of raine alſo, and ſome where ſuch ſcorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they ſeeme at certeine times to liue as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phriſius writeth, that in certeine partes of Affrica, as in Atlas the greater, the ayre in the night ſeaſon is ſeene ſhining, with many ſtrange fires and flames riſing in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are ſometime heard as it were the ſound of pipes, trumpets and drummes; which noiſes may perhaps be cauſed by the vehement and ſundry motions of ſuch firie exhalations in the ayre, as we ſee the like in many experiences wrought by fire, ayre, & winde. The hollownes alſo, and diuers reflexions and breaking of the clouds, may be great cauſes hereof, beſide the vehement colde of the middle region of the ayre, whereby the ſaid firie exhalations, aſcending thither, are ſuddenly ſtricken backe with great force: for euen common and dayly experience teacheth vs, by the whiſſling of a burning torch, what noiſe fire maketh in the ayre, and much more where it ſtriueth when it is incloſed with ayre, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is ſeene in onely aire incloſed, as in Organ pipes, and ſuch other inſtruments that go by winde. For winde (as ſay the Philoſophers) is none other then ayre vehemently moued, as we ſee in a paire of bellowes, and ſuch other.

Affrica without colde.

The winter of Affrica.

Flames of fire & noiſe in the aire.

The middle region of the aire is colde.

The ſtrife of elements.

Winde.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this laſt voyage to Guinea, affirme earneſtly that in the night ſeaſon they felt a ſenſible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be ſtrange and inſenſible to vs that inhabite colde regions, yet doth it ſtand with good reaſon that it may ſo be, foraſmuch as the nature of ſtarres and planets (as writeth Plinie) conſiſteth of fire, and conteineth in it a ſpirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

The heat of the Moone.

The nature of the ſtarres.

And that the Moone giueth heate vpon the earth, the Prophet Dauid ſeemeth to confirme in his 121 Pſalme, where ſpeaking of ſuch men as are defended from euils by Gods protection, he

he saith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to say, In the day the Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

Spoutes of water falling out of the aire.

They say furthermore that in certaine places of the sea, they saw certaine streames of water, which they call spoutes, falling out of the aire into the sea, and that some of these are as bigge as the great pillers of Churches: insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of powring. Some faine that these should be the Cataracts of heauen, which were all opened at Noes flood. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle in his booke de Mundo saith, to chance in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene often times in the sea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes also euen in the sea are seene euaporations of fire, and such eruptions and breaking foorth of springs, that the mouthes of riuers are opened, Whirlepooles, and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not onely in the middest of the sea, but also in creekes and streights. At certaine times also, a great quantitie of water is suddenly lifted vp and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which words of Aristotle it doth appeare that such waters be lifted vp in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps pertaineth it that Richard Chancellor told me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coastes of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or pinnesse was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast vpon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans vnderstanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to maruell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many thinges more our men saw and considered in this voyage, worthie to be noted, whereof I haue thought good to put some in memorie, that the reader may as well take pleasure in the varietie of things, as knowledge of the hystorie. Among other thinges therefore touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes and noble men vse to pounce and rase their skinnes with pretie knots in diuers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, and especially their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopes, and chaines, either of golde, copper, or iuory. I my selfe haue one of their bracelets of iuory, weighing two pound and fiue ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare vpon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carued, with a hole in the middest, wherein they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some haue of euery arme one, and as many on their legs, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leaue them off. Some weare also on their legs great shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to be no lesse comely. They weare also collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certaine blew stones like beades. Likewise some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine sleeues, made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like vnto that which children make in a ring of a rush. Among other thinges of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dogs chaines and collers.

Cataracts of heauen.

Vehement motions in the sea.

A strange thing.

The power of nature.

They rase their skinnes.

Fine iewels.

A bracelet.

Shackles.

Rings.

Dogs chaines of golde.

They are very warie people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They vse weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall haue to do with them, must vse them gently: for they will not traffike or bring in any wares if they be euill vsed. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced, that at their departure from the first place where they did traffike, one of them either stole a muske catte, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should haue hindred their bargaining in another place whither they intended to go. But for all the haste they could make with full sailes, the fame of that misusage so preuented them, that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: insomuch that they were inforced either to restore the cat, or pay for her at their price, before they could traffike there.

A muske cat.

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees and couered with boughes.

Their common feeding is of roots, and such fishes as they take, whereof they haue great plentie.

There are also such fleeing fishes as are seene in the sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to prouide store thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therefore be eaten freshwith as some say. Howbeit, other affirme that if they be salted immediatly after they be taken, they will last vncorrupted ten or twelue dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, and putrified there, became sweet againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

Their houses.

Their feeding.

Fleeing fishes.

A strange thing.

They

They vse also a strange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two stones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may suffice their family, & when they haue thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they sticke vpō some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heat of the sunne: so that when the master of the house or any of his family wil eat therof, they take it downe & eat it. Their bread.

They haue very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme or straw, seemeth to be almost as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that haue lost their colour. Almost al the substance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle branne or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threescore graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades longer then it selfe, & of two ynches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulnes the Sunne seemeth partly to recompence such griefes and molestations as they otherwise receiue by the feruent heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a worthy contemplation to consider the cōtrary effects of the Sunne: or rather the contrary passions of such things as receiue the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefite. Their drinke is either water, or the iuise that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmites. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches euery euening, and let them so hang all night, or els they set them on the ground vnder the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like vnto whey, but somewhat sweeter, and more pleasant. They cut the branches euery euening, because they are seared vp in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They haue also great Beanes as bigge as chestnuts, and very hard with a shell in the stead of a huske. Their wheate. The Sunne. Their drinke.

Many thinges more might be saide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it shall suffice to haue saide thus much of such things as our men partly sawe, and partly brought with them.

And whereas before speaking of the fruite of graines, I described the same to haue holes by the side (as in deede it is, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterwarde enfourmed, that those holes were made to put stringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them vp to dry at the Sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as redde as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselues are called of ye Physitiōs Grana Paradisi. Graines.

At their comming home, the keeles of their shippes were marueilously ouergrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they coulde stande, and of such bignesse that a man might put his thumme in the mouthes of them. They certainely affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call Barnacles. The like shelles haue bene seene in shippes returning from Iseland, but these shels were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Prymrose lying in the Docke, and in maner couered with the said shelles, which in my iudgement should greatly hinder her sayling. Their shippes were also in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places. Shelles that cleaue to ships. Barnacles. Bromas. A secret.

Among other things that chaficed to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that whereas they sailed thither in seuen weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then twentie weekes. The cause whereof they say to be this: That about the coast of Cabo Verde, the winde is euer at the East, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the West to bring them home. There died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clyme of the colde regions, as betweene the Islands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke slaues, wherof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moyst ayre doth somewhat offend them. Yet doubtlesse men that are borne in hotte Regions, may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, forasmuch as vehement heate resolueth the radicall moysture of mens bodies, as colde constraineth and preserueth the same. The death of our men. 5. Blacke Moores brought into England. Colde may be better abiden then heate.

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature, that throughout al Affricke vnder the Equinoctiall line, and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreeme hotte, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily such regions of the West Indies as are vnder the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and short wooll on their heads, as haue they of Affrike, but of the colour of an Oliue, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cause of which varietie is declared in diuers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage tolde me: That is, that they ouertooke the course of the Sunne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the xiiii. day of March. And to haue said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by M. William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Shippes, in the yeere 1555.

September. Vpon munday the 30. day of September we departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the hauen of Neuport with 2. good shippes, the one called the Hart the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Masters of them were Iohn Ralphe, and William Carter, for a voyage to be made vnto the Riuer de Sestos in Guinea, and to other hauens there about.

October. It fell out by the varrittie of windes, that it was the 14. day of October before we could fetch Dartmouth: and being there arriued wee continued in that roade sixe dayes, and the 20. of October we warpe out of the hauen, & set saile directing our course towards the South-west, and the next morning we were runne by estimation 30. leagues.

The 21. we suppose we ranne 36. leagues, the 22. 40. leagues, the 23. 20. leagues, the 24. but 12. by reason of the foule weather, and change of windes.

The 25. day wee ranne about 20. leagues, the 26. about 12. and all the night laye at trie with much raine and foule weather.

The 27. the windes and seas were high, yet we made some way.

The 28. day the Hindes poope brake with a sea some what aboue the helme, whereupon William Carter & Richard Gresham with their marchants agreed to set saile, and go backe againe for England, and for that purpose hoysed vp their saile, and we seeing it shotte off a peece to cause them to tary for vs, and hoysed our foresaile and went to them: and they tolde vs that they would not keepe the seas, and required mee to agree that they might returne, and we also with them to amende the fault, whereunto I would not agree, seeing the fault to bee no worse then it was, and our Master Iohn Ralphe offered them that hee himselfe would goe in her, which thing they hearing saide that they were as able to keepe her as her, and William Carter made answere, that as long as the company would continue with him, he would not refuse the voyage: so we lay at hull about an houre after, and then it pleased God to sende vs a faire winde at North and by East, and we ranne our course that day by estimation 25. leagues.

The 29. day wee ranne about 40. leagues, the 30. about 50. and the 31. and last of October about 40.

November. The first of Nouember we found our selues to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Master. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also.

The 2. day we ranne 36. leagues.

Porto Sancto. The 3. day we had sight of Porto Sancto, which is a small Iland lying in the sea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portingals. It riseth as we came from the North Northwest like two small hilles neere together. The East ende of the same Iland is a high land like a sadole with a valley, which makes it to beare that forme. The west ende of it is lower with certaine small round hillockes. This Iland lyeth in thirtie and three degrees. The

Madera. same day at 11. of the clocke wee raysed the Isle of Madera, which lyeth 12. leagues from Porto Sancto, towards the Southwest: that Iland is a faire Illande and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portingals, it riseth afarre off like a great whole lande and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Sancto, and wee set our course Southwest, to leaue the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Sancto. These two Illands were the first land that we sawe since wee left the coast of England. About 3. of the clocke after midnight we were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the West ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

The fourth day we laye becalmed vnder the Isle of Madera, vntill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then the winde comming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day 15. leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

Tenerif. The 6. day in the morning we raysed the Isle of Tenerif, otherwise called the Pike, because it is a very high Illand with a pike vpon the toppe like a loafe of Suger. The same night we rai-

Palma. sed the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif.

The

The 7. day we perceiued the Ile of Gomera, which is an Iſland ſtanding betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eaſtward from Palma, and 8. leagues Weſtwarde from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Ile of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eaſtward of vs, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues. Gomera.

Note that theſe Iſlands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Iſlands more to the Weſtward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forteventura, & Lanceroc, of which Iſlands we came not in ſight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

This day alſo we had ſight of the Ile of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Iſlands, and is poſſeſſed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reaſon of the winde we could not double the point of the Ile of Ferro, except wee would haue gone to the Weſtward of it which had bene much out of our courſe: therefore we kept aboue, and ranne backe fiue houres Eaſt Northeaſt to the ende we might double it vpon the next boorde, the winde continuing Southeaſt, which hath not bene often ſeene vpon that coaſt by any trauailers: for the winde continueth there for the moſt part Northeaſt, and Eaſt Northeaſt: ſo vpon the other boorde by the next morning we were in a maner with the Iſland, and had roome ynough to double the ſame. Ferro.

The 8. day we kept our courſe as neere the winde as we could, becauſe that our due courſe to ſeeke the coaſt of Barbary, was Southeaſt and by Eaſt, but by the ſcant winde we could not goe our due courſe, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 11. 24.

The 12. day we ſaw a ſaile vnder our Lee, which was as we thought a fiſherman, ſo that we determined to haue ſpoken with him, but within one houre there fell ſuch a fogge, that we could not ſee the ſhippe nor one of vs the other: we ſhot off diuers pieces to the Hinde, but ſhe hard them not: at after noone ſhe ſhot off a piece which wee hard, and made her anſwere with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake vp, and we were within 4. leagues of the ſhoare vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, and had ſounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke alſo came roome with vs and there anchred by reaſon of the contrary winde. When we fell with the lande, we could not iudge iuſtly what part of the land it was, becauſe the moſt part of that coaſt is lowe land, and no part to be iudged of it but the forepart of the ſhoare, which is white like chalke or ſande, and very nere vnto the hard ſhoare: there immediatly wee begunne to fiſh, and founde great ſtore of a kinde of fiſh which the Portingals commonly fiſh for vpon that coaſt, which they call Pergoſſes, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men, ſalt water breames. Before the clearing vp of the fogge, the ſhippe which we followed ſhaped vs ſuch a courſe that wee could ſee her no more, by reaſon of our ſhooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coaſt of Barbarie, by our Pilots reckoning is about 16. leagues to the Eaſtwards of the riuer del Oro. Riuer del Oro.

The 13. day in the after noone wee eſpyed a ſaile comming towardes vs, which wee iudged to be the ſaile that wee ſawe the day before, and as ſoone as wee eſpyed him we cauſed the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towardes him, and manned out our Skiffe in like caſe to lape him aboorde, or to diſcerne what hee was, and we our ſelues within halfe an houre after waged alſo: but after the ſaile had eſpyed vs, he kept about, and turned backe againe, and ſhortly after there fell ſuch another fogge, that wee couldne not ſee him: which fogges continued all that night, ſo that wee were conſtrained to leaue the chaſe. This after noone the winde came about, and wee went our courſe Southweſt, and by Weſt, to goe cleare off the coaſt, and we ranne that night 16. leagues.

The fourteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelue a clocke wee eſpyed a Caruell of 60. tunne which was fiſhing, and wee ſent our Skiffe to him with fiue men, and all without any weapon ſauing their Dares. The Caruell for haſte let ſlippe her ancre, and ſet ſaile, and they ſeeing that, fearing that they ſhould not fetch her, wouldе tary for no weapons, and in the ende ouertooke the Carruell, and made her to ſtrike ſaile, and brought her away, although they had fourteene or fifteene men aboord, & euery man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to reſiſt our men. After they were come to vs, they let fall their ancre, for wee had caſt ancre becauſe the winde was not good: I cauſed then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to ſee that no harme ſhoulde bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might ſpare vs for our money. So we tooke of them three Tapnets of figges, two ſmall pots of oyle, 2. pipes of water, foure bogeſheads of ſalt fiſh which they had taken vpon the coaſt, and certaine freſh fiſh which they did not eſteeme, becauſe there is ſuch ſtore vpon that coaſt, that in an houre and ſometime leſſe, a man may take as much fiſh as will ſerue twentie men a day. For theſe things, and for ſome wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great canues which they ſent aboorde of our Shippes, I payed them twentie and ſeuen Piſtolets, A Carruell taken.

Great ſtore of fiſh vpon the coaſt of Barbarie.

which was twise as much as they willingly would haue taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this we set saile, but the wind caused vs to ancre againe about 12. leagues off the riuer Del oro, as the Portingals tolde vs. There were 5. Caruels more in this place, but when they sawe vs, they made all away for feare for vs.

The 15. day we ridde still because of the winde.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40. leagues. This day by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right vnder the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbarie.

Cape Blanke.

The 18. day we ranne 30. leagues, and at 12. of the clocke by the reckoning of our Pilots wee were thwart of of Cape Blanke.

The 19. day we ranne our course 30. leagues.

Cape Verde.

The 20. day we ranne 36. leagues, the 21. 34 leagues, and the 22. 30 leagues. And this 22. day our Pilots reckoned vs to be thwart of Cape Verde.

8. Degrees and a halfe.

The 23. day we ranne our course 28. leagues, the 24. 25. leagues, the 25. 12. leagues, the 26. 12. leagues, the 27. 15. leagues, the 28. by reason we were becalmed, but 3. leagues, the 29. 25. leagues, the 30. 8. leagues: and this day at 12. of the clocke, we found our selues to be in 8. degrees and a halfe of latitude.

December.

The first of December we ranne 20. leagues, the 2. day being becalmed, but 4. leagues, the 3. day 16. leagues.

The 4. day we had terrible thunder and lightning, with exceeding great gusts of raine called Ternados, which continued not aboue halfe an houre: we ranne our course 18. leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 20. leagues, the 6. day 8. leagues by reason of variable windes, the 7. day but 4. leagues.

The 8. day we had more thunder and lightning, and we ranne about 6. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 8. leagues, the 10. day 10. leagues, the 11. day 12. leagues.

The coast of Guinea.

The 12. day we had sight of the land of Guinea, which as soone as we sawe we halled into the lande Northeast, and about 12. of the clocke at night we were neere the shoare within lesse then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to haue bene a shippe, and thereby iudged it to be the riuer de Sestos, which light as soone as we espied, wee came to an ancre and armed our toppes, and made al things readie to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portingal or French man: this night we remained at an ancre, but in the morning we saw no man, onely we espied 4. rockes about 2. English miles from vs, one great rocke, and the three other small ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shore, and so wayed and set saile East Southeast along the shoare, because the Master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the East as the riuer de Sestos.

This land all along is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doeth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In these 24. houres I thinke we ranne 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were vnder saile, and had withall store of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ranne East Southeast all along the shoare, within 2. leagues alwayes of the same, and founde the land all as at the first, full of woods and great rockes harde aboorde the shoare, and the billowe beating so fore, that the seas brake vpon the shoare as white as snowe, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it foure leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus wee ranne vntill twelue of the clocke, and then they tooke ẏ sunne & after iudged themselues to be 24. leagues past the riuer de Sestos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there ancred and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth, that wee might well haue ridde by an Hawser: All that after noone we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might goe along by the shoare to seeke some place to water in: for we could not goe backe againe to the riuer de Sestos, because the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the currant runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against vs.

The Currant setting Eastward.

The fourteenth day we set saile and went backe againe along the coast, and sent our boates hard aboorde the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they founde about twelue of the clocke, and we being farre into the sea, mette with diuers boates of the Countrey, small, long and narrowe, and in euery boate one man and no more: we gaue them bread which they did eate, and were very glad of it. About foure of the clocke our boates came to vs with fresh water: and this night

we anchred againſt a Riuer.

The 15. day wee waied and ſet ſaile to goe neere the ſhoare, and with our leade wee ſounded all the way, and found ſometimes rockes, and ſometimes faire grounde, and at the ſhalloweſt found ſeuen fadoms at lowe water at the leaſt. So in fine we founde 7. fadom and a halfe within an Engliſh mile of the ſhoare, and there wee anchred, in a maner before the mouth of the Riuer, and then we ſent our boates into the Riuer for water, which went about a mile within the Riuer, where they had very good water. This Riuer lyeth by eſtimation eight leagues beyond the Riuer de Seſtos, and is called in the Carde, Riuer S. Vincent, but it is ſo harde to finde, that a boate being within halfe a mile of it, ſhall not be able to diſcerne that it is a Riuer: by reaſon that at direct-ly before the mouth of it, there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the Riuer, ſo that a boate muſt runne in along the ſhoare a good way betwixt the rockes, and the ſhoare before it come to the mouth of the Riuer, and being within it, it is a great Riuer and diuers other Riuers falls into it: The going into it is ſomewhat ill, becauſe that at the entring, the ſeas doe goe ſomewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames. Riuer S. Vincent.

There are neere to the ſea vpon this Riuer diuers inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and goe all naked except ſome thing before their priuie partes, which is like a cloute about a quarter of a yarde long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a clothe: for the barke is of that nature, that it will ſpinne ſmall after the maner of linnen. Some of them alſo weare the like vpon their heades being painted with diuers coulers, but the moſt part of them goe bare headed, and their heades are clipped and ſhorne of diuers ſortes, and the moſt part of them haue their ſkinne of their bodies raced with diuers workes, in maner of a leather Jerkin. The men and women goe ſo alike, that one cannot knowe a man from a woman but by their breaſtes, which in the moſt part be very foule and long, hanging downe lowe like the vdder of a goate. Cloth made of the barke of trees. The Negroes race their ſkinnes.

This ſame morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and carried certaine baſons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogſhead and 100. li. waight of graines, and two Olephants teeth at a reaſonable good reckoning: We ſolde them both baſons and Manellios, and Margarets, but they deſired moſt to haue baſons: For the moſt part of our baſons we had by eſtimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Oliphants tooth of 30. li. waighe, we gaue them 6. Graines of Guinea. Oliphants teeth.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and tooke ſome of euery ſort of our Marchandize with vs, and ſhewed it to the Negroes, but they eſteemed it not, but made light of it, and alſo of the baſons, Manellios and Margarets, which yeſterday they did buy: howbeit for the baſons they would haue giuen vs ſome graines, but to no purpoſe, ſo that this day we tooke not by eſtimation aboue one hundreth pound waight of graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would ſuffer no man to ſell any thing but through his handes, and at his pryſe: hee was ſo ſubtile, that for a baſon hee would not giue 15. pounde waight of graines, and ſometimes would offer vs ſmall diſhfuls, whereas before wee had baskets full, and when hee ſawe that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and cauſed all the reſt of the boates to depart, thinking belike that we would haue followed them, and haue giuen them their owne askings. But after that we perceiued their feate, we waied our Grapnel and went away, and then we went on lande in a ſmall Towne to ſee the faſhions of the Countrey, and there came a three ſcore of them about vs, and at the firſt they were afraide of vs, but in the ende perceiuing that wee did no hurt, they would come to vs and take vs by the hande and bee familiar with vs, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie ſmall houels, all couered ouer with great leaues and baggage, and all the ſides open, and a ſcaffolde vnder the houſe about a yarde high, where they worke many pretie thinges of the barkes of trees, and there they lye alſo. In ſome of their houſes they worke yron and make faire dartes, and diuers other thinges to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when we were there diuers of the women to ſhewe vs pleaſure daunced and ſung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their ſong was thus: The deſcription of their Townes and houſes.

Sakere, ſakere, ho, ho. Sakere, ſakere, ho, ho.

And with theſe wordes they leape and daunce and clappe their handes. Beaſtes wee could ſee none that they had, but two goates, ſmall dogges, and ſmall hennes: other beaſtes wee ſawe none. After that wee had well marked all things we departed and went aboorde our ſhippes: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiuing, ſent 2. of his ſeruants in a boate with a basket of graines, and made vs ſignes that if when we had ſlept we would come againe into their Riuer, we ſhould haue ſtore of graines, and ſo ſhewed vs his graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning becauſe we thought that the Negroes would haue done ſomething becauſe the captaine ſent for vs, I required the Maſter to goe on ſhoare, and ſent the reſt of our

marchants with him, and caried aboorde my selfe by reason that the last day hee esteemed our things so litle: so when the Master & the rest came into the riuer, the Captaine with diuers others came to them, and brought graines with them, and after that hee sawe that I was not there, hee made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships: and then he made signes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, and they pointed to the Master of the shippe: then hee beganne to shewe his graines, but he held them so vnreasonably, that there was no profite to be made of them: which things the Master perceiuing, and seeing that they had no store of graines, came away, and tooke not aboue 50. pound waight of graines. Then hee went a shoare to the litle towne where we were the day before, and one of them plucked a gowne, wherewith the Negroes were offended, and came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart: which our men did, hauing but one bowe and 2. or 3. swordes, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and assone as they were come aboord we wayed & set saile, but the winde was off the sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, & therefore we came to an ancre againe.

Diago the name of a Captaine.

The latitude of S. Vincents riuer is 4. degrees and a halfe.

This riuer is called Riuer S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, & it ebbeth and floweth there euery 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the most: while we were there, it ebbed 1. fadome and a halfe of water.

Leaues of exceeding length.

This countrey as farre as we could perceiue is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof we knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaues like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the coppe of them.

Long peale stalkes.

There are certaine peason by the sea side, which growe vpon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I measured and found it 27. paces long, and doeth grow vpon the sand like to trees, and that so neere the sea, that sometimes the sea floweth into the woods as wee might perceiue by the water markes.

Long womens breasts.

The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene. Diuers of the women haue such exceeding long breastes, that some of them will lay the same vpon the grounde and lie downe by them, but all the women haue not such breastes.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the sea, and all the night off the lande, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marueyled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came vp at the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North North west off the shoare: yet we wayed and hailed off South with that winde all night into the sea, but the next morning we hailed in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our shippe, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceiue that here was any golde, or any other good thing: for ỹ people be so wilde and idle, that they giue themselues to seeke out nothing: if they would take paines they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceiue 2. tunne.

There are many foules in the countrey, but the people will not take the paines to take them.

I obserued some of their words of speach, which I thought good here to set downe.

The language about the Riuer of S. Vincent.

Bezow, bezow,	Is their salutation.
Manegete afoye,	Graines pnough.
Crocow afoye,	Hennes pnough.
Zeramme afoye,	Haue you pnough?
Begge sacke,	Giue me a knife.
Begge come,	Giue me bread.
Borke,	Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,	Ye lye.
Veede,	Put foorth, or emptie.
Brekeke,	Rowe.
Diago,	Their Captaine, and some cal him Dabo.

These and other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sayling along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, & the men shewed vs that there was a riuer thwart of vs, where there were graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tarie there, least the other ships should get before vs. This riuer hath lying before it 3. great rocks, and 5. smal rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the riuer, which in height exceeded all the rest: we hailed this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shoare, about twelue of the clocke there came out to vs 3. boates to tell vs that they had graines, & brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tarie there.

The

We proceeded along the coaſt, & anchred by the ſhore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The twentie day, the Hinde hauing ankered by vs amongeſt rockes, and foule ground, loſt a ſmall anker. At noone, as we paſſed along the coaſt, there came fourth a Negro to vs, making ſignes, that if we would goe a ſhoare, wee ſhould haue graines, and where we ankered at night, there came another to vs, and brought graines, and ſhewed vs them, and made ſignes that wee ſhould tary, and made a fire vpon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tel vs where we ſhould land, and ſo they did in diuers other places vpon the coaſt, where they ſawe vs to anker.

In all the places that we haue ankered, ſince we came from our watring place, we haue found the tide alwaies running to the Weſtwardes, and all along the coaſt many rockes hard aboard the ſhoare, and many of them a league of the ſhoare or more, we ran this day twelue leagues. The tides and nature of the ſhoare.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came ſo ſore out of the coaſt, that we were not able to runne aboue ſix leagues: and this day there came ſome Negroes to vs, as there had done other times.

The 22. we ranne all day and night, to double a point, called Dos palmas, and ranne ſixteene leagues. The point of Palmas.

The 23. day, about three of the clocke, we were thwart of the point, and before we came to the weſtermoſt part of it, we ſawe a great ledge of rockes, which lie weſt from the Cape, about three leagues, and a league or more from the land. Shortly after, we had ſight of the Eaſtermoſt part of the Cape, which lieth foure leagues from the Weſtermoſt part, and vpon the very corner therof, lie two greene places, as it were cloſes, and to the weſtwards of the Cape, the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Baye, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyond that, there lieth a head land in the ſea, and about two leagues beyond the head lande, there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a riuer, before which place we ankered all that night, which we did, leaſt in the night we ſhould ouerrunne a riuer, where the "laſt yere they had all their Elephants teeth. "That was the yeere 1554.

This Cape Dos palmas, lieth vnder foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the ſaid Cape, and the riuer de Seſtos, is the greateſt ſtore of graines to be had, and being paſt the ſaid Cape, there is no great ſtore els where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ranne alwaies to the weſtward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eaſtward: this day we ranne ſome 16. leagues. The tides running eaſtward.

The 24. day running our courſe, about eight of the clocke there came fourth to vs certaine boates, which brought with them ſmall egges, which were ſoft without ſhels, and they made vs ſignes, that there was within the land freſh water, and Goates: and the Maſter thinking that it was the riuer which we ſought, caſt anker, and ſent the boate on ſhoare, with one that knewe the riuer, and comming neere the ſhoare, he perceiued that it was not the riuer, and ſo came backe againe, and went along the ſhoare, with their oares and ſaile, and wee waied, and ranne along the ſhoare alſo: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Maſter perceiued a place, which he iudged to be the riuer, when we were in deede two miles ſhot paſt it: yet the boate came from the ſhoare, and they that were in her, ſaid, that there was no riuer: notwithſtanding we came to an anker, and the Maſter and I tooke fiue men with vs in the boate, and when he came neere the ſhoare, he perceiued that it was the ſame riuer which he did ſeeke: ſo we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reaſon that the ſea goeth ſo high: and being entred, diuers boates came to vs, and ſhewed vs that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought vs one about eight pound, and a litle one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the riuer ſide, making ſignes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would ſell vs them: ſo we gaue vnto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and ſo we departed, and came aboard, and ſent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the ſea, made vs ſignes that there was freſh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no riuer, yet the people brought them freſh water, and ſhewed them an Elephants tooth, making ſignes that the next day they would ſell them teeth, and ſo they came aboard. A towne.

This riuer lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Dos palmas, and there lieth to the weſtwards of the ſame, a rocke about a league in the ſea, and the riuer it ſelfe hath a point of land comming out into the ſea, whereupon groweth fiue trees, which may well be diſcerned two or three leagues of, comming from the weſtward, but the riuer can not be perceiued vntill ſuch time, as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceiue a litle towne on each ſide the riuer, and to each towne there belongeth a Capitaine. The riuer is but ſmall, but the water is good and freſh.

Two miles beyond the riuer, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the ſea, which is greene like a cloſe, and not aboue ſixe trees vpon it, which growe one of them from the other,

other, whereby the coast may well be knowne: for along all the coast that we haue hitherto sailed by, I haue not seene so much bare land.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the westward of it, al along the shoare, there growe many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine De Palma. These trees may easily be knowne almost two leagues of, for they be very high, and white bodied, and streight, and be biggest in the middes: they haue no boughes, but onely a round bush in the toppe of them: and at the toppe of the same trees, they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the iuyce of the tree runneth out of the said hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

Many Palme trees.

From the Cape Dos palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpose to make sales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas, fortie leagues.

Cape Tres Puntas.

Note: that betwixt the riuer De Sestos, and the Cape Dos palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as farre as I could perceiue, differeth not much from the language of those, which dwel where we watered before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then ye other, & goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their desire in this place was most of all to haue Manillios and Margarets, as for the rest of our things, they did litle esteeme them.

The 25. day, being the day of the natiuitie of Christ, we sent our boates and skiffes for water for our shippes, which that day filled as much water, as we had caskes emptie, which was about two tunnes for vs, and one tunne for the Hinde.

About nine of the clocke, there came boates to vs fourth, from both of the places aforesaide, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had caused me to sweare by the water of the sea, that I would not hurt them, they came aboord our shippe three or foure of them, and we gaue them to eate of all such things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our selues. Afterwardes we bought all their teeth, which were in number foureteene, and of those foureteene there were ten small: afterwards, they departed, making vs signes, that the next day we should come to their townes.

Their manner of swearing by the water of the sea.

The 26. day, because we would not trifle long at this place, I required the Master to goe vnto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, and I my selfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, because these two townes stand three miles asunder. To these places we caried some what of euery kind of marchandize that we had: and he had at the one towne, nine teeth, which were but small, and at the other towne where I was, I had eleuen, which were also not bigge, and we left aboord with the Master, certaine manillios, wherewith he bought twelue teeth aboord the shippe, in our ablence: and hauing bought these of them, we perceiued that they had no more teeth: so in the place where I was, one brought to me a smal goate, which I bought, and to the Master of the other place, they brought fiue small hennes, which he bought also, and after that, we sawe there was nothing els to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke, we met aboord, and then waied, and went East our course eighteene leagues still within sight of land.

Two townes.

The 27. day we ranne twentie leagues.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the wind comming againe off the sea, we fell with the land againe, and the first of the land which we raised, shewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eastward of that, another smaller red cliffe, and right aboue that, into the land a round hammoke, and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in these 24. houres, not aboue foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the shoare, we perceiued the red cliffe aforesaide, to haue right vpon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the westwards of it full of red cliffes, as farre as we could see, and all along the shoare, as well vpon the cliffes, as other wise, full of wood: within a mile of the said great cliffe, there is a riuer to the Eastwards, and no cliffes, that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ranne this day and night, twelue leagues.

The winds that we had in this place, by the reportes of the people, and of those that haue bene there, haue not bene seene often, but in the night, at North off the land, & in the day South off the sea, and most commonly Northwest, and Southwest.

The 30. day, we made our way twentie leagues.

The 31. day, we went our course by the shoare Southwards: this land is all along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is, for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates, which went a fishing, which be greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that in some of them there sate fiue men, but the fashion of the boates is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke, we had sight of a towne hard by the sea side, which our Pilots iudged to be 25.

leagues

leagues to the weſtwards of the Cape, Tres puntas. About foure of the clocke we met with many ſilver boates, but none of them would come neere to vs, ſauing two, of whome we bought certaine fiſhe.

Betwixt theſe two Capes, we haue found the wind freſheſt in the day, and ſpecially about ten of the clocke, with great gales: the nights we found calmeſt. In theſe 24. houres we made way twentie leagues.

The firſt day of Januarie in the morning, we perceiued the lande to riſe higher then it did before, which our Pilots iudged to be the Cape, and hailed in as neere to the land as they could: we ranne this day twenty leagues. Januarp.

The ſecond day in the morning, when we were come neere to the place, our Pilots perceiued that it was not the Cape, as they thought it had bene: we made way this day but eight leagues.

The third day in the morning, we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night paſſed, as our Pilots ſaid, by one of the Portingals callies, which is eight leagues to the weſtwards of the Cape: vpon the firſt ſight of the Cape, we diſcerned it a very high land, and all growen ouer with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceiued two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the weſtward, and the vttermoſt of them is the Eaſterne Cape, there we perceiued the middle Cape, and the Eaſtermoſt Cape: the middle Cape ſtandeth not aboue a league from the weſt Cape, although the Carde ſheweth them to be three leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it, a ſmall rocke ſo neere to it, that it can not be diſcerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the ſhoare, and vpon the ſame Cape ſtandeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the ſame Cape, to the Eaſtward, there riſeth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine. Cape Tres puntas.

The third Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the third commeth out a little head or point of a land out of the maine, and diuers rocks hard aboard the ſhoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about eight leagues off them, we had the lande South-eaſt, and by Eaſt, and being paſt the Capes, the land runneth in againe Eaſt Northeaſt.

About two leagues beyond the fartheſt Cape, there is a low glade about two miles long, and then the land riſeth high againe, and diuers head lands riſe one beyond another, and diuers rocks lie at the point of the firſt head land. The middeſt of theſe Capes, is the neereſt to the Southwards, I meane further into the ſea, then any of the other, ſo that being to the Eaſtward of it, it may be diſcerned farre off, and being ſo to the Eaſtward, it riſeth with two ſmall rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of ouerſhooting a towne, called S. Iohns. We ranne this day not aboue eight leagues. In the afternoone this day, there came a boate of the countrey from the ſhoare, with fiue men in her, and went along by vs, as we thought, to diſcerne our flaggs, but they would not come neere vs, and when they had well looked vpon vs, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, ſailing by the coaſt, we eſpied a ledge of rockes by the ſhoare, and to the weſtwards of them two great greene hils ioyning together, ſo that betweene them it was hollowe, like a ſaddle, and within the ſaid rockes, the Maſter thought the aforenamed towne had ſtoode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with vs cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed a hoare, but going along by the coaſt, we ſaw that there was no towne, therefore we went aboord againe.

From theſe two hils aforeſaid, about two leagues to the Eaſtward, lie out into the ſea almoſt two miles, a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North North-weſtward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeaſt along the ſhoare: but the vttermoſt point of the land in that place that we could ſee, lay Northeaſt, and by Eaſt from vs.

After that we were with a ſmall gale of wind runne paſt that vttermoſt head land, we ſaw a great red cliffe, which the Maſter againe iudged to be the towne of S. Iohns, and then we tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceiued that there was a towne vpon the toppe of the hill, and ſo we went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great ſort of them, and waued vs to come in with a peece of cloth, and ſo we went into a very faire Baye, which lieth to the Eaſtward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne ſtandeth, and being within the cliffe, we let fall our grapnell, and after that we had tarried there a good ſpace, they ſent a boate aboord of vs, to ſhewe vs that they had golde, and they ſhewed vs a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our meaſure, & our weight, that they might ſhew their Captaine thereof: and wee gaue them a meaſure of two elles, and a weight of two Angels to ſhew vnto him, which they tooke, and went on ſhoare, and ſhewed it vnto their Captaine, and then they brought vs a meaſure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and

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one crusado weight of golde, making vs signes that so much they would giue, for the like measure, and lesse they would not haue. After this, we tarried there about an houre, and when we saw that they would doe no other wise, and withall vnderstoode, that all the best places were before vs, we departed to our shippes, and water, and rame along the shoare, & went before with our boate, and hauing sailed about a league, we came to a point, where there lay foorth a longe of rockes, like to the others before spoken of, and being past that people, the Master spied a place, which he said plainly was the towne of Don Iohn: & the night was come vpon vs, so that we could not well discerne it, but we ankered as neere vnto the place as we could.

The towne of Don Iohn.

The fift day in the morning, we perceiued it to be the same towne in deede, and we manned our boates, and went thither, and because that the last yeere the Portingals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bases, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnell almost a base shot of the shoare, and there we laye about two houres, and no boates came to vs. Then certaine of our men, with the Pindes boate, went into a Baye, which lieth to the Eastward of the Towne, and within that Baye, they found a goodly fresh riuer, and afterwards they came, and waued to vs also to come in, because they perceiued the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to vs, and made vs signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could we perceiue any boates that they had to come withall, so that we iudged that the Portingals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroied.

Wee hauing staied there a good space, and seeing that they would not come to vs, drawe our boates heades a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Capitaine of the Towne came downe, being a graue man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and fiue tall men after him, euery one with his dart, and his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them, which caried the Capitaines stoole: we saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selues, and he like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moue his cappe, nor stant bowed his body, and sate him downe very solemnly vpon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to vs and bowed downe themselues.

He was clothed from the loines downe, with a cloth of their Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loines with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare aboue the loines, except his head.

His seruants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast before, and behind, to their girdles, and caps of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beastes skinne.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things which they haue, they make of the barke of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very prettily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishhookes, hooking yrons, yron heades, and great daggers, some of them as long as a wood knife, which be of both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the manner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them haue hanging at their left side one of those great daggers.

Their weapons

Their targets be made of such pils as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they be in some foure square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they be broad, so that kneeling downe, they make their targets to couer their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a prettie strength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the string is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inche broad: as for their arrowes, I haue not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them vp close, and because I was busie, I could not stande about it, to haue them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When the Capitaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two basons, and gaue them vnto him, and he sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a waight of two Angels, which he would not take, neither would he suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the basons of brasse: so that we solde that day 74. basons, vnto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angel a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Capitaine, who did depart in the morning from vs, came againe, and brought with him to present me withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I receiued, and after made me signes, that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men vnder 3. Captaines,

Captaines, well appointed with their barres, and bowes, and when they came to vs, euery man ſticked downe his barre vpon the ſhoare, and the Captaines had ſtooles brought them, and they ſate downe, and ſent a young man aboord of vs, which brought a meaſure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and our fifteene pare, and he would haue that foure times for a waight of one Angell, and twelue graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he eſteemed nothing, but ſtill ſtucke at his foure meaſures aforeſaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him ſignes that I would depart, he came to foure elles, for the weight aboueſaid, and otherwiſe he would not deale, and ſo we departed. This day we tooke for baſons fiue ounces and a halfe, and one eight part.

The ſixt day in the morning we mannied our boates, and the ſkiffe well, for feare of the Portingals, which the laſt yeere had taken away a man from the other ſhippes, and went on ſhoare, and landed, becauſe they had no boates to come to vs, and ſo the young man which was with vs the night before, was ſent aboord, who ſeemed to haue dealt and bargained before with the Portingals, for he could ſpeake a little Portinguiſe, and was perfect in weights, and meaſures: at his comming, he offered vs as he had done before, one Angell, and twelue graines, for foure elles, and more he would not giue, and made ſignes, that if we would not take that, we ſhould depart, which we did: but before we did in deede depart, I offered him of ſome rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell, and twelue graines, which he would not take, and then we departed, making ſignes to him that we would goe away, as in deed we would haue done, rather then haue giuen that meaſure, although the cloth was ill, ſeeing we were ſo neere to the places, which we iudged to be better for ſale. Then we went aboord our ſhippes, which lay about a league of, and came backe againe to the ſhoare for ſande, and balaſte: and then the Captaine perceiuing that the boates had brought no marchandiſe, but came onely for water, and ſand, and ſeeing that we would depart, came vnto them, making ſignes againe, to know whether wee would not giue the foure elles, and they made ſignes againe, that we would giue them but three, and when they ſawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came vnto them, and gaue them the weight of one Angell, and twelue graines, which we required before, and made ſignes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboord, we laied wares in them both, and for the ſpeedier diſpatch, I and Iohn Sauill went in one boate, and the Maſter Iohn Makeworth, and Richard Curtigin, in the other, and went on ſhoare, and that night I tooke for my part, fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight, and meaſure, and ſo being very late, we departed, and went aboord, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The ſeuenth day we went a ſhoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound, 19. ounces, ſo that we diſpatched almoſt all the cloth that we caried with vs, before noone, and then many of the people were departed, & thoſe that remained, had litle golde, yet they made vs ſignes to fetch them ſome latten baſons, which I would not, becauſe I purpoſed not to triſle out the time, but goe thence with ſpeede to Don Iohns towne. But Iohn Sauill, and Iohn Makeworth, were deſirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, conſented, but went not my ſelfe: ſo they tooke eightéene ounces of gold, and came away, ſeeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

Whyle they were at the ſhoare, there came a young fellow, which could ſpeake a litle Portinguiſe, with three more with him, and to him I ſolde 39. baſons, and two ſmall white ſawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the beſt reckoning that we did make of any baſons: and in the foreneoone, when I was at the ſhoare, the Maſter ſolde fiue baſons vnto the ſame fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the Caſtle by the Portingals, and was gotten away from them, for he told vs, that the Portingals were bad men, and that they made them ſlaues, if they could take them, and would put irons vpon their legges, and beſides he told vs, that as many Frenchmen, or Engliſhmen, as they could take (for he could name theſe two very well.) they would hang them: he told vs further, that there were 60. men in the caſtle, and that euery yeere there came thither two ſhippes, one great, and one ſmall caruell, and further, that Don Iohn, had warres with the Portingals, which gaue me the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Caſtle, where hence our men were beaten the laſt yeere.

60. Portingals in the caſtle of Mina.

This fellow came aboord our ſhippe without feare, and all done as he came, he demanded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the laſt yeere we tooke away, and could tell vs, that there were fiue taken away by Engliſhmen: we made him anſwere, that they were in England well

The Engliſh in anno 1554. tooke away 5. Negroes.

well vsed, and were there kept till they could speake the language, & then they should be brought againe, to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter.

Our boates being come aboord, we waied, and set saile, and a litle after spied a great fire vpon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of ouershooting the towne of Don Iohn, we there ankered, two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch vpp a towne here, if a shippe ouer shoote it. This day we tooke seuen pound, and fiue ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Baye, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to haue basons, and cloth. They would bie some of them also, many trifles, as knives, horsetailes, bones: and some of our men going a shoare, solde a cappe, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed vs a certaine course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France: for it was course woolll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wolled, and stripped with strippes of greene, white, pellow, &c. Diuers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of diuers colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth:

Mattea, mattea,	Is their saluation.
Dassee, dassee,	I thanke you.
Sheke,	Golde.
Cowrte,	Cut.
Cracca,	Knives.
Bassina,	Basons.
Foco, foco,	Cloth.
Molta,	Much, or great store.

This language is very partly to be corrupt.

The eight day in the morning, we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a misle that then fell, we could not haue the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don Iohn, and then it cleered vp, and we saw it, and a white house, as it were a Chappell vpon the hill about it: then we hailed into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Iohns towne, and there ankered in seuen fadom water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceiued that the currant went with the winde.

Sight of the castle of Aguna.

The land here is in some places lowe, and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

The towne of Don Iohn is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staied two or three houres after we had ankered, to see if any man would come into vs: and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates, and put in marchandize, and went, and ankered with our boates neere to the shoare: then they sent out a man to vs, who made vs signes, that that was the towne of Don Iohn, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe, which come first aboord, and I gaue him one ell of cloth, and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

Don Iohns towne described.

The ninth day in the morning, we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came foorth a boate to vs, who made signes that Don Iohn was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place also came another boate from the other towne, a mile from this, which is called Don Deuis, and brought with him gold, to shew vs, making signes that we should come thether. I then left in this place Iohn Sauill, and Iohn Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne, and there ankered, and tooke cloth, and went to shoare with the boate, and by and by the boates came to vs, and brought a measure of foure foote long & a halfe, and shewed vs a weight of an Angell, and twelue graines, which they would giue for so much, and not otherwise: so I staied, and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Iohns towne, and did nothing, hauing answer that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boate with good store of gold, and hauing driuen the matter off a long time, and hauing brought the measure to a naile lesse then three elles, and their weight to an Angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an howre, I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of gold: and then they made me signes to tary, til they had parted their cloth vpon the shoare, as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layd the cloth all abroad vpon the sand, peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake vnto them, & foorthwith euery man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods, to hide his golde, and his cloth: we mistrusted some knaue

ry,

rie, and being waued by them to come a ſhoare, yet we would not but went aboord the Hinde, and perceiued vpon the hill 30. men which we iudged to be Portingals: and they went vp to the toppe of the hill and there muſtered, and ſhewed themſelues, hauing a flagge with them. Then I being deſirous to know what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towardes her, and when I came neere to them, they ſhot off two pieces of ordinance which I marueiled at: I made as much haſte as I could to her, and met her boate & Skiffe comming from the ſhoare in all haſte, and wee met aboord together. They ſhewed me that they had bene a ſhoare all that day, and had giuen to the 2. ſonnes of Don Iohn, to either of them 3. pardes and a halfe of cloth, and 3. baſons betwixt them, and had deliuered him more 3. pards of cloth and the waight of an Angel and 12. graines, and being on land did carie for his anſwere, and in the meane time the Portingals came running from the hill vpon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had giuen them warning, and bad them to goe away but they perceiued it not. The ſonne of Don Iohn conſpired with the Portingals againſt them, ſo that they were almoſt vpon them, but yet they recouered their boate and ſet off from the ſhoare, and the Portingals ſhot their caleeuers at them, but hurt no man, and then the ſhippe perceiuing it, ſhot off the 2. pieces aforeſaid among them. Hereupon, we laied baſes in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a ſhoare againe, but becauſe of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the ſea about 10. ſcore and ſhot at them, but the hill ſuccoured them, and they from the rocks and from the hilles ſhot at vs with their halfe hakes, & the Negroes more for feare then for loue ſtood by them to helpe them, and when we ſawe that the Negroes were in ſuch ſubiection vnto them that they durſt not ſell vs any thing for feare of them we went aboorde, and that night ỹ winde kept at the Eaſt, ſo that we could not with our ſhip fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboord the barke to ſee what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceiued the towne to be in like caſe laid with Portingals, ſo wee waied & went along the coaſt. This towne of Iohn de Viſo ſtandeth vpon an hill like the towne of Don Iohn, but it hath bene burned, ſo that there are not paſſing 6. houſes in it: the moſt part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the coũtrey, & no doubt if the people durſt for feare of ỹ Portingals bring forth their gold, there would be had good ſtore: but they dare not ſel any thing, their ſubiection is ſo great to the Portingals. The 11. day running by the ſhoare we had ſight of a litle towne 4. leagues frõ the laſt towne that we came from, & about halfe a league from that of another towne vpõ a hil, & halfe a league from that alſo of another great towne vpõ the ſhoare: whither we went to ſee what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, becauſe wee thought that the Portingals would leaue the towne vpon our departure. Here grew ſome contention about one Greſham aboorde the Hinde, who refuſed to vndertake further paines without further wages: but the matter was quieted, for Packman tooke the charge which he refuſed, and ſo wee went towards the ſhoare, but the winde ſcanted ſo that we could not doe it. Along from the caſtle into this place are very high hilles which may be ſeene aboue all other hilles, but they are full of wood, & great red cliffes by the ſea ſide. The boates of theſe places are ſomewhat large & bigge, for one of them wil carry 12. men, but their forme is alike with the former boats of the coaſt. There are about theſe townes few riuers: their lãguage differeth not frõ the language vſed at Don Iohns towne: but euery one can ſpeake 3. or 4. words of Portuguiſe, which they vſed altogether to vs.

The Portingals of the Caſtle of Mina inuaded our men.

The towne of Don Iohn de Viſo.

We ſaw this night about 5. of the clocke 22. boats running along the ſhoare to the Weſtward, whereupon we ſuſpected ſome knauerie intended againſt vs. The 12. day therefore we ſet ſaile and went further along the coaſt, & deſcried more townes, wherin were greater houſes then in the other townes, & the people came out of the townes to looke vpon vs, but we could ſee no boates. Two mile beyond the Eaſtermoſt towne are blacke rocks, which black rocks continue to ỹ vttermoſt cape of the land, which is about a league off, & then ỹ land runnes in Eaſt northeaſt, & a ſandy ſhoare againe; vpon theſe black rocks came downe certaine Negroes, which waued vs vnto a white flag, but we perceiuing ỹ principal place to be neere, would not ſtay, but bare ſtill along the ſhoare: and as ſoone as we had opened ỹ point of the land, we raiſed another head land about a league of the point, which had a rocke lying off it into the ſea, & that they thought to be the place which we ſought. When we came almoſt thwart the place they knew it, & we put wares into our boat, & the ſhip being within halfe a mile of the place ancred in 5. fadom water, and faire ground. We went on ſhoare with our boate, and ancred about 10. of the clocke in the forenoone: we ſaw many boates lying vpon the ſhoare, and diuers came by vs, but none of them would come neere vs, being as we iudged afraied of vs: becauſe that foure men were taken perforce the laſt yeere from this place, ſo that no man came to vs, whereupon we went aboorde againe, and thought here to haue made no ſale: yet towardes night a great ſort came downe to the water ſide, and waued vs on ſhoare with a white flagge, and afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him,

Foure men taken away by the Engliſh.

and sate him downe by the shoare vnder a tree: which when I perceiued, I tooke things with me to giue him: at last he sent a boat to call to vs, which would not come neere vs, but made vs signes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them things to giue to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latton bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, & 6. bisket cakes, which they receiued making vs signes to come againe the next day, saying, that their Captaine was Grand Capitane as appeared by those that attended vpon him with their darts, and targets, and other weapons.

This towne is very great and stands vpon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be neere it: to the Eastward of it vpon the hil hard by the towne stand two high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And vnder the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the sea beates: and that ende next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyond the towne in a bay lieth a nother small towne.

The 13. day in the morning wee tooke our boate and went to shoare, and stayed till terne a clocke and no man came to vs: wee went about therefore to returne aboorde, and when the Negroes sawe that, they came running downe with a flagge to waue vs againe, so wee entred againe, and then one shewed vs that the Captaine would come downe by and by: wee sawe a saile in the meane time passe by vs, but it was small, and wee regarded it not. Being on shoare wee made a Tilt with our Dares and sayle, and then there came a boate to vs with fiue men in her, who brought vs againe our bottle, and brought me a henne, making signes by the sunne, that within 2. houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and bupe all that wee had: so I gaue them 6. Manillios to carry to their Captaine, and they made signes to haue a pledge of vs, and they would leaue vs another man: and we willing to doe so, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not giue vs one of theirs, so wee tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants: and shortly after one came downe arayed like their Captaine, with a great traine after him, who saluted vs friendly, and one of the chiefest of them went & sate downe vnder a tree, where the last yere the Captaine was wont to sit: and at last we perceiued a great many of them to stand at the ende of a hollow way, & behinde them the Portingals had planted a base, who suddenly shot at vs, but ouershot vs, and yet we were in a maner hard by them, and they shot at vs againe before we could ship our oares to get away, but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by vs, and discharged Caleuers at vs, and againe the Portingals shotte off their base twise more, and then our ship shot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

M. Robert Gainshers voyage to Guinea in Anno 1554.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against vs, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne, and 3. others from this place with their gold, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friendes with the Portingals, whom before they hated as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboorde the ship, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a castle in, and there they had good sales.

The 14. day we wayed & plyed backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in ꝑ morning we met, and so we turned both backe to ꝑ Eastwards to see what we could do at that place where the Trinitie did sel her 8. frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken 18. ounces & a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about 1. of the clocke we espied certaine boates vpon the sand & men by them, and went to them with marchandises, and tooke 3. ounces of gold for 18. fuffs of cloth, euery fuffe 3. yardes & a halfe after one Angel, and 12. graines the fuffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should haue golde ynough: so the Master tooke the Hind with Iohn Sauil, and Iohn Makeworth, & went to seeke the place aforesaid, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place, to see what we could doe the next day: and when the Negroes perceiued our ship to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & so sent forth 2. boats to vs with 4. men in them, requiring vs to tary, & to giue them one man for a pledge, and 2. of them should tary with vs for him, so Edward Morleis seruant seeing these men so earnest therein offred himselfe to be pledge, & we let him go for 2. of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of gold about his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of such things as we had and were wel contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light vpon the shoare thwart of vs, & about 1. of the clocke we hard & saw the light of a base which shot off twise at the said light, and by & by discharged 2. caleuers, which in the end we perceiued to be ꝑ Portingals Bzigandine which followed vs frō place to place, to giue warning to the people of the countrey, that they should not deale with vs. The 15. day in the morning the captaine came downe with 100. men with him, and brought his wife, & many others brought their wiues also, because their towne was 8. mile vp in the Countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would.

A Portingale Bzigandine.

When

When he was come he ſent our man aboord, and required to haue two men pledges, and he himſelfe would come aboord, and I ſent him 2. of whome he tooke but one, and ſo came aboord vs, hee and his wife, with diuers of his friends, & brought me a goate, and two great rootes, & I gaue him againe a lattan baſon, a white baſon, 6. manillios, and a bottel of Malmeſie, and to his wife a ſmal caſket. After this we began to make our meaſure and weight: and hee had a waight of his owne which held one Angel and 14. graines, and required a meaſure of 4. elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8. part for one Angel, and 20. graines, and before wee had done, they tooke mine owne weight and meaſure.

The 16. day I tooke 8. li. 1. ounce of gold: and ſince þ departure of the Hinde I hard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the firſt night, he ſaid he ſaw her caſt ancre aboue fiue leagues from this place. The 17. day I ſold about 17. pieces of cloth, and tooke 4. li. 4. ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18. day the captaine deſired to haue ſome of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottel: but I gaue it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke beſides. And this day alſo I tooke 5. li. 5. ounces of gold. The 19. day we ſold about 18. clothes, and tooke 4. li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20. day we tooke 3. li. 6. ounces and a quarter of gold. The 21. we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces & a quarter. And this night about 4. of the clocke the captaine who had layen all this while vpon the ſhoare, went away with all the reſt of the people with him.

The 23. day we were waued a ſhoare by other Negroes, and ſolde them cloth, caſkets, kniues, and a dolen of bels, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24. likewiſe we ſold bels, ſheeres, and thimbles, and tooke 2. li. 1. ounce, and a quarter of golde. The 25. day we ſold 7. dozen of ſmal bels, and other things, and then perceiuing their gold to be done, we waued & ſet ſaile and went to leeward to ſeeke the Hinde, and about 5. of the clocke at night we had ſight of her, and bare with her, and vnderſtood that ſhe had made ſome ſales. The 26. day we receiued out of the Hinde 48. li. 3. ounces, & 1. eight part of gold, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day vpon the requeſt of a Negro that came vnto vs from a captaine, we went to ſhoare with our marchandiſe, and tooke 7. li. and 1. ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of vs, but at night they ſent a man aboord vs, which lay with vs all night, becauſe we might know that they would alſo come to vs the next day. The 27. day in both our ſhippes we tooke 8. li. 1. ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28. wee made ſales for the companie, and tooke 1. li. and halfe an ounce of golde. The 29. day in the morning we heard 2. caleeuers ſhot off vpon the ſhoare, which we iudged to be either by the Portingals, or by the Negroes of the Portingals: we manned our boates and armed our ſelues and went to ſhoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30. day we made more ſales for the companie, and for the Maſters.

The 31. we ſent our boate to ſhoare to take in ſand for ballaſt, and there our men mette the Negroes, with whom they had made ſale the day before a fiſhing, which did helpe them to fill ſande, and hauing no gold, ſold fiſh to our men for their handkerchiefs, and nightkerchiefs.

The 1. day of Februarie we waued and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3. quarters of gold. The 2. day we made more ſales: but hauing vittelled our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time vpon the coaſt, becauſe the moſt part of our drinke was ſpent, and that which remained grew ſowre. The 3. and 4. dayes we made ſome ſales, though not greatly, and finding the winde this 4. day to come off the ſhoare, wee ſet ſaile & ranne along the ſhoare to the Weſtwards: vpõ this coaſt we found by experience, that ordinarily about 2. of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the ſhoare at Northnortheaſt, and ſo continueth vntill 8. of the clocke in the morning: and al the reſt of the day and night it comes out of the Southweſt: and as for the tide or currant vpon this ſhoare, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5. day we continued ſayling, and thought to haue met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, but found none.

Februarie.

They returne for England.

The 6. day we went our courſe Southweſt to fetch vnder the line, and ranne by eſtimation 24. leagues. The 7. day we ranne about 20. leagues, the 8. day, 12. leagues, the 9. day, 16. leagues, the 10. day, 18. leagues. the 11. day, 16. leagues, and ſo many more the 12. day.

The 13. day we thought our ſelues by our reckoning to be cleare of the Cape dos Palmas, and ranne 12. leagues.

The 14. day we ranne 16. leagues, the 15. 20. leagues, and ſo many more the 16. day.

The 17. day in the after noone the winde came vp at the Northweſt with a Ternado, and foule weather continued all day and night, with thunder & lightning: we ranne this day not aboue 4. leagues. The 18. day we had another Ternado, the winde being at Northweſt, and by Weſt: we ranne this day 12. leagues. The 19. day we ranne 10. leagues. The 20. day not about 5. leagues, by reaſon of the great change of windes, and foule weather.

The 21. we ranne our course with a good gale 25. leagues.

The 22. day Christopher Rawlinſon our Cooper, who had bene ſicke for the ſpace of one moneth before, died about 8. of the clocke at night, whoſe will I made before his death. This night we deſcried two ſaile of tal ships, but were content to paſſe quietly, and therefore went not roome with them. This day by our reckoning we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Weſtward of the Riuer de Seſtos, about 30. leagues.

Cape de Mõte.

The 23. day we receiued William Iobber for our Cooke, perceiuing that the Cooke himſelfe was weake and not able to doe that ſeruice for which he was ſhipped.

The 24. day we ranne about 20. leagues, the 25. day 25. leagues, the 26. day 16. leagues.

The 27. day we had a great Tornado out of the Southeaſt with much raine, which continued not aboue one houre, and then the winde came againe to the Southweſt with a good gale: and we made way this day 12. leagues.

The 28. day we had another Tornado out of the North, and Northnorthweſt, but continued not long, and ſo became calme againe preſently.

The 29. day we ranne (becauſe of the varietie of windes,) not aboue 7. leagues.

March. The firſt day of March in a Tornado we loſt the Hinde, whereupon we ſet vp a light, and ſhot off a piece but could not heare of her, ſo that then we ſtrooke our ſaile and taried for her, and in the morning had ſight of her againe, 3. leagues a ſterne of vs. We ranne as we accompted this day 6. leagues.

The 2. day we ranne 16. leagues, the 3. 20. leagues, the 4. 20. leagues more.

The 5. day we had ſight of a Carnel of about 100. tunnes to the windewards of vs, and when ſhe was thwart of vs we caſt about and gaue her the chaſe vntill 4. of the clocke, but could not fetche her.

Cape Verde in latitude 14. degrees and a halfe. From this day till the 22. of this moneth wee went our courſe directly. Vpon which 22. day we found our ſelues to be in the height of Cape Verde, which ſtandes in 14. degrees, and a halfe.

From this day till the 29. day we continued our courſe, and then we found our ſelues to be in 22. degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long ſicke, died in his ſleepe, his apparell was diſtributed to thoſe that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friendes, to be deliuered them at our comming home.

The 30. day we founde our ſelues to be vnder the Tropike.

The 31. day we went our courſe, and made way 18. leagues.

April. From the 1. day of April to the 20. we went our courſe, and then found our ſelues to be in the height of the Açores.

May. The ſeuenth day of May wee fell with the South part of Irelande, and going on ſhoare with our boate had freſh drinke, and two ſheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gaue them golde for them, and bought further ſuch other victuals as wee had neede of, and thought would ſerue vs till we arriued in England.

The 12. of May we fell with the Ile of Lundy in the Channel of Briſtoll, which lyeth about 5. leagues from the maine land of England.

The 13. day wee came betwixt the flat Holmes and the ſteepe Holmes, which are about 7. leagues from Briſtoll.

Their arriual at Briſtow. The 14. day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Briſtoll called Hungrode, and there ancred in ſafetie, and gaue thankes to God for our ſafe arriuall.

The ſecond voyage made by M. William Towrſon to *the coaſt of Guinea, and the Caſtle of Mina, in the yere 1556.* with the Tiger of London, a ſhippe of 120. tunnes, the Hart of London of 60. tunnes, and a Pinneſſe of 16. tunnes.

THe 14. day of September, the yere aboueſaid, at 8. of the clocke in the morning wee departed from Harwiche, and directed our courſe for the Ile of Sillye, to meete there with the Hart and Pinneſſe, which were rigged and victualled at Briſtoll, but arriuing there the 28. day wee founde them not, and therefore after long lying at hull to tarrie for them, but not eſpying them, wee returned backe to Plimmouth the 12. day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinneſſe came to vs; ſo that the 15. of November we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke

November.

clocke in the afternoone, and the 28 day we had ſight of the Iſle of Porto Sancto, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

The 3 day of December we fell with the Iſle of Palma, and the 9 we were chaunt of the Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Caruels ſiſhing for Pargoes. December.

The 19 we found our ſelues in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this way wee ranne thwart of certaine Currances, which did ſet to the Weſt Southweſtward ſo faſt as if it had bene the ouerfall of a ſand, making a great noyſe like vnto a ſtreame or tyde gate when the water is ſhoale: and to proue whether we could finde ground in this place, we ſounded and had 150 fadom, and no ground, and ſo he parted. Sierra Leona.

The 30 of December we fell with the coaſt of Guinea, and had firſt ſight of it about 4 leagues off. The beſt marke that wee could take of the place to knowe it, was three hilles, which lays Northeaſt and by Eaſt from vs: betwixt the Northermoſt two hilles, there are two high and great trees ſtanding in ſight as it were a ſailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northweſtwards are certaine hommocks. Hauing ſailed ſomewhat into the ſhoare, wee tooke our ſelues to be ſhotte ſomewhat paſt the Riuer de Seſtos, ſo that we kept about to fetche it. And a litle after wee had ſight of three ſailes of ſhippes, and two pinneſſes which were in the weather of vs, and hauing ſight of them, we made our ſelues readie to meete them, and halled off our ſhips to fetche the winde as neere as wee could: and hauing ſayled about an houre or two, they alſo went about, and went as wee went to make themſelues readie, and when wee had them in chace, they went away from vs: but when they had made themſelues readie, they kept about againe, and came with vs very finely appointed with their ſtreamers, and pendants and enſignes, and noyſe of trumpets very brauely: ſo when we met, they had the weather of vs, and wee being determined to fight if they had bene Portingals, waued them to come vnder our lee, which they denied ſtoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they ſaide of Fraunce, we tolde them againe that we were of London in England. They aſked of vs what Portingals wee had ſeene, wee anſwered, none but fiſhermen: then they tolde vs that there were certaine Portingall ſhippes gone to the Mina to defende it, and that they mette with another at the Riuer de Seſtos, which was a ſhippe of two hundreth, which they had burned, and had ſaued none but the maſter and two or three Negroes, and certaine others which were ſore burned, which they left a ſhoare there. Then they deſired to come aboorde of vs with their boates to talke with vs, and wee gaue them leaue. Then the Captaine of the Admirall and diuers others came aboorde very friendly, deſiring vs to keepe them company becauſe of the Portingals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee tolde them that we had not watered, and that we were but nowe fallen with the coaſt, and they ſhewed vs that we were fiftie leagues paſt the Riuer de Seſtos: notwithſtanding there was water ynough to bee had, and they would helpe vs to water with their owne boates, becauſe they would haue our companie. And tolde vs further, that they had bene ſixe weekes vpon the coaſt, and had gotten but three tunne of graines amongſt them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mine were cleare, yet if they did goe before vs they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portingals were there and did take them, they would vnderſtande that wee were behinde, and ſo would waite for vs. And further wee made accompt, that if wee went with them wee ſhould doe as well as they if the coaſt were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them, wee were aſſured to be the ſtronger. Therefore hauing conſidered thus much of their gentle offers, wee tolde them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they deſired mee to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the Maſters of our ſhippes with mee, and ſuch marchants as I thought good, promiſing to giue vs water out of their owne ſhippes if we would take it, or els to trade with vs, and helpe vs to water with their owne boates and Pinneſſes. They admit certaine Frenchmen into their company.

The one and thirtieth day in the morning, the Admirall ſent his boate aboorde for mee, and I tooke our Maſters and certaine of our Marchants and went to him, who had prouided a notable banquet for vs, and intreated vs very friendly, deſiring vs ſtill to keepe his companie, promiſing that what victuals were in his ſhippes, or other things that might doe vs pleaſure vntill the ende, wee ſhould haue the one halfe of it, offering vs, if wee would, to ſtrike his Flagges, and to be at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anere, and to ſende our boate on ſhoare with the Admirals boate, and one of his Pinneſſes, and an Almaine which they had brought out of Fraunce, to ſeeke water, as for our Pinneſſe ſhe came to an anere to ſea ward of vs all, and would not come at vs. All this night the boates continued on ſhoare.

The firſt day of January our boats came to bee againe and had found no riuer. Whereupon we Ianuarie.

wayes and set saile, and ancred againe at another Riuer.

The 2. day we went into the Riuer and bargained, and tooke 5. small Elephants teeth.

The 3. day we tooke 5. more.

An assault vpon Elephants. The 4. day the French Admirall and we tooke 15. small teeth. This day we tooke 30. men with vs & went to seeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebusses, pikes, long bowes, crosbowes, partizans, long swoords, and swoords and bucklers: we founde 2. Elephants which we strooke diuers times with harquebusses and long bowes, but they went away from vs and hurt one of our men. The 5. day we set saile and ranne along the coast.

The Riuer of S. Andros. The 6. day we fell with the Riuer of S. Andros, at which place the lande is somewhat high to the Westward of the Riuer, and a faire bay also to the Westward of it: but to the East warde of it, it is lowe land.

The 7. day we went into the Riuer and found no village, but certaine wilde Negroes not accustomed to trade. It is a very great Riuer, and 7. fadom water in some places at the entring: here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8. day we sailed along the shore and came to the red cliffes, and went forwarde in saying the 9. day also.

Captaine Blundel the French Admirall. The 10. day we came together to confer with Captaine Blundel Admirall of the French ships, Ierom Baudet his vice Admirall, and Iohn de Orleans master of a ship of 70. tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God should sende vs to any place where we might make sale, that we should be of one accord and not one of vs hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the rest, and then one boate to make sale for euery shippe. This night our boates going to the shoare met with certaine Negroes, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast ancre.

Allowe. The 11. day all the day we tooke but one halfe Angel waighe of 4. graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no waighe: the Negroes called this place Allowe.

The 12. day we ranne along the coast and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to vs, and therefore we went our course.

The 13. day I tooke my boate and went along the shoare, & passed by diuers small townes, and was waued to come on shoare at 3. places, but the sea went so high vpon the shoare, that it was not possible for vs to land, neither could they come to vs if they had had boates, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would haue come vnto vs, but the land wash went so fore, that it ouerthrew his boate, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so fore, that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and caried it amongst them to their towne.

Dondowe, a great towne. The 14. day we came within Baker shot of the castle, & straight way they set forth an Almade to descrie vs, and when they perceiued that we were no Portingals, they ran within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the castle, which is called by the Negroes, Dondow. Without this there lie two great rocks like Ilands, and the castle standeth vpon a point which sheweth almost like an Iland. Before we came at this castle, we found the land for 5. or 6. leagues to bee high land, and about 7. leagues before we came to the castle, low land till we came at the castel, and then we found y land high againe. This castle standeth about 5. leagues on this side the Cape Trois points. Here I tooke the boate with our Negroes and ranne alongst the shoare, till I came to the Cape & found two small townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At these places our Negroes did vnderstand them well, and one of them went a shoare at all the places, and was well receiued of them: this night we ancred at the Cape Trois points.

The castel of Mina.

Cape Trois points. The 15. day I tooke our boate & went along the shoare, & about 3. leagues beyond the Cape most part of the Cape we found a faire bay where we ran in, and found a small towne, and certaine boates which belonged to the same towne, but the Negroes in a long time would not come to vs, but at the last by the perswasion of our owne Negroes one boat came to vs, and with him we sent George our Negro a shoare, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boats without feare, & I gaue to their captaine a balon, & two strings of Margarets, & they shewed vs about 5. duckets waight of golde, but they required so much for it that we would not take it, because the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, & the price being made then euery man to sell in his owne boate, and no man to giue more then the price which should be set by vs all. This place is called Bulle, & here the Negroes were very glad of our Negroes and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had tolde them that they were the men that were taken away, being now againe brought by vs.

Bulle.

The Negroes here shewed vs, that a moneth since there were 3. ships that fought together, & the two

two shippes put the other to flight, and before that at the castle of Mina there were 4. shippes of the Portingals, which met with one French man, which Frenchmen caused them all to flee, which shippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company iudged her to be there about that time, with her pinnasse also: and further, that after her went a shippe of twelue score, named the Shawdet, all alone, and after her a shippe of fourte score, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also which they left, one at Cape Verde, called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the riuer De Sestos, besides these three, which all this time be in our companie, whose names be these:

The Espoyer of Hableneff, which is the Admirall, whose Captaine is Denys Blundell.
The Leuriere of Roan Vice admirall, whose Master is Ierom Bawdet.
The other is of Hunfleur, whose Master is called Iohn de Orleance.

The sixteene day, I went along the shoare, with two pinnesses of the Frenchmens, and found a Bay, and a fresh riuer, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelue leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negroes were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for ioy, when they saw them, and demaunded of them where Anthony, and Binne had bene: and they told them, that they had bene at London in England, and should be brought home the next voyage. Also, after this, our Negroes came aboord, with other Negroes, which brought a weight with them, which was so small, that we coulde not giue them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it. Hanta.

The Negroes here told vs, that there were fiue Portingall shippes at the Castle, and one pinnesse, and that the Portingals did much harme to their Countrey, and that they liued in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portingals, whereof they were very glad.

The 17. day we went a shoare, and the Frenchmen with vs, but did no great good, the Negroes were so vnreasonable, we solde foure score Manellios for one ounce of golde.

Then we departed, and went to Shamma, and went into the riuer, with fiue boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets, and drummes, for we thought here to haue found some Portingals, but there were none: so we sent our Negroes a shoare, and after them went diuers of vs, and were very well receiued, and the people were very glad of our Negroes, specially one of their brothers wiues, and one of their aunts, which receiued them with much ioy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the Captaine, and tolde him, that he should not feare the Portingals, for we would defende him from them: whereupon we caused our boates to shoote off their bases, and harquebusses, and caused our men to come on shoare with their long bowes, and they shot before the captaine, which he, with all the rest of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoote so farre as they did, and assayed to draw their bowes, but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked euery howre for the Portingals. And here the Negroes shewed vs, that there was an English shippe at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negroes againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away. Shamma. The Negroes brought home by our men. Note.

The 18. day we went into the riuer, with no lesse strength then before, and concluded with the Negroes to giue them for euery fusse two pardes and three nailes of cloth, and to take for it one Angell Ducket: so that we tooke in all 70. Duckets, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and we thirtie.

The 19. day we went a shoare, euery man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of golde, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of golde, and our Harts boate tooke 21. ounces. At night, the Negroes shewed vs, that the next day the Portingals would be with vs, by land or by sea: and when we were ready to depart, we heard diuers harquebusses shoote off in the woods by vs, which we knew to be Portingals, which durst come no neerer to vs, but shot off in the woods, to see if they could feare vs, and so make vs to leaue our traffike.

The 20. day, we manned our fiue boates, and also a great boate of the Frenchmens, with our men, and the Admirals, twelue of them in their murrions, and corslets, and the rest all well appointed, with foure trumpets, a drumme, and a fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of silke, and pendants very faire, and went into the riuer, and trafficked, our man of warre lying off, and on in the riuer to waft vs, but we heard no more of the Portingals. This day the Negroes told vs, that there were certaine shippes come into Hanta, which towne is about two leagues to the westward of this place.

The 21. day we manned our boates againe, and went to a place a league from this, to the westwards, and there found many Negroes, with another Captaine, and solde at the same rate that

that we had done with the others.

The 22. day, we went a shoare againe, and trafficked in like sort quietly, and I tooke foure pound and sixe ounces of golde.

The 23. day, about night, the Negroes with their Captaine, came to vs, and tolde vs that the king of Portingals shippes were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to plye to the windward, to come to vs, giuing vs warning to take heede to our selues: we told them againe, that we were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meete them: and to allure them that we were glad of it, we sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine bases, whereof the Negroes were very glad, and requested vs, that if the Portingals sought to hinder our traffike, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising vs, that if they came by land, they would aduertise vs thereof.

The 24. we went a shoare with our trumpets, and drummes, and trafficked, and I had the Captaine of the towne to dinner.

Fiue sailes of Portingals descried.

The 25. day, we being a shoare, our ships had descried fiue sayles of the King of the Portingals, and our shippes shotte off ordinance to call vs away, and we threwe euery man his caske a shoare for water, and went to our shippes, and by that time we had waied, and giuen ouer one to another what to doe, it was night, so that that night nothing was done: we set sayle, and lay close all night, to get the winde if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shotte off a peece, which we iudged to be the Admirall of the Portingals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our selues ready for fight.

The 26. we came in with the shoare, and had sight of the Portingals, where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gaue all our men white scarffs, to the ende that the Frenchmen might knowe one the other, if we came to boording: but the night came vpon vs, that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within Demy culuering shot of them.

The 27. day we waied, and so did the Portingals, and about eleuen of the clocke, we had the winde of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceiued, they kept about to the shoare againe, and we after them, and when they were so neere the shoare, that they coulde not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topsailes, and taried for them, and the first that came vp, was a small barke, which sailed so well, that she cared not for any of vs, and caried good ordinance, and alloone as she came vp, she shot at vs, and ouershot vs, and then she

The fight with the Portingals.

shot at the Admiral of the Frenchmen, and shot him through in two or three places, and went forth a head of vs, because we were in our fighting sailes: then came vp another caruell vnder our lee in like case, which shotte at vs, and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men, and shot him through the mayne masse. And after them came vp the Admirall vnder our Lee also, but he was not able to doe vs so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side, that she laide all her ordinance in the sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great shippe aboord, and alloone as the French Admiral went roome with him, he fell a sterne, & could not fetch him, and after he fel a sterne of two caruels more, and could fetch none of them, but fell to leeward

The French forsake our men.

of them all: and when he was to leeward, he kept about to the shoareward, and left vs, and then we put out our topsailes, and gaue them chase, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere vs, and our owne shippe was a sterne, so that she could not come to vs: and after we had followed them about two howres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shoare, thinking to pay vs as they went along by, & to haue the wind of the French Admirall, which before ran in towards the shoare, & we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them, thinking that our Viceadmiral, and the other, would haue followed vs, as we willed them to doe: but after that the Portingall was past by them, and euery one had shot at vs & our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmiral, and the two Frenchmen, and our owne pinnesse, left vs in the laps, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along, and kept the wind of them, to succour the French Admiral, who was vnder all of their lees, and when they met with him, euery one went roome with him, & gaue him the broad side, and after they cast about againe, and durst not boord him, because they sawe vs in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them: for three of them which were the smallest, went so fast, that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordinance, that if they had had the weather of vs, they would haue troubled three of the best ships that we had, and as for their Admirall, and Viceadmirall, they were both notably appointed.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, he laye as neere the winde as he could: and we followed them still towardes the shoare, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the

rest,

reſt, and left vs all alone: and when the Portingals perceiued that we were alone, and gaue them chaſe, they kept about with vs, and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne ſtill within baſe ſhot of them; but they ſhot not at vs, becauſe we had the weather of them, and ſaw that they could doe vs no hurt: and thus we followed one another vntill night, and in the night we loſt them, but as for all the reſt of our ſhippes, they packed on all the ſailes that they could, and ranne to ſea, and, as they themſelues confeſſe, they paied for vs, but as for helpe at their hands we could haue none.

The 28. day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinneſſe, and two of the French men, and the third was fled, which was a ſhippe of foure ſcore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the ſight of the reſt of our ſhippes, I tooke our ſkiffe, and went to them, to knowe, why they loſt vs in ſuch a caſe, and Iohn Kire made me anſwer, that his ſhippe would neither teare nor ſteere, and as for the pinneſſe, Iohn Daueis made me anſwer, that ſhe would doe nothing, and that he could carry her no further, for her rudder was broken, ſo that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himſelfe to be a man of good ſtomake, but the one halfe of his men were ſicke, and dead, and then I talked with the ſmaller French man, and he made me anſwer, that he could doe nothing, ſaying, that his ſhippe would beare no ſaile, and had ſixteene alſo of his men dead, and ſicke, ſo he made vs plaine anſwer, that he was able to doe nothing. After this, the Frenchmen durſt not anker for feare of the Portingals.

The 29. day, the Maſter of the pinneſſe came to vs, and ſaide, that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then we viewed her, and ſeeing that there was no remedie, her rudder with all the yron worke being broken both aloft and below, we agreed to breake her vp, and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out of her foure baſes, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and ſet her on fire, and afterwards ranne along the coaſt. The Engliſh pinneſſe giuen vp.

The thirtie day, we went into the ſhoare, and ſpake with certaine Negroes, who tolde vs, that ſome French ſhippes had bene there, but we could not bargaine with them, they were ſo vnreaſonable.

The 31. day, I went to ſhoare, but did not traffike.

The firſt day of Februarie we waied, ſeeing we could not bring the Negroes to any reaſon, and came to another place, which ſtandeth vpon a hill. Februarie.

The ſecond day we waied hence, and had ſight of a ſaile, which departed from the place aforeſaid, and ſhot off two peeces for his pinneſſe, which was a ſhoare: then I tooke our boate, and the Frenchmen tooke theirs, and went with the ſaile to deſcry him, and when we had rowed about a league, we had ſight of the pinneſſe: the ſhippe was gone ſo farre, that we could not reach her: but the pinneſſe we found to be the French men, which ranne away from vs, when we were in fight with the Portingals. After this, we went to the ſhoare, and found the Negroes vnreaſonable in their prices, and dealt not with them.

The third day, I went to a towne foure leagues from vs, and ſhot off two peeces, and the Captaine came to vs, and I ſent Thomas Rippen a land, who knewe the Captaine, and alſoone as he came a ſhoare, the Captaine knew him, and diuers of the Negroes, who then began to aſke for me, and hauing told the Captaine that I was in the boate, he made no longer tarying, but by and by cauſed two boates to be put to the ſea, and came to me himſelfe, and when he ſawe me, he cried to me, before he came to the boate, and ſeemed to be the gladdeſt man aliue, and ſo did all the companie that knew me, and I gaue him a reward, as the manner of the Countrey is, and cauſed the Frenchmen to giue another, promiſſing the next day to giue him wine: and that night, becauſe it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me, and ſo departed.

The fourth day, going on ſhoare, I found that the ſhippes of France, which had bene there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke fiue ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of golde: but I ſawe that the Negroes perceiued the difference in cloth, betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told Captaine Blundel, that I would goe to the Leeward, becauſe I perceiued, that being there where his cloth was ſolde, I ſhould doe no good, wherefore he was ſorie.

The firſt day there came an Almade, and Negroes aboord me, requeſting me to come to their towne, for they had much golde, and many marchants: and ſo I went, and found their olde Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night we did no good, becauſe the marchants were not come downe: ſo he required a pledge, which I let him haue, and tooke another of him.

The ſeuenth day, George our Negro came to vs, who had followed vs at the leaſt thirtie leagues, George the Negro.

leagues in a small boate, and when he came, the Negroes and we soone concluded of price. I tooke this day fiue pound and one ounce, & three quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma, at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight being a shoare, and that when we were gone from the Portingals, the Portingals came into their riuer, and tolde them, that the Englishmen had slaine two Portingals with a peece, which was in deede out of our shippe, and they required harbour there, but the Captaine of Shamma would not suffer them.

Two Portingals slaine by the English.

The eight day, we tooke nineteene pound, three ounces and a halfe.

The ninth day, we tooke two pound, sixe ounces, and a halfe.

The tenth day, three pound.

The 11. day, came to vs Ierome Bawdi, the Viceadmirall of the French men, and his pinnesse, and he shewed vs, that where we left them, there was no good to be done, and said, he would goe to the Eastward, but we tolde him he should not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his companie, which he was appointed to be with, which he refused to doe, vntil we had shot three or foure peeces at their pinnesse, and when the ship saw that, she kept about, and came to seawarn, & durst come no neerer to vs, so the pinnesse went after her. We tooke this day 1. pound, 5. ounces.

The French men bidden by the English.

The 12. day, there came one of the French mens pinnesse to vs, laden with cloth, and would haue made sale: but I would not suffer him, and therefore tooke him, and sent him aboord of our shippe, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke fiue pound, sixe ounces, and a halfe.

The 13. day, we tooke in sande to balaste our shippe.

The 14. day, we tooke of some Negroes foure ounces of golde.

The 15. we came farther along the shoare.

The 16. we came to another towne.

The 17. day, I went a shoare, and vnderstoode that three of the Portingall ships were at the castle, and the other two at Shamma. The Captaine of this towne was gone to the principal towne, to speake with their King, and would returne shortly as they tolde me, and so he did, and brought me a weight and measure, and I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their King. The Portingall shippes rid so neere vs, that within three howres they might be with vs, yet we were all contented to tary for sales.

The 18. day, certaine of the Kings seruants came to vs, and we tooke one pound, two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

The 19. day, we tooke fiue pound, and one ounce.

The 20. day, one pound and foure ounces.

The 21. I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two peeces, which were not fine enough, as they said, but seeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I prouided a gift, or present, and sent one merchant, and a marriner with it to the King, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reason whereof, we could not lay long: for in deede we searched our shippe, and the most part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22. day, we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

King Ebaane.

The 23. our men came from the King Ebaane, and tolde vs, that he had receiued them very friendly, but he had liele golde, but promised, if we would tary, to sende into all his countrey, for gold for vs, and he willed our men at their comming home, to speake to our king, to send men and prouision into his countrey, to build a Castle, and to bring Tailers with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they should be sure to sell them: but for that present, the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

The offer of the king to the English.

This towne standeth about foure leagues vp in the land, and is, by the estimation of our men, as bigge in circuite as London, but the building is like to the rest of the countrey. They haue about this towne, great store of the wheate of the Countrey, and they iudge, that on one side of the towne, there were 1000. rikes of wheate, and another sort of corne, which is called mill, which is much vsed in Spaine. About this towne, they keepe good watch euery night, and haue to warne the watchmen certaine coyds made fast ouer their waies, which leade into the towne, and certaine bels vpon them, so that if any man touch the coydes, the bels ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houses, to see what they be: and if they be enemies, if they passe the coyd, they haue prouision with certaine nets hanged ouer the waies, where they must passe, to let fall vpon them, and so take them, & otherwise then by the waies it is not possible to enter the towne, by reason of the thickets, and bushes, which are about the same, and the towne is also walled round about with long coyds, and bound together with sedge, and certaine barkes of trees.

A towne in circuite as big as London.

A prettie deuise to destroy the enemie.

When our men came to the towne, it was about fiue of the clocke in the morning, for there they

trauell

trauell alwaies in the night, by reaſon of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the King ſent for them, for there may no man come to him, before he be ſent for, and then they would haue caried their preſent with them: but the Negroes told them, that they muſt be three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and receiued them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an howre, and then they departed, and after that, ſent for them againe three times, and laſt of all, they brought him their preſent, which he receiued thankefully, and then cauſed a pot of wine of Palme to be brought forth, and made them drinke, and before they drinke, both here, and in all the Countrey, they vſe certaine ceremonies. The Kings friendly intertainment of our men.

Firſt, they bring forth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, and put ſome of the drinke into it, and they caſt the earth vpon it, which they digged forth before, and then they ſet the pot vpon the ſame, then they take a litle thing made of a gourd, and with that they take out of the ſame drinke, and put it vpon the ground in three places, and in diuers places they haue certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees, ſet in the ground before them, and there they put in ſome drinke, doing great reuerence in all places to the ſame Palme trees. Their ceremonies in drinking.

All theſe ceremonies firſt done, the King tooke a cup of golde, and they put him in wine, and he dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, vpon the Twelfe night, the kinning drinkes: and when he had drunke, then they gaue drinke to euery one, and that done, the King licenſed them to depart, and euery one that departeth from him, boweth three times towards him, and waueth with both hands together, as they bowe, and then doe depart. The King hath commonly ſitting by him, eight or ten ancient men, with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and ten ounces of golde.

The 24. day, we tooke three pound and ſeuen ounces.

The 25. we tooke three ounces, and three quarters.

The 26. we tooke two pound and ten ounces.

The 27. two pound and fiue ounces.

The 28. foure pound, and then ſeeing that there was no more golde to be had, we waied, and went forth.

The firſt day of March, we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boates nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to vs from another towne, of whome we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde vs that the Negroes that dwelled at Mowre, were gone to dwell at Lagwa. Marche. Mowre. Lagwa.

The ſecond day, we came thwart of the Caſtle, and about two leagues off, and there ſawe all the fiue Portingall ſhippes at anker, and this day by night, we fetched Shamma. They returne.

The third day, we had ſight of one tall ſhippe, of about two hundreth tunne in the weather of vs, and within leſſe then two leagues of our ſhippes, and then we ſawe two more a sterne of her, the one a ſhippe of fiue hundreth or more, and the other a pinneſſe, and theſe were a newe fleete at that preſent arriued out of Portingall. Whereupon we waied, and made ſhift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South ſouthweſt, the Hart going roome with them, fell three leagues to the leewards of vs. Theſe Portingals gaue vs the chaſe from nine of the clocke in the morning, till fiue at night, but did no good againſt vs. At laſt, we perceiuing the Admiral to be farre a sterne of his companie, becauſe his maine toppemaſt was ſpent, determined to caſte about with them againe, becauſe we were ſure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our beſt courſe: but the Hart was ſo farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would looſe her companie, ſo that we tooke in ſome of our ſailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceiued, he loffed too, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not ſpeake to vs: then we aſked of his companie, why he went ſo roome, and they made excuſe that they were able to beare no ſaile by, for feare of bearing their foretoppmaſt ouer boord: but this was a ſimple excuſe.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place, we began to ſeeth our meate in ſalt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and ſo concluded to ſet our courſe thence for our owne countrey.

The twelfe of March, I found my ſelfe thwart of Cape Dos palmas.

The 16. day, we fell with the land, which we iudged to be the Cape Miſerado, about which place, is very much high land. Cape Miſerado.

The 17. we lay South ſouthweſt, with a prettie gale.

The 18. day, we loſt ſight of the Hart, and I thinke the wilfull Paſſer ranne in with the ſhoare

shoare of purpole to loose vs, being offended that I told him of his owne folly.

The 19. day, we bare a small saile, to tary for the Hart, but could not descry her.

The 27. day, we fell in sight of two small Ilands, which lye by our reckoning fiue leagues off the headlande of Sierra Leona: and before we came in sight of the same Ilands, we made our reckoning to be fortie or thirtie leagues at the least off them. Therefore all they that saile this way, are to regarde the currants, which serue Northly Northwest, or els they may be much deceiued.

Two small Ilands by Sierra Leona. Note.

Aprill. The 14. of Aprill, we met with two great shippes of Portingall, which although they were in the weather of vs, yet came not roome with vs, whereby we iudged that they were bounde for Callicut.

The 18. day, we were in the height of Cape De Verde.

The 23. one of our companie, called Edmond Perkine, deceased.

The 24. we were directly under the Tropike of Cancer.

May. The first day of May, Henrie Wilson our Steward died: and the next day died Iohn Vnderwood.

The fift day, we were in the height of S. Michael.

The 9. day, we met with two tall shippes, bound for New found lande, as we iudged, being Biskaines, but as it well fel out, we had the weather of them, so that they were able to doe nothing to vs.

The 20. day, we met with a shippe of 60. tunne, and we thought it had bene the Hart, but it was not, we iudged it to be an English shippe.

The 22. we met with the same shippe againe, but she was in the weather of vs, and so kept the wind still.

The 23. we had sight of a shippe in the weather of vs, which was a Frenchman, of 90. tunne, who came with vs as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and comming neere vs perceiued, that we had bene vpon a long voyage, and iudging vs to be weake, as in deede we were, came neerer vs, and thought to haue laide vs aboord, and there kept vp some of his men in armour, and commaunded vs to strike saile: whereupon we sent them some of our stuffe, crosse barres, and chaine shot, and arrowes, so thicke, that it made the vpper worke of their shippe flee about their eares, and we spoiled with all his men, and toare his shippe miserably with our great ordinance, and then he begamne to fall a sterne of vs, and to packe on his sailes, and to get away: and we seing that, gaue him foure or fiue good peeces more for his fare well, and thus we were rid of this Frenchman, who did vs no harme at all. We had aboord vs a Frenchman a Trumpetter, who being sicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and blewe, till he could blow no more, and so died.

A French hande.

The 26. we had sight of another saile, & we went roome to haue spoken with her, but could not.

The 28. we conferred together, and agreed to goe into Seuerne, and so to Bristol, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end, to goe into Seuerne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29. day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arrined safely in Plymmouth, and praised God for our good arriuall.

The third and last voyage of Maister William Towrson, to the *coast of Guinie, and the Castle de Mina, in the yeere, 1557.*

THe 30. day of Ianuary, the yeere aboue sayd, we departed out of the Sownde of Plymmouth, with three shippes, and a pinnesse, whereof the names were these:

1. The Minion, Admirall of the fleete,
2. The Chrystopher, Vice admirall.
3. The Tyger.
4. A pinnesse, called the Vnicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.

It is to be vnderstood, that at this time, there was warre betwixt England and France.

The next day, being the last of this moneth, in the afternoone, we mette with two Hulkes of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a shippe of 400. tunnes, and the other called the Vnicorne, of 150. tunnes, the Master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the Master of the Vnicorne, Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the most part, with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoise footh their boates, and to come, and speak with vs, and we examined euery one of them a part, what Frenchmens goods they had in their shippes, and they saide, they

they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the ſuſpition which wee gathered of their falſe charter parties, we perceiued that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore cauſed one of them to fetche vs his bils of lading, and becauſe hee denied that he had any, wee ſent certaine with him, who cauſed him to goe to the place where hee had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon wee examined them ſtraightly, and firſt the purſer of the Vnicorne which was the ſmaller ſhippe: he confeſſed that they had 32. tunnes and a hogſhead of a Frenchmans. Then we examined the Maſter in like caſe, and he acknowledged the ſame to be true. Then wee examined alſo the Maſter of the great ſhippe, and he confeſſed that hee had 128. tunnes of the ſame Frenchmans, and more they woulde not confeſſe, but ſaide that all the reſt was laden by one Peter Lewgues of Hamburge, to bee deliuered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithſtanding all their letters were directed to Hamburge, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confeſſed that they had thus much French mens goods within their ſhippes, we conferred together what was beſt to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it ſhould bee good either to carie them into Spaine, and there to make ſale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into Englande with them if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Maſters, firſt by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no ſuch matter wee ſhoulde in any caſe prolong the time, for feare of looſing the voyage, and conſidering that the time of the yeere was very farre ſpent, and the money that wee ſhould make of the wines not very much, in reſpect of the commoditie which wee hoped for by the voyage, perſwaded them that to goe into Ireland the winde being Eaſterly as it was, might be an occaſion that wee ſhould be locked in there with that winde, and ſo looſe our voyage, and to carie them into Spaine (ſeeing they ſailed ſo ill that hauing all their ſailes abroade, we kept them companie onely with our foreſailes, and without any toppe ſailes abroade, ſo that in euery two dayes ſayling, they would haue hindered vs more then one, and beſides that the winde being Eaſterly) we ſhould not be able to ſeaze the coaſt with them: beſides all this the loſſe of time when we came thither was to be conſidered, wherupon I thought it not good to carie them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good as it was not, conſidering what charge we had of our Maſters, to ſhift vs out of the way for feare of a ſtay by reaſon of the warres, I held it not in any wiſe conuenient.

But notwithſtanding al this, certaine of our companie not being herewith ſatiſfied, went to our Maſter to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine anſwere, that to carry them into any place, it was not the beſt way nor the profite of their Maſters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they paſſed the Cape, but a fewe men would goe the voyage. All theſe things conſidered, we all pauſed, and determined at the laſt, that euery man ſhould take out of the hulks ſo much as he could well beſtow for neceſſaries, and the next morning to conclude what ſhould be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for vs 14. tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinneſſe.

The French mens goods ſeazed, in the time of the warre vpon the ſeas.

Note we tooke out one hogſhead of Aquauitæ.

Sixe cakes of roſen.

A ſmall haller for eyes: and certaine cheſſenuts.

The Chriſtopher tooke out,

Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogſhead.

A quantitie of Aquauitæ.

Shall lines.

Cheſſenuts.

Sixe double baſes with their chambers. And their men broke vp the hulks cheſtes, and tooke out their Compaſſes, and running glaſſes, the ſounding leade and line, and candles: and caſt ſome of their beefe ouer boord, and ſpoiled them ſo much, that of very pitie we gaue them a Compaſſe, a running glaſſe, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ſhip, we gaue them againe, and ſome money alſo of that which William Crompton tooke for the ranſome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the Riuer of Bourdeux, they were not able to ſet him a ſhoare againe by reaſon of the foule weather.

The Tyger alſo tooke out of the ſmaller hulke, 6. or 7. tunnes of wine, one hogſhead of Aquauitæ; and certaine roſen, and two Baſes he tooke out of the great hulke.

The 1. day of February in the morning, we all came together againe ſauing W. Crompton, who ſent vs word that he was contented to agree to that order which we ſhould take. February.

how Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put men into them to carrie them into England, which thing neither wee nor our Master would agree vnto, because we thought it not good to vnman our ships going outward, considering how dangerous the time was: so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and giue them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the fraight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rossen, Aquauitæ, chessenuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we receiued a bil of their hands, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 3. day in the morning we found a great leake in the sternme of our ship, and in one houre pumped 400. strokes, and besides we found that our boltsprete and foremaste were both sprong, that wee coulde not well beare any sailes vpon them, and finding our selues to be 24. leagues or thereabout North from Cape finister, wee bare with the Tyger and shewed the Master that wee would runne South to runne vnder the Cape to stoppe our leake, and fish our maste, which Richard Packman agreed vnto: then we bare with the Christopher, and shewed them therof in like case, but the Master answered nothing thereto. Yet thinking that hee knowing our necessitie would haue followed vs, we ranne South to haue the Cape aboorde, and so did the Tyger, but the Christopher kept her course South and by West, and would not come neere vs, so that in the afternoone we were forced to goe roome with him againe, and refuse the going with the Cape, putting both our mast and ship in great danger, which with the helpe of the carpenters in 3. houres in smooth water might haue bene mended.

The 4. day in the morning the Tyger sprong the woolings of her boltsprete, and so was forced to take in her topsailes and mainesaile, and with her foresaile lay to the Westwarde to mende the same againe, and we followed her, but the Christopher did not.

The 5. day we reckoned our selues to be in the height of Cape S. Vincent.

The 7. day we met with the winde at South with gusts of raine, lightning, and thunder, and so continued all night following the winde, sometimes South, and sometimes Southsouthwest: but alwayes as soone as the gusts were done, the winde came againe to the Northeast. This night we were in the height of Porto Sancto.

The 10. day we reckoned our selues to be 25. leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about 9. of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to towe her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About 11. of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11. day when we came to the Iland we perceiued that it was the Ile of Tenerif, and then in deede we had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12. leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif: and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, hauing the winde large, we agreed to goe with the Grand Canarie.

The 12. day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lyeth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off diuers pieces of ordinance to salute the towne and the castle, the gouernour and captaines of the Iland sent to vs which were the captaines of the shippes, requiring vs to come a shoare. And when we came to them they receiued vs very friendly, offering vs their owne Iennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendlship they could shew vs: and we went to the towne with two English Marchants which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboorde to deliuer our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

Two English Marchants lyers in the Grand Canarie.

The 14. day came into the roade the Spanish fleete which was bounde to the Emperours Indies, which were in nomber nineteene saile, whereof 6. were shippes of 400. and 500. a piece, the rest were of 200. 150. and of 100. When they were come to an ancre they saluted vs with ordinance, and so wee did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight,) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him, and when I came to him hee receiued mee friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet I departed, and I being gone vnto the boate, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portingale which was my interpreter, to require mee to furle my flagge, declaring that he was Generall of the Emperours fleete. Which thing (being come aboord) Francisco shewed me: and because I refused to furle it, but kept it footh still, certaine of the souldiers in the shippes, shotte diuers harquebush shotte about the shippe, and ouer the flagge: and at the same time there came certaine gentlemen aboorde our shippe to see her: to whome I said, that if they would not cause those their men to leaue shooting, I would shoote the best ordinance I had through their sides. And when they perceiued that I was offended they departed, and caused their men of warre

The Spanish West Indian fleete of 19. saile.

and

and ſouldiers to ſhoote no more, and afterwards they came to mee againe, and tolde me that they had punished their men. That done, I ſhewed them the ſhippe and made them ſuch cheere as I could, which they received very thankfully: and the day following they ſent for mee to dine with them, and ſent me word that their General was very ſorie that any man ſhould require me to ſtrike my flagge, and that it was without his conſent: and therefore hee requeſted mee not to thinke any ungentlenes to be in him, promiſing that no man of his ſhould miſdemeane himſelfe.

The 17. day we ſet ſaile in the roade of Grand Canaric, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20. in the morning we had ſight of the coaſt of Barbarie, and running along the ſhoare we had ſight of the riuer del Oro, which lieth almoſt vnder the tropike of Cancer. Riuer del Oro.

The 21. day we found our ſelues to be in 20. degrees and a halfe, which is the height of Cape Blanke. The 25. we had ſight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

The 26. I tooke Francisco and Francis Caſtelin with mee, and went into the pinneſſe, and ſo went to the Tiger which was nerer the ſhoare then the other ſhips, and went aboord her, and with her and the other ſhippes we ranne Weſt and by South, and Weſt Southweſt, vntill about 4. of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboorde the Cape, and then we ranne in Southweſt, and beyond the Cape about 4. leagues we found a faire Iſland, and beſides that 2. or 3. Iſlands, which were of very high rocks, being full of diuers ſoyes of ſea foule, and of pigeons, with other ſoyes of land foules, and ſo many, that the whole Iſland was couered with the dunge thereof, and ſeemed ſo white as if the whole Iſland had bene of chalke, and within thoſe Iſlands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks 18. fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceiued the baye, and vnderſtanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were deſirous to know, wee came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Chriſtopher ancred in like caſe: then we cauſed the pinneſſe to runne beyonde another Cape of land, to ſee if there were any place to trade in there. Francis Caſtelins. 4. Iſlands. A great trade of the Frenchmen at Cape Verde.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers ſkiffe, and went to the Iſland, where we got certaine foules like vnto Gannards: and then I came aboorde againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them vnto the Captaine of the Chriſtopher, and when I had talked with him, I founde him not willing to tarie there, neither was I deſirous to ſpend any long time there, but only to attempt what was to be done. The Maiſter of the Chriſtopher tolde me he would not tarie, being not bound for that place.

The 27. the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me, and Iohn Makeworth from the Chriſtopher, and then we agreed to take the pinneſſe, & to coaſt along the ſhoare, becauſe that where we ridde no Negroes came to vs, and the night before our pinneſſe brought vs word, that there was a very faire Iſland. And when I came beyond the point I found it ſo, and withal a goodly Bay, and we ſtrake vpon the maine certaine Negroes which waited vs on ſhoare, and then we came to an ancre with the pinneſſe, & went aſhoare with our cocke, and they ſhewed vs where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muſke, and hides, and offered vs to fetch downe their captaine, if we would ſend a man with them, and they would leaue a pledge for him: then we aſked them when any ſhippe had bene there, and ſome of them ſaid not in 8. moneths, others, in 6. moneths, and others in 4. and that they were Frenchmen. A faire Iſland where the French trade. Elephants teeth, muſke, and hides.

Then we perceiuing the Chriſtopher not willing to tarie, departed from them, & ſet ſaile with the pinneſſe & went aboord the Tyger. And I vnderſtoode of ſome contention betwixt the Maiſter of the Minion, and the captaine of the Chriſtopher not worth the reporting.

The 10. day of March we fell with the coaſt of Guinea, 5. leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape de Monte, beſide a riuer called Rio de palmas. March.

The 11. we went to the ſhoare, & found one man that could ſpeake ſome Portegueſe, who told vs that there were 3. French ſhips paſſed by: one of them 2. moneths paſt, & the other 1. moneth paſt. At this place I received 29. Elephants teeth, and 2. ounces and halfe a quarter of gold.

The 12. we ſet ſailes vpon to the riuer de Seſtos. The Riuer de Seſtos.

The 13. we night we fell with the ſame riuer.

The 14. day we ſente in our boates to take water, and romaged our ſhippes, and deliuered ſuch wares to the Chriſtophers and Tyger, as they had neede of.

The 15. we came together, and agreed to ſend the Tyger to another riuer to take in her water, and to ſee what ſhe could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandize with vs, and went into the riuer, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Lisbone, left there by a ſhip of Portingale which was burned the laſt yeere at this riuer in fighting with 3. Frenchmen: and hee tolde vs further, that two moneths paſt there were 3. Frenchmen at this place, and 6. weekes paſt there were two French ſhippes at the riuer, and 15. dayes paſt there was one. All which ſhippes were

gone towards the Mine. This day we tooke but fewe graines.

The 19. day considering that the Frenchmen were gone before vs, and that by reason of the vnwholsome ayres of this place 14. of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, wee determined to depart, and with all speede to goe to the Mina.

The 21. wee came to the riuer de Potos, where some of our boates went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12. small Elephants teeth.

The 23. day, after wee had taken as many teeth as we could get, about 9. of the clocke wee set saile to goe towards the Mina.

The 27. day being by my reckoning 20. leagues from the Cape Tresponts, our pinnesse broke one of the gudgions of her rudder, so that we were forced to tow her. This day also we called the Boteswaine before vs, and layd to his charge certaine matters, wherein he had misdemeaned himselfe: but vpon his submission & intreatie of pardon, and promise of better behauiour, we (desirous of peace and quietnes) forgaue him.

The 28. we mended our pinnesses rudder.

The 29. we ranne along the coast.

The 31. we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

April 1558. The first of April we had sight of fiue saile of Portingals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee should haue had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West Southwest: but this day with a flawe it kept all the day at the East, and East Southeast, so that the Portingals had the winde of vs, and came roome with the Tyger and vs vntill night, and brought themselues all saue one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shotte of vs: then it fell calme, and the winde came vp to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher by meanes of her boate, was about foure leagues to the leewards of vs. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his companie, and when we were neere him, we spake to him, but he would not answere: then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and calling about bee shotte at vs, and then we shot at him, and shotte him foure or fiue times through. They shot diuers times through our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnesse because it was night, kept out their sailes and would not meddle with them: after wee had thus fought together two houres or more, and would not lay him aboorde because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tiger and the pinnesse kept about and came to vs, and afterwards being neere the shoare, we 3. kept about and lay to the sea, and shotte off a piece to giue warning to the Christopher.

They discrie fiue saile of the Portingals.

The fight.

This night about twelue of the clocke being very little winde, and the Master of the Tiger a Scotte, by the euill worke of his men the shippe fell aboorde of vs, and with her sheare hookes cut our maine saile, and her boate being betwixt vs was broken and sunke, with certaine Marchandise in her, and the shippes wastes were broken with her outlegers: yet in the ende we cleared her without any more hurt, but she was in hazard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere vnto her, so that I tooke our boate and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed mee, that after the Portingals had left vs, they went all roome with him, and about twelue a clocke at night mette him, and shotte at him, and bee at them, and they shotte him through the sailes in diuers places, and did no other great hurt. And when wee had vnderstoode that they had bene with him as well as with vs, wee agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them,) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The 3. we ranne all day to the Southwest wards to seeke the Portingals, but could haue no sight of them, and hailed into the shoare.

The fourth day when we had sight of land, we found that the current had set vs thirtie leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we wondered at: for the first lande wee made, was Lagua. Then I caused our boate to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shoare and tooke one Negro with vs. And on shoare wee learned that there were foure French shippes vpon the coast; one at Perinnen, which is fiue leagues to the Westwarde of Lagua: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Lagua: a thirde at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

Lagua.

Perinnen.

Weamba, Perecow, Egrand.

When we had intelligence of these newes, we agreed to goe to the Eastwards with the Frenchmen to put them from their traffique, and shotte off two or three peeces in our boates to cause the shippes to way: and hauing bene about one houre vnder saile, we had sight of one of the Frenchmen

men vnperſeite, hailing off from Weamba to whome wee gaue chaſe, and agreed in the nighe for feare of ouerſhooting them, that the Minion ſhould firſt come to ancre, & after that about 3. houres, the Tyger and the Chriſtopher to beare along all nighe.

The 5. day we found 3. of the French ſhips at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ſhippe of 220. tunnes, another called the Ventereuſe or ſmal Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100. tunnes, both appertayning to Shawdet of Honfleur, the 3. was called the Mulet de Batville a ſhippe of 120. tunnes, and this ſhippe belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them we determined to lay the Admiral aboorde, the Chriſtopher the Vice-admiral, and the Tyger the ſmalleſt: but when we came neere them they waped, and the Chriſtopher being the headmoſt & the weathermoſt man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roeberge went ſo faſt that we coulde not ſetche her. The firſt that wee came to was the Mulet, and her wee layd aboorde and entred our men, and tooke her, which ſhippe was the richeſt except the Admirall. For the Admirall had taken about 80. li. of gold, and the Roeberge had taken but 22. pound, and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knewe it very well: for they were all in conſort together and had bene vpon the coaſt of Mina 2. moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roeberge had bene there before them with another ſhip of Diepe, and a Caruell which had beaten all the coaſt, and was departed one moneth before our arriuing there, & they 3. had taken about 700. li. of gold. The Engliſh boorde the Frenchmen.

As ſoone as we had layd the ſhip aboorde, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we ſet ſaile and gaue chaſe to the other 2. ſhips, & chaſed them all day and nighe, & the next day until 3. a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not ſetch them: and therfore ſeeing that we brought our ſelues very farre to lee ward of our place, we left the chace, & kept about againe to goe with the ſhoare.

The 7. day I ſent for the captaine, marchants & maſters of the other ſhips, and when they came we waped the gold which we had from the Frenchmen, which waped 50. li. and 5. ounces of gold, this done we agreed to put men out of euery ſhip into the piſe to keepe her. 50. pound of golde taken in the French piſe.

The 12. day we came to the further place of the Mine called Egrand, and being come to an ancre diſcharged all the marchants goods out of the piſe, and would haue ſold the ſhip with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but becauſe ſhe was leake they would not take her, but deſired vs to ſaue their liues in taking them into our owne ſhips: then we agreed to take out the victuals and ſinke the ſhippe, and deuide the men among our ſhips.

The 14. at nighe wee made an ende of diſcharging the piſe, and deuided all the Frenchmen except 4. which were ſicke and not able to helpe themſelues, which 4. both the Chriſtopher and the Tyger refuſed to take, leauing them in their ſhip alone in the nighe, ſo that about midnighe I was forced to fetch them into our ſhip.

The 15. of April, mooning our companie for the voyage of Binnie, the moſt part of them all refuſed it. The 16. ſeeing the vnwillingnes of the companie to goe thither, we determined to ſpend as much time vpon the coaſt as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, & agreed to leaue the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is 4. leagues off, & the Chriſtopher to goe to Weamba, which is 10. leagues to the wetherward of this place: and if any of them both ſhould haue light of more ſailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome to their felowes, to wit, firſt the Chriſtopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with vs. Binnie.

We remained in this place called Egrand vntil the laſt day of April, in which time many of our men fell ſicke, and 6. of them died. And here we could haue no traffique with the Negroes but 3. or 4. dayes in the weeke, and all the reſt of the weeke they would not come at vs. We here loſt one ancre and broke a cable, and in the waping of another ancre ſome of our men were hurt. Our men ſick of ſickenes.

The 3. of May not hauing the pinneſſe ſent vs with cloth from the other ſhips as they promiſed, we ſold French cloth, and gaue but 3. yards thereof to euery fuſſe. May.

The 5. day the Negroes departed, and told vs they would come to vs againe within 4. dayes, which we determined there to tarie, although we had diuers of our men ſicke.

The 8. day al our cloth in the Minion being ſold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tarie the ſale of the cloth taken in the piſe at this place or no: they anſwered, that in reſpect of the death of ſome of their men, and the preſent ſickines of 29. more, they would not tarry, but repaire to the other ſhips, of whome they had heard nothing ſince the 27. of April: and yet they had our pinneſſe with them, onely to carry newes from one to another. Sickneſſe.

The 9. day we determined to depart hence to our felowes, to ſee what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don Iohn.

The 10. day in the morning we ſet ſaile to ſeeke the Chriſtopher and the Tyger.

The 11. day the captaine of the Chriſtopher came to vs, and told vs that they could finde ſmall things at the places where they had bene.

The 12. William Crompton and I in our small pinnesse went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13. we sent away the Tyger to Egrande, because we founde nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14. our great pinnesse came to vs, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her backe to Weamba where she had bene before, and had taken there 10. li. of golde.

The 15. the Minion came to vs, and the next day we went a shoare with our boates, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

Mowre. The 19. day hauing set saile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we taried 2. dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The 21. we came to an ancre before Don Iohns towne.

The 22. we manned our boats and went to shoare, but the Negroes would not come at vs: then the Captaine of the Christopher and I, tooke a Skiffe and 8. men with vs, and went and talked with the Negroes, and they said that they would send a man to the great towne, where Don Iohn himselfe laye, to aduertise him of our comming.

The great towne of Don Iohn.

The 23. we went a shoare againe, & the Negroes told vs that this day the marchants of Don Iohn would come downe: so we taried there vntill night, and no man would come to vs: but diuers of the Negroes made vs signes to depart.

The 24. the captaine of the Christopher tooke his boate & went to Mowre, and when he came thither certaine Negroes came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he iudged came from the castle, & caused all the Negroes to depart from him: and when he saw they would come no more to him, he went a shoare and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negroes cast stones at them, & would not suffer them to come vp to their towne. And when they saw that, they tooke certaine of their Almades, & put them to the sea, & after wards departed. The same morning I went a shoare at Don Iohns towne & tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negroes could come to me, which caused vs to iudge that the Portingals were in the towne. After this our boate came to vs well manned, and I sent one man vp to the towne with a white flagge in his hand, but when he was come thither all the Negroes went away and would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no case would come to vs. When we saw that, we tooke 12. goates and 14. hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinnesse come frō Cormatin, which had taken there 2. li. 5. ounces of gold. Then after much a doe with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ship, & the Christopher went to Mowre. The 25. day the Maister of the Christopher sent his boate to the shoare for balaste, and the Negroes would haue beaten the companie from the shoare, whereupon the companie resisted them, and slewe and hurt diuers of them, and hauing put them to flight, burned their towne and spake all their boates. The 26. day our pinnesse came to vs from Cormatin, and had taken 2. li. 11. ounces of gold: and Iohn Shirife told vs that the Negroes of that place were very desirous to haue a ship come backe againe to their towne. The 27. we wayed and went to Cormatin.

Cormatin.

A fight with the Negroes.

The 28. the Christopher came to vs from Mowre, and taffiqued there two dayes.

June. The second day of June the Tiger came to vs from Egrande, and the pinnesse from Weamba, and they two had taken about 50. li. of golde since they departed from vs.

The 4. day we departed from Cormatin to ply vp to Shamma, being not able to tarrie any longer vpon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of drinke.

The 7. day we had sight of 5. of the king of Portingals ships, which came to an ancre beside the Castle.

The 8. day George and Binny came to vs, and brought with them about 2. li. of golde. This night the Christopher and the pinnesse came vp to vs, which had bene 3. dayes a sterne of vs, and the Maister of the pinnesse tolde vs their extremitie for want of victuall, and therefore they desired to be taken out of the pinnesse, but we intreated them to goe to the pinnesse againe, and gaue them beere, bread, porke and stockfish to victual them vntill such time as we came to Shamma, that we might send her away with some of our Frenchmen.

The 10. day in the morning I tooke our small pinnesse, and the Captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well and went to the castle to viewe the Portingals ships, and there we found one ship of about 300. tunne, and 4. caruels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found 7. leagues at sea.

The 11. day in the morning we found our selues well shot toward Shamma, and the Tiger with vs, but the Minion & the pinnesse had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them and

and hauing bought our ſelues in the wether of the Portingals ſhips, we came to an anker to tarie for the Minion, or els we might haue fetched Shamma. At night the Minion, and the pinneſſe came vp to vs, but could not fetch ſo farre to the weather ward as we, and therefore they ankered about a league a wether the caſtle, and we waied in the Chriſtopher, and went roome with her.

The 12. day the Tyger came roome with vs, and he and the Chriſtopher ſtuming themſelues to ſtand in great need of victuals, would haue gone with the Portingals ſhippes to haue fetched ſome of them forth: but our maiſter and companie would in no caſe conſent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ſhips being fully minded to haue gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuſe them, durſt not goe to them.

After this, by reaſon of the want of victuals in the pinneſſe, which could receiue no victuals from the other ſhips, but from vs onely, we tooke out all our men, and put 12. French men into her, and gaue them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19. day the Tiger and Minion arriued at Shamma, and the Chriſtopher within two leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reaſon of the ſcantneſſe of the winde, which hath bene ſo ſcant, that in fifteene dayes we haue plied to the windeward but twelue leagues, which before we did in one day and a night.

The 20. day I tooke our pinneſſe, and went to the towne of Shamma to ſpeake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor ſo much as a hen to be bought, and all by reaſon of the accord which he had made with the Portingals, and I ſeeing that, departed peaceably from him.

The 21. I put ſuch things as we had into our ſmall pinneſſe, and tooke one merchant of our ſhip, and another of the Tyger, and ſent her to Hanta, to attempt, if ſhe could doe any thing there: that night they could do nothing but were promiſed to haue ſome golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22.) being come, we ſent our pinneſſe to Hanta againe, but there neither the Captaine nor the Negroes durſt traffike with vs, but mocked vs from place to place, and all to no purpoſe.

This day we put away our pinneſſe, with fiue and twentie Frenchmen in her, and gaue them for their victuals,

They put the French men with victuals into the pinneſſe.

2. Dzekats of bread.
2. Tunne of beere and ſyder.
1. Hogſhead of wine.
15. Hogſheads of water.
1. Hogſhead of beefe.
2. Firkins of butter.
75. Stockefiſh.
1. Barrell of hony.

Of theſe 25. men, we ſet 15. at their raunſome, which 15. were taken in the Mulet: the others, ſome came to vs in a pinneſſe, and ſome from the ſhoare, and therefore we put them at no raunſome.

The pinneſſe with two baſes, and all her apparell, we ſet at foure crownes. The names of the Frenchmen, which we put in her, were theſe, being all of them raunſomed.

Out of the Chriſtopher, we ſet theſe men.

Peter Huguille, of Battuille.
Robert Hauerte, of Roan.
Stephen Bennet, of Honfleur.
Michael Haguille, of Batuille.
Iohn Chapon, of Battuile.
Legier le Feuer, of Honfleur.
Barnardine Adam, of Blankuiſte.

Out of the Tyger, theſe.

Ricard de Mont, of Roan.
Peter Nefew, of Honfleur.

Out of the Minion, theſe.

Oliuer Bowcher, of Honfleur.
Thomas D'Orleance, of Honfleur.
Hubert Colyn, of Battuille.
Michael Vacree, of Honfleur.
Martyn le Buc, of Honfleur.

Martyn

Martyn Offeraye. All which were equally ranſomed for ſixe crownes a peece.

The 23. of June, our pinneſſe came to vs from Hanta, and told vs, that the Negroes had beat very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpoſe.

Shamma burnt by the Engliſh. The 24. we tooke our boate, and pinneſſe, and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and becauſe the Captaine thereof was become ſubiect to the Portingals, we burned the towne, and our men ſeeking the ſpoile of ſuch trifles as were there, found a Portingals cheſt, wherein was ſome of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter ſent to him from the Caſtle, whereby we gathered, that the Portingall had bene there of a long time.

Their returne homeward. The 25. day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we ſet ſaile, and put into the ſea, for our returne to England.

The laſt day of this moneth, wee fell with the ſhoare againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we ſet off. When we came to make the land, we found our ſelues to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we ſet off, The currant. which came to paſſe, by reaſon of the extreame currant that runneth to the Eaſtward: when we perceiued our ſelues ſo abuſed, we agreed to caſt about againe, and to lye as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

July. S. Thomas Iſland. The ſeuenth of July, we had ſight of the Iſle of S. Thomas, and thought to haue ſought the roade, to haue ankered there: but the next morning the winde came about, and wee kept our courſe.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iſland of S. Thomas, and ſeeking the roade, were becalmed neere the Iſland, and with the currant were put neere the ſhoare, but could haue noe ground to anker: ſo that we were forced to hoiſe out our pinneſſe, and the other ſhippes their ſkiffes to towe from the Iſland, which did little good, but in the ende the winde put vs three leagues off the ſhoare.

The tenth day, the Chriſtopher, and the Tyger, caſt about, whereby we iudged them to haue agreed together, to goe ſeeke ſome ſhippes in the roade, and to leaue vs: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iſland againe, and of putting our ſelues into the ſame danger that we were in the night before: but we ſhot off a peece, and put out two lights, and they anſwered vs with lights againe: whereupon we kept our courſe, & thought that they had followed vs, but in the morning we could not ſee them, ſo that they left vs willingly, and we determined to follow them no more.

But the 11. day, we altered our opinion, and courſe, and conſented to caſt about againe for the Iſland, to ſeeke our ſhippes, and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we met with them.

Our men vnder the line. The 13. we fell againe with the Iſland of S. Thomas, and the ſame night we found our ſelues directly vnder the line.

This Iſland is a very high Iſland, and being vpon the weſt ſide of it, you ſhall ſee a very high picke, which is very ſmall, and ſtreight, as it were the ſteeple of a Church, which picke lieth directly vnder the line, and at the ſame South ende of the Iſland, to the weſtward thereof, lieth a ſmall Iſland, about a mile from the great Iſland.

Auguſt. The third of Auguſt, we departed from the Iſle of S. Thomas, and met the winde at the ſouth weſt.

The firſt day, we found our ſelues in eight degrees.

The 12. day, we were in the height of Cape Verde.

The Iſland of Salt. The 22. day, we fell with one of the Iſles of Cape Verde, called the Iſle of Salt, and being informed by a Scottiſh man, that we tooke among the French men vpon the coaſt, that there were freſh victuals to be had, we came to an anker there.

The 23. day, in the morning, we manned our ſkiffe, and went a ſhoare, and found no houſes, but we ſawe foure men, which kept themſelues alwaies farre from vs, as for cattell, we could finde none, but great ſtore of goates, and they were ſo wild, that we could not take about three or foure of them: but there we had good ſtore of fiſhe, and vpon a ſmall Iſland, which lay by the ſame, we had great ſtore of ſea birds.

At night, the Chriſtopher brake her cable, and loſt an anker, ſo that ſhe could tary no longer, ſo we all waied, and ſet ſaile. Vpon the ſame Iſland, we left the Scottiſh man, which was the occaſion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left, we could not tell: but as we iudged, the people of the Iſland found him ſleeping, and ſo caried him away: for at night I went my ſelfe to the Iſland to ſeeke him, but could heare nothing of him.

The 24. day, the Maſter of the Tyger came aboord vs, & told vs that his men were ſo weake, and the ſhippe ſo leake, that he was not able to keepe her aboue the water, and therefore requeſted

his

vs to put backe againe to the Iland, that we might discharge her, and giue her vp: but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to see if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were whole, and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three shippes, were not aboue thirtie sound men.

The great inconuenience by late sleeping vpon the coast of Guine.

The 25. we had sight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Iles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony, which foure Iles lye the one from the other, North west, and by West, South east, and by East.

The 26. we came againe with the Iland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day, Philip Iones, the Master of the Christopher, came aboord vs, who had bene aboord the Tyger, and colde vs that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake, and the Master very weake, and said further, he had agreed with the Master and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iland, we should runne to the lee ward of it, and there discharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Iland of S. Vincent, and S. Anthonie, to see if we could discharge her.

The 27. seeing we could not double the Iland, we put in betweene the foresaid Ilands, and went through them, but found no roade, and therefore tarried for our fellowes, and by and by it fell calme, so that we were in hazard to fall aboord one of another, but God sent vs a small gale of wind, and we went before them, and left them a sterne.

The 28. we were out of sight of our company: but we kept about, and saw them againe, for they were becalmed vnder the Iland all night.

The third day of September, I went aboord the Tyger, with the Master, and merchants with me, to view the shippe, and men: and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Master Gunner: so that we seeing that they were not able to keepe the shippe, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could saue, and then to put the ship away. September.

The fift day, we went to discharge the Tyger.

The eight day, hauing taken out the artillerie, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gaue her vp, 25. degrees by North the line. The Tyger given vp.

The 27. we had sight of two of the Iles of the Azores, S. Marie, and S. Michael.

The 28. day, running along by S. Michael, we had sight of diuers small caruels, but we could speake with none of them. In the night, about twelue of the clocke, we saw a shippe, but she would not come roome with vs.

The third day of October, we had sight of another saile, and bare roome with her, to haue knowen some newes of England: but the weakenes of our shippe, and men, caused vs to leaue her, and keepe our course. October.

The fourth of October, we found our selues to be 41. degrees and a halfe from the line.

The fift day, the weather was very foule with winde, and raine.

The sixt day, the Christopher came to vs, and willed vs to put with the Cape, for they also were so weake, that they were not able to keepe the sea, and we being weak also, we agreed to go for Vigo, being a place which many English men frequent.

The 6. day, the Christopher went roome with the Cape, but we hauing a merrie winde for England, and fearing the danger of enemies, which ordinarily lye about the Cape: besides, not knowing the state of our Countrey, and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was litle hope of friendship at their hands considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake, that by force and violence, we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the King of Portingall knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the counsell of Spayne, to trouble vs: and further, considering that if we did put in with any harbour, we should not be able to come out againe, til we sent for more men into England, which would be a great charge, and losse of time, and meanes of many dangers: All these things pondered, we agreed to shoote off two peeces of ordinance, to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England: she hearing our peeces, followed vs, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning, it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected, that either she was gone with Spayne, or els that she had put foorth more sailes then we in the night, and was shot a head of vs, so that then we put foorth our toplailes, and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left vs, we were within 120. leagues of England, and 45. leagues North west, and by West, from Cape Finister: and at the same time, in our ships we had not aboue fiue marriners, and sixe merchants in health, which was but a weake companie for such a shippe, to seeke a forren harbor.

The

Extreame weakenes of our men.

The 16. day, about sixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the Westsouth west, and west, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, foresaile, and spreetsaile, & were forced to lye a hulling, vntil the eighteeneth day, and then we made ready an olde course of a foresaile, and put it to the yarde, and therewith finding our selues far shot into the Sleeue, we bare with our owne coast, but that foresaile continued not aboue two howres, before it was blowen from the yarde with a freat, and then we were forced to lie a hull againe, vntill the nineteenth day of October, in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good blessing and prouidence of God, brought vs to the Isle of Wight, where we arriued the 20. of October, in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares, that are most desired in *Guinie, betwixt Sierra Liona, and the furthest* place of the Myne,

Manils of brasse, and some of leade.
Basons of diuers sortes, but the most latton.
Pots of course tinne, of a quarte, and more.
Some coines of yron.
Margarets, and certaine other sleight beades.
Some blewe Corrall.
Some horse tailes.
Linnen cloth principally.
Basons of Flanders.
Some redde cloth of a lowe price, and some kersie.
Kettels of Dutchland with brasen handles.
Some great brasse basons graued, such as in Flanders they set vpon their cupboords.
Some great basons of pewter, and ewres grauen.
Some lauers, such as be for water.
Great knives of a lowe price.
Sleight Flanders caskets.
Chests of Roan of a lowe price, or any other chests.
Great pinnes.
Course French couerings.
Packing sheetes good store.
Swordes, daggers, frise mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, axe heads, hammers, short peeces of yron, sleight bels, gloues of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

The first voyage of Robert Baker to Guinie, with the Minion, *and Primrose, set out in October, 1562. by Sir VVilliam Garrard,* Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, & Edward Castelin.

As men whose heads be fraught
with care, haue seldom rest:
(For through the head the body strait
with sorowes is opprest:)
So I that late on bed
lay wake, for that the watch
Pursued mine eye, and cause my bed
no sleepe at all to catch:
To thinke vpon my chaunce
which hath me now betide,
To lie a prisoner here in France,
for raunsome where I bide:
And feeling still such thoughts
so thicke in head to runne,
As in the sommer day the moats
doe fall into the Sunne,
To walke then vp I rose,
fansie to put to slight:
And thus a while I doe purpose
to passe away the night.
Morpheus I perceiu'd
had small regarde of me,
Therefore I should be but deceiu'd
on bed longer to lie.
And thus without delay
rising as voide of sleepe,
I horned Cynthia sawe streight way
in at my grate to peepe:
Who passing vn her way,
eke knowing well my case,
How I in darke dungeon there lay
alwaies looking for grace:

The God of sleepe.

The Poem.

To

To me then walking tho
in darke without light,
She wipte her face, and straight did show
the best countnance she might:
Astonneth eke my head
and senses for a space,
And olde fancies away now fled
she putteth new in place.
Then leaning in my grate
wherein full bright she shinde,
And viewing her thus on her gate
she mazeth streight my minde:
And makes me thinke anon
how oft in Ginnie lande
She was my frend, when I haue gone
all night vpon the sande,
Walking and watching ere
least any boate or ship
At any time, while we had slept
perhaps by vs might slip.
And streight with ardent fire
my head inflameth thee,
Eke me inspires with whole desire
to put in memorie,
Those daungers I haue bin
and Labertineh that I
Haue past without the clue of threede,
eke harder ieoparde.
I then gin take in hand
straight way to put in rime,
Such trauell, as in Ginnie lande
I haue past in my time.
But hauing writte a while
I fall faint by the way,
And eke at night I lothe that stile
which I haue writte that day.
And thinke my doings then
vnworthy figure, to be
Set forth in print before all men,
for euery one to see.
Eke with dispaire therefore
my pen I cast away,
And did intende this neuer more
hereafter to assay.
My fellow prisoner then
Sir Edward Gages sonne
Willes me to take againe my pen
and ende that I begonne.
By this our friends (sayth he)
shall right well vnderstande
And knowe the great trauels that we
haue past in Heathen lande.
Take pen therefore againe
in hande, I you require,
And thinke (saith he) thereof no paine
to graunt this my desire.
Then once againe my hed
my hand a worke doth fette:

Sir Edward Gages sonne, whose name was Georg Gage.

But first I fall vpon my bed
and there deepe sighes I fette,
To see that this to talke
is giuen me silly wight:
And of Minerua helpe I aske
that she me teach aright.
Helpe now without delay,
helpe, helpe, ye Muses nine,
O Cleo, and Calliope,
shewe me how to define
In condigne stile and phrase
ethe thing in euery line,
To you I giue loe all the praise
the trauell only mine.
Giue eare then ye that long
to know of my estate,
Which am in France in prison strong
as I wrote home of late:
Against all lawe or right
as I doe thinke in deede,
With that the warre is ended quite,
and peace is well agreed.

The warre at Newe hauen.

Yet least perchaunce you might
much maruell, how that I
Into a Frenchmans powre should light
in prison here to lie:
Giue nowe attentiue heede,
a straunge tale gin I tell,
How I this yeare haue bene befteede,
scaping the gates of hell,
More harde I thinke truly,
in more daunger of life,
Than olde Orpheus did when he
through hell did seeke his wife,
Whose musike so did sounde
in pleasant play of string,
That Cerberus that he lish hounde
(who as the Poets sing
Hauing three huge heads great,
which doe continually
Still breach out firy flames of heate
most horrible to see)
Did giue him leaue to passe
in at the gates of Hell:
Of which gate he chiefe porter was
the Poets thus me tell.
And how he past alone
through great king Plutos Court
Yea ferried ouer with Charon
and yet he did no hurt.

Caron passinger of Hell.

Well to my purpose now,
in Hell what hurt had hee?
Perchance he might strange sights mowe
and vgly spirits there see:
Perhaps eke Tantalus,
there making of his mone,
Who staru'd always: and Sysiphus
still rolling vp the stone.

Yet

Yet Orpheus passed by,
and went still on his way,
There was no torment came him nigh
or heate to make him stay.
And I a Gods name would
at hazarde play my life
In Guinie lande to seeke for golde,
as Orpheus sought his wife.
At which saide lande of Guinie
I was eke once before,
And scapt the death as narowly
as Orpheus did and more.
Which first ill lucke will I
recite, then iudge you plaine,
If Ioue plagued me not now righely
this yeare to goe againe.
The other yeere before
when Neptune vs had brought
Safely vnto that burning shore,
for which so long we sought,
One day when shippe was fast
in sea at anker holde,
The sailes vpfurl'd, all needlesse past
the boteswaine then I tolde,
That he forthwith should see
the small pinnesse well manned,
Eke all things therin prest to be
that we should haue a lande,
And gunner see that ye
want not bowe, pike, or bill,
Your ordinance well primed be
with lintstocks burning still.
With merchandize a shore,
we hied to traffike then,
Making the sea some vs before,
by force of nine good men.
And rowing long, at last
a riuer we espie,
In at the which we bare full fast
to see what there might be.
And entring in, we see
a number of blacke soules,
Whose likelinesse seem'd men to be,
but all as blacke as coles.
Their Captaine comes to me
as naked as my nayle,
Not hauing witte or honestie
to couer once his taile.
By which I doe here geste
and gather by the way,
That he from man and manlinesse
was voide and cleane astray.
And setting in a trough,
a boate made of a logge,
The very same wherein you know
we vse to serue a bogge,
Aloofe he staide at first,
put water to his cheeke,

This first voyage 1562.

A signe that he would not vs trust
vnlesse we did the like.
That signe we did likewise,
to put him out of feare,
And shewd him much braue marchandise
to make him come vs neare.
The wilde man then did come,
by signes nowe crieth the fiend
Of whole gay things to giue him some
and I should be his friend.
I traffikt there that time
for such things as they haue,
At night to ship I caried him,
where I with clothes him clad,
Yea, made him there good cheere,
and he by signes againe
Tolde vs that he would fraight vs then
after a day or twaine.
And eene thus as we were
in talke, looking about,
Our boate he sawe with wares that there
was tied at sterne without:
Which boate he viewing still,
as then well stuft with ware,
We thinking he had ment no ill,
had thereof little care.
And the next morne, againe
we caried him a shore,
Eke barred there that day with them
as we had done before.
But when Phœbus began
somewhat for to draw neare
To Icarus his Court, the sonne
of Dedalus most deare,
(Whose chaunce it is to dwell
amids the Ocean flood,
Because that he obserud not well
his fathers counsell good)
We then with sale and oze
to ship began to hie,
That we might fetch aboorde, before
the day had lost his eye.
To ship we come at last
which rid foure leagues from shore
Refresht vs after trauaile past,
taken that day before.
Then, as it was our guise,
our boate at sterne we tie,
Eke therein leaue our marchandise,
as they were wont to be.
With troughes then two or three
this Captaine comes by night
Aboord our boate, where he with wares
himselfe now fraighteth quight.
The watch nowe hearing this,
the boate they hal'd vp fast:
But gone was all the marchandise,
and they escapte and past.

The theft of the Negroes.

The

The next morne then by day
again we went to shore,
Amends to haue for that which they
had stolne the night before.
But all in vaine was it,
our signes were now too bad,
They would not vnderstand a whit
of any thing they had.
But as though they had wrong
for to reuenged be,
As we row'd downe the streame along
after comes hee and hee.
A hundred boats come fro
the steremost towne I say,
At least meets vs as many mo
before, to make vs stay.
In euery boat two men,
and great long targets twaine:
Most of their darts had long strings then
to picke and pull againe.
Nowgunners to your charge,
giue fier all arow,
Ech slaue for feare forsakes his barge,
and ducks in water low.
We downe the streame amaine
do row to get the sea,
They ouertake vs soone againe,
and let vs of our way.
Then did the slaues draw neere,
with dart and target thicke,
With diuelish fixed eyes they peere
where they their darts may sticke.
Now Mariners do puto
with right good will the pike,
The haileshot of the harquebush
the naked slaue doth strike.
Through targe and body right
that downe he falleth dead
His fellow then in heauie plight,
doth swimme away afraid.
To bathe in brutish bloud,
then fleeth the graygoose wing,
The halberders at hand be good,
and hew that all doth ring.
Yet gunner play thy part,
make haileshot walke againe,
And fellowes row with like good heart
that we may get the maine.
Our arrowes all now spent,
the Negros gan approch:
But pikes in hand already bent
the blacke beast fast doth broch.
Their captaine being wood,
a villaine long and large,
With poisned dart in hand doth shroud
himselfe vnder his targe.
And hard aboord he comes
to enter in our boat,

A conflict betweene the Negros & our men.

Our maisters mate, his pike eftsoones
strikes through his targe and throat.
The captaine now past charge
of this brutish blacke gard,
His pike he halde backe which in targe
alas was fixed hard:
And wresting it with might,
to pull it forth in hast,
A deadly dart strikes him too right
and in his flesh sticks fast,
He stands still like a man,
and shrinkes not once therfore,
But strikes him with his owne dart then
which shot at him before.
Then presse they on, and shake
their darts on euery side,
Which in our flesh doth light, and make
both deadly wounds and wide.
The gunner in that stound
with two darts strooke at last,
Shrinks not yet though the double wound
with streames of bloud out brast.
And eke the maisters mate,
of stomacke bolde and stout,
For all his wound receiu'd of late,
yet stirred not a foot.
But kept his standing still,
till that a deathfull dart
Did strike him through the ribs so ill,
that scarce it mist his hart.
The dart out hal'd quickly,
his guts came out withall,
And so great streames of bloud that he
for faintnesse downe gan fall.
The Negros seeing this,
how he for dead doth lie,
Who erst so valiant prou'd iwis,
they gladly shout and crie:
And then do minde as there
to enter in his place,
They thinke so many wounded were
the rest would yeld for grace.
We then stand by the pike,
and foure row on our boat,
Their darts among vs fast they strike
that few were free I wot.
In legge and eke in thigh,
some wounded eke in th'arme,
Yea many darts stucke vs hard by,
that mist and did no harme.
By little thus at last,
in great danger of life
We got the sea, and almost past
the danger erst so rife.
Then gin they all retire
sith all their darts were spent
They had nought to reuenge their ire,
and thus away they went.

The theft of the Negros.

Our boat to ship doth roe,
where two ores make soft way
Sixe of our men wounded
Sixe of vs nine were wounded so,
the seuenth for dead there lay.
Lo, heare how cruelly
the fiends ment vs to kill,
Causelesse you see, if they truly
on vs might had their will.
And yet we gaue before
much merchandise away,
Among those slaues, thinking therfore
to haue friendship for aye.
And Orpheus past I wot
the passage quietly,
Among the soules in Charons boat,
and yet to say truly
I neuer read that he
paid for his passage there,
Who past and repast for to see
if that his wife there were.
Nor yet that he paid ought,
or any bribe there gaue
To any office, while he sought
his wife againe to haue.
Whereby I surely gesse
these men with whom that we
Haue had to do, are fiends more fierce
then those in hell that be,
Well we now scaping thus
the danger I haue tolde,
Aboord we come, where few of vs
could stand now being colde.
Our wounds now being drest,
to meat went they that list,
But I desired rather rest,
for this in minde I wist.
That if I might get once
a sleepe that were full sound,
I should not feele my weary bones
nor yet my smarting wound.
And lying long aloft
vpon my bed in paine,
Unto Morpheus call'd I oft
that he would not disdaine
To heare me then poore wight,
but send me helpe with speed
That I might haue good rest this night
of which I had great need.
Me thought then by and by,
there hung a heauie weight,
At ech eye lid, which clos'd mine eye,
and eke my head was fraight.
And being streight a sleepe,
I fell into a sweauen,
That of my wound I tooke no keepe
I dreamd'd I was in heauen.
Where as me thought I see
god Mars in armor bright,
His arming sword naked holdes he
in hand, ready to fight.
Castor and Pollux there
all complet stand him by,
Least if that Mars conuinced were
they might reuenged be.
Then came marching along
the great blacke smith Vulcan,
Hauing a staffe of yron strong,
and thus at last began:
O Mars, thou God of might,
what is the cause that thou
Hast chaleng'd me with thee to fight?
lo present am I now.
Wherfore if that thou hast
any great grudge to me,
Before this day be spent and past
it shall reuenged be.
Then spake god Mars and said,
for that thou churlish wight,
Thy brutish blacke people hast made
with those white men to fight
Which cal'd on me for aid,
I bid thee warre for this.
Then answered Vulcan straight and said
that that coast sure was his.
And therefore he would still
his blacke burnt men defend,
And if he might, all other kill
which to that coast did wend,
Yea thus (said he) in boast
that we his men had slaine,
And ere that we should passe this coast
he would vs kill againe.
Now marcheth Mars amaine
and fiercely gins to fight,
The sturdie smith strikes free againe
whose blowes dint where they light.
But Iupiter that sat
in his great royall throne
Hearing this noise maruell'd thereat,
and streight way sendeth one
To know the cause thereof:
but hearing them in fight,
Commandeth them for to leaue off
by vertue of his might,
And of Vulcan demands
the cause: then answered he,
O mightie Ioue whose power commands
and rules all things that be,
Who at a word hast power
all things to destroy cleane,
And in the moment of an houre,
canst them restore againe,
The same God licence me
to speake now here my minde:
It is not, Ioue, vnknowne to thee,
how that I was assign'd,

And

And pointed king of most
of all the Ginnie land,
A people lo is on my coast
which doth me now withstand,
They do my people strike,
they do this day them kill,
To whom I minde to do the like
if I may haue my will.
Then Iupiter bespake:
O Vulcan then said he,
Let this thy rage and anger slake
for this time presently,
But if at any time
these men chance there againe,
Doe as thou list, the charge is thine
I will not meddle then.
I know them well (said he)
these men need not to seeke,
They haue so fruitfull a countrey
that there is noue the like,
But if they can not be
therewith content, but still
Will seeke for golde so couetously,
worke then with them thy will.
And therewith straight doth send
a pursuiuant in post,
To whom (saith he) see that thou wend
vnto the windie coast,
To Eolus, the king
command him thus from me,
That he straight way without lingring
do set at libertie,
His seruant Zephirus,
which nodo is locket so low,
Eke that he do command him thus,
that he straight way do go
To Vulcans coast in hast, One shippe.
a ship where he shall finde,
Which ship he must with gentle blast
and eke with moderate winde,
Conduct safe to that coast
which Albion was hight,
And that no stormes do them withstand
by day or eke by night.
I sleeping all this space,
as it were in a trance,
The noise of them that hal'd apace
did waken me by chance.
Then looking out to know
what winde did blow in skie,
The maister straight came to me tho
and thus said by and by,
All our ill lucke is past,
we haue a merie winde,
I hope England, if this winde last,
yet once againe to finde.
When this I vnderstand,
to Ioue I vowed then,
Forswearing cleane the Ginnie land
for comming there againe.
And passing on in post
with fauorable windes,
We all arriu'd on Englands coast
with passing cheerefull mindes.

The second voyage to Guinie, and the riuer of Sesto, set out *in the Moneth of Nouember 1563, by Sir VVilliam Gerrard, Sir* William Chester, Sir Thomas Lodge, Maister Beniamin Goston, Maister William Winter, Maister Lionell Ducket, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin, with two ships, the one called the Iohn Baptist, wherein went for Maister, Laurence Rondell: and the other the Marlin, wherein went also for Maister, Robert Reuell, hauing for Factors, Robert Baker, Iustinian Goodwine, Iames Gleidell, and George Gage: and written in verse by the foresaid Robert Baker.

YOu heard before, that home I got
from Ginnie at the last,
But by and by, I quite forgot
the sorrowes I had past.
And ships rigged also,
with speed to ship againe,
I being then requir'd to go,
did not denie them plaine,
But granted them to go,
vnhappie foolish wight,
When they command, eke there to do
the best seruice I might.
In fine, to go our way
now serueth time and tide,
[illegible] hauing nothing vs to stay,
what should we longer bide?
The hempen band with helpe
of Mariners doth threat
To wey and reare that flouthfull whelpe The anker.
vp from his mothers teat.
The Maister then gan cheere
with siluer whistle blast
His Mariners, which at the Ieere
are laboring wondrous fast.
Some other then againe,
the maineyard vp to hoise,
The hard haler doth hale a maine,
while other at a trice
Cut saile without delay:
the rest that be below,
Both sheats abaft do hale straitway
and boleins all let go.

The Helme a Mariner
in hand then strait way tooke,
The Pilot eke what course to stir
within his card did looke.
Againe with siluer blast,
the Maister doth not faile,
To cause his mates forthwith in hast
abroad to put more saile.
We then lanch from the shore,
sith warre we knew it right,
And kept in sea aloofe therefore
two dayes and eke a night.
And, as it is the guise,
to toppe a man we send,
Who straight a saile or two espies,
with whom we then do wend,
Aloofe would some with one,
and roomeward would the rest:
But with the tallest ship we gone,
whom we thinke to be best.
At last, in comming neere
as captaines vse to do,
I hale them, and of whence they were
I did desire to know:
Of France when they had said,
we weaued them a maine,
But they nothing therewith dismaid
did like to vs againe.
We then our selues aduant
through hope of purchase here,
Amaine say we, ye iolly gallant
or you shall buie it dere.
To arme the maine top tho
the boots waine goeth eke,
His mate to the foretop also
makes hast to do the like.
To top both stones and darts
good fellowes hoise apace:
The quarter maisters with glad hearts
do know ech one his place.
Our topsailes strike we tho
and fit our sailes to fight,
Our bulwarke at maine mast also
is made likewise aright.
Upon our poope eke then
right subtilly we lay
Pouder, to blow vp all such men,
as enter therawaye.
Our Trumpetter aloft
now sounds the feats of war,
The brasen pieces roring oft
fling forth both chaine and bar.
Some on the yardes againe
do weaue with naked swoord,
And crying loud to them amaine
they bid vs come aboord.
To bath hir feet in bloud
the graigoose fleeth in hast:
And Mariners as Lions wood,
do crie aboord as fast.
Now strie Faulkons flie
right greedie of their pray,
And kils at first stone dead truely
ech thing within their way.
Alarme ye now my mates I say,
see that ye nothing lacke,
At euery loope then gins straightway
a harquebush to cracke.
Their saile to burne, we shoot
our arrowes of wilde fire,
And pikes burning therewith about
lads tosse with like desire.
Eke straightway forth for wine
the steward call I then,
With fiery spice enough therein
I drinke vnto my men,
And then euan with a woord
our lime pot prest to fall,
This iolly gallant we clap aboord
and enter him withall.
Their nettings now gan teare
with dint of heauie stone,
And some mens heads witnesse did beare
who neuer could make mone.
The harquebush acroke
which hie on top doth lie,
Discharg'd full of haileshot doth smoke
to kill his enemie,
Which in his enemies top
doth fight, there it to keepe,
Yet he at last a deadly lope
is made from thence to lepe.
Then entreth one withall
into this Frenchmans top,
Who cuts ech rope, and makes to fall
his yard, withouten stop.
Then Mariners belowe,
as carelesse of the pike,
Do hew, and kill still as they goe,
and force not where they strike.
And still the trumpets sound
with pleasant blast doth cheare
Ech Mariner, so in that stound
that they nothing did feare.
The Maister then also,
his mates to cheare in fight,
His Whistle chearefully doth blow,
whereby strait euery wight
So fierce begins to be,
that Frenchmen gin to stoe,
And English men as right worthy
do catch for pillage tho.
What would you more I say
but tell the truth alway?
We vsde our matters so this day
we caried him away,

Unto

Unto a Port in Spaine,
which sure is call'd the Groine,
Whereas we for French lading plaine
receiued readie coine.
Well thus this good lucke past,
we though salt Seas did scoure,
To Ginney coast eke come at last,
O that vnhappie houre.
My hand alas for feare
now shakes, of this to write,
Mine eye almost full fraught with teare,
eke lets me to indite.
What should I here recite
the miseries I had,
When none of you will scarce credit
that ere it was so bad?
Well, yet I would assay
to tell it, if I might,
But O Minerua, helpe me aye,
my wits attond be quite.
Yea helpe, ye muses nine,
let no thought me withstand,
Aid me this thing well to define,
which here I take in hand.
Well, thus it fortuned tho,
in Ginney now arriu'd,
Nine men in boat to shore we go,
where we traffike espide,
And parting at midday
from ship, on good intent
In hope of traffike there I say
to shore away we went.
Our ships then riding fast
in sea at anker bight,
We minded to dispatch in hast,
eke to returne that night.
But being hard by land,
there suddenly doth rise
A mightie winde, wherewith it rain'd
and thundred, in such wise,
That we by shore did ride,
where we best Port might finde,
Our ships we thinke from anker slide,
a trice before the winde.
This night Vulcan begins
on vs reueng'd to be,
And thunderbolts about he flings
most terrible to see,
Amixt with fierie flame
which cracks about our eares,
And thus gins he to play his game,
as now to him appeares.
For Eolus hath feed
herein to be his friend,
And all the whirling windes with speed
among vs doth he send.
Thus hard by shore we lay,
this wet and weary night,
But on next morne and all the day
of ship we had no sight.
For Vulcan all this night
from fierie forge so fast
Sent thunder bolts with such great light,
that when the night was past,
The next day there remaind
so great smoke all about,
Much like a mist, eke there with raine,
that we were wet throughout.
And thus in smoke minded he
to part vs from our ship:
Thus were a one ech other see,
and so haue we the slip.
Our ships then backe againe,
thinking we were behinde,
Do saile by shore a day or twaine
in hope there vs to finde.
And we the contrary,
do row along the shore
Forward, thinking our ships to be
still sailing vs before.
They sailing thus two dayes or three,
and could not finde vs than,
Do thinke that in that foule night we
were drowned euery man.
Our ship then vertues doth beare,
when she to England wends
That we nine surely drowned were,
and thus doth tell our frends:
While we thus being lost,
aliue in miserie
Do row in hope yet on this coast,
our ships to finde truly.
Well thus one day we spent,
the next and third likewise,
But all in vaine was our intent,
no man a saile espies:
Three dayes be now cleane past
since any of vs nine,
Of any kinde of food hath tast,
and thus gan we to pine,
Till at the last bare need
bids vs hale in with land,
That we might get some root or weed
our hunger to withstand:
And being come to shore,
with Negros we intreat,
That for our wares which we had there
they would giue vs to eat.
Then fetch they vs of roots,
and such things as they had,
We gaue to them our wares to boote
and were therof right glad.
To sea go we againe,
in hope along the shore
To finde our ships, yet thinking plaine
that they had bene before.

And thus with saile and oze
twelue dayes we went hard by
The strange vncomfortable shoze
where we nothing espi'e,
But all thicke woods and 'wish
and mightie wildernesse,
Out of the which oft times do rush
strange beasts both wilde and fierse,
Whereof oft times we see,
at going downe of Sunne,
Diuers descend in companie,
and to the sea they come,
Where as vpon the sand
they lie, and chew the cud:
Sometime in water eke they stand
and wallow in the sloud,
The Elephant we see,
a great vnweldie beast,
With water fils his trounke right hie
and blowes it on the rest,
The Hart I saw likewise
delighted in the soile,
The wilde Boze eke after his guise
with snout in earth doth moile,
A great strange beast also,
the Antelope I weene
I there did see, and many mo,
which erst I haue not seene,
And oftentimes we see
a man a shoze or twaine,
Who strait bringes out his Almadie
and rowes to vs a maine,
Here let we anker fall,
of wares a shew we make,
We bid him choose among them all,
what wares that he will take
To bring to vs some fish,
and fresh water therefoze,
Oz else of meat some daintie dish,
which their cookes dresse a shoze.
They bring vs by and by
great roots and beries eke,
Which grow vpon the high palme tree,
such meat as they do like.
We drinke eke of their wine
much like our whey to see:
Which is the sappe as I haue seene
that runnes out of a tree,
Thus do they bring eche thing
which they thinke to be good,
Sometime wilde hony combes they bring
which they finde in the wood,
With roots and baggage eke
our corps we thus sustaine
From famine, though it be so weake,
that death was figurde plaine
In euery ioynt, foz lacke
of sustenance and rest,
That still we thinke our hearts would (breake
with sozowes so oppresse.
We now alongst the coast
haue sailed so many a mile,
That sure we be our ships be lost,
what should we do this while?
In Heathen land we be,
impossible it is
That we should fetch our owne countrey
in such a boat as this.
We now gan to perceiue
that we had ouerpast
The Melegete coast so much,
that we were come at last
Unto the coast of Myne,
foz Niegros came abooz
With weights to poise their golde so fine,
yea speaking euery wooz
In Portugese right well
demanding traffike there,
If we had any wares to sell,
and where our ships then were?
We answered them againe, Two ships.
we had two ships at sea,
The which would come traffike with the
we thought within a day,
The cause why we thus said,
was hope to be well vide:
But seeing this, as men dismaid
away we went, and mused
Whither our ships were gone,
what way were best foz vs:
Shall we here perish now with hunger one?
no, let vs not do thus:
We see all hope is past
our ships to finde againe,
And here our liues do shorten fast
in miserie and paine:
Foz why the raging heat
of Sunne, being so extreme,
Consumes our flesh away in sweat,
as dayly it is seene.
The Ternados againe
so often in a weeke,
With great lightnings, thunder and raine
with such abundance eke,
Doe so beat vs by night,
that we sleepe not at all,
Whereby our strength is hasted quite,
no man an oze can hale,
How hard liue we, alas?
three whole dayes oft be past,
Ere we proze men (a heauy cast)
of any thing doe tast,
These twentie dayes we see,
we haue sit still eche one,
Which we do of necessitie,
foz place to walke is none.

Our

Our legs now vs deceiue,
swolne euery ioint withall,
With this disease, which, by your leaue,
the Scurvie men doe call.
We cannot long endure
in this case as we be,
To leaue our boat I am right sure,
compeld we must agree.
Three wayes for vs there is,
and this is my request,
That we may of these three deuise,
to choose thereof the best.
The Castle of the Mine
is not farre hence, we know,
To morrow morne we there may be,
if thither you will goe.
There Portingals do lie,
and christned men they be:
If we dare trust their curtesie,
the worst is hanging glee.
Our miserie may make
them pitie vs the more,
Fine such yong men great paine would
for life to hale an ore. (take
Their Gallies may perhaps
lacke such yong men as we,
And thus it may fall in our laps,
all Galeyslaues to be,
During our life, and this
we shall be sure to haue,
Although we row, such meate as is
the allowance of a slaue.
But here we wive and sterue,
our misery is so sore:
The slaue with meat inough they serue,
that he may teare his ore.
If this you will not like,
the next way is to goe:
Vnto the Negros, and to seeke
what friendship they will shew.
But what fauour would ye
of these men looke to haue:
Who beastly sauage people be,
farre worse then any slaue:
If Cannibals they be
in kind, we doe not know,
But if they be, then welcome we,
to pot straight way we goe.
They naked goe likewise,
for shame we cannot so:
We cannot liue after their guise,
thus naked for to go.
By rootes and leaues they liue,
as beasts doe in the wood:
Among these heathen who can thriue,
with this so wilde a food?
The piercing heate againe,
that scorcheth with such strength,
Piercing our naked flesh with paine,
will vs consume at length.
The third and last is this,
(if those two you refuse)
To die in miserable wise,
here in the boate you chuse,
And thus iudge by the way,
more truth is to be giuen,
Vnto the Portingals alway,
sith they be christned men,
Then to these huttish sort,
which beastly are ye see:
Who of our death will make a sport,
if Canibals they be,
We all with one consent,
now death despising plaine:
(With if we die as innocent,
the more it is our gaine)
Our saple we hoyse in hast,
with speed we mind to go
Vnto the castell, now not past
a twentie leagues vs fro.
And saysing all this day,
we spied late in the night,
As we past by thus on our way,
vpon the shore a light.
Then sayd our Boatswaine thus,
by this great light a shore,
Traffique there seemes, will you let vs
anker this night therefore,
And trie if we may get,
this next morning by day,
Some kind of food for vs to eate,
and then to goe our way?
We anker there that night,
the next morning to shore:
And in the place, where we the light
did see the night before,
A watch house now there stood,
vpon a rocke without:
Hard by a great blacke crosse of wood,
which putteth vs in doubt,
What place that this should be,
and looking to the shore,
A Castell there we gan espie,
this made vs doubt the more,
Wherein we saw did stand
a Portingall or twaine:
Who held a white flag in his hand,
and waued vs amaine.
Our fleth as fraile now shakes,
whereby we gan retire,
And he at vs a shot then makes,
a Negro giuing fire.
A piece discharged thus,
the killing pellet lights,
I thinke within a yard of vs,
but none of vs it hits.

We

We wishe then we had there
a good ship, like on t'maine,
But helpelesse now, we rowe a shore
to know th'end of our paine.
The nerer that we went
to them unto the shore,
To yeld our selues, as first we ment
they still did shoot the more.
Now Canons loud gan rore,
and Culuerins now cracke,
The Castell eke it thundred sore,
as though the wals weere sacke.
Some shot doth light hard by,
some ouer vs againe:
But though the shot so thicke doth flie,
yet rowe we in a maine,
That now so neere we be
vnto the castell wall,
That none of them at vs we se,
can make a shot at all.
We ment a land to goe,
their curtesie to trie:
But from the wal great stones they throw,
and therewith by and by,
The Negros marching downe,
in battell ray do come,
With dart and target from the towne,
and follow all a homme.
A bowe in hand some bent,
with poisoned arrow yeelt,
To strike therewith they be full bent,
a pined English heelt.
But stones come downe so fast
on vs on euery side,
We thinke our boats bottom would brast
if long we thus abide.
And arrowes flie so thicke,
hissing at euery eare,
Which both in clothes and flesh do sticke,
that we, as men past feare,
Cry now, Launch, launch in hast,
hale of the boate a maine:
Foure men in banke let them sit fast
and rowe to sea againe.
The other fiue like men,
do manfully in hand,
Take vp each kind of weapon then,
these wolues here to withstand.
A harquebush takes one,
another bends his bowe,
Among the slaues then downe fals one,
and other here I trowe.
At those Portingals then shoot we,
vpon the Fort which stand,
In long fine white shirts as we see,
and lintlocks in their hand,
And of these shirts so white
we painted some full red,
Striking their open corps in sight,
with dint of arrow head.
For we saw they had there
no Gallies vs to take,
Where theatnings they could vs not feare
or make vs once to shake.
Then Canons loud gan rore,
and pellets flie about,
And each man haleth hard his ore
and mooued not a foote.
Yea though the poulder sent
the pellets thicke away,
Yet spite of them cleane though we went
at last, and got the sea.
And pieces charging fast,
they shot after vs so,
That wonder was it how we past
the furie of our foe.
The pined arme felt not
as now, the heauie ore:
With foure such ores was neuer boat,
I thinke, rowed so before,
To seaward leaping so,
three Negroes we see there,
Came rowing after vs to know,
what countrey men we were?
We answered Englishmen,
and that thither we came,
With wares to traffique there with them,
if they had meant the same.
They Portugese doe speake
right naturall twis:
And of our ship to know they seeke,
how big and where she is.
We answered them againe
we had two ships at sea,
Right well appointed full of men,
that streight would take their way
Along the coast for gold,
they tary but for vs,
Which came with wares there to haue sold
but that they vs'd vs thus.
Then gan they vs to pray,
if we lack't any thing,
To anker there all that whole day,
and they to vs would bring
All things that we doe want,
they sory say they be:
But we their words yet trusting scant,
refuse their curtesie.
We aske them of this hold
what place that it should be,
Then they againe thus straight vs told
that Portingals there lie.
And how that point they sayd,
which there hard by we see,
Was one of Cape three points, that lay
the Westernmost of three.

Cape three points.

Without out

Withouten further speech,
we hoise our saile to sea:
Finding a friendlier place to seek,
and thus we past our way.
We mind truly to passe
the Portingals no more:
But now a sleep vnder what lone
Negros dwell there we a shore.
We then with sailes vnspore,
went backe againe in hast:
A thirtie leagues I thinke, and more
from thence where we were past.
And here we anker fell,
aboord the Negros came:
We gaue gay things vnto them all,
and thus their hearts we wonne.
At last aboord comes one,
that was the Kings chiefe Gunner:
To whom by signes I made great mone,
how that I was vndone,
Had lost our ships, and eke
were almost starv'd for meate,
And knew not where our ships to seeke,
or any thing to gete.
I offred him our wares,
and bid him take them all:
But he perceiuing now the teares,
which from our eyes did fall,
Had great pitie on vs,
and sayd he would haue nought.
But straight by signes he will'd vs then,
that we should take no thought.
As one whom God had sent,
and kept for vs in store,
To know in hast a way he went,
the Kings pleasure on shore.
And came forthwith againe,
yea, bade vs come a land:
Whereof God knowes we were full faine,
when this we vnderstand.
Each man bankes to his ore,
to hale the boate a land:
Where as we see vpon the shore,
fiue hundred Negros stand.
Our men to wing in a maine,
the billow went so hie,
That straight a waue ouerwhelms vs
and there in sea we lie. (cleane
The Negros by and by,
came swimming vs vnto:
And brought vs all to land quickly,
not one durst play the knaue.
The Kings some after this,
a stout and valiant man,
In whom I thinke Nature this,
hath wrought all that she can,
He then I say commaunds
them straight to saue our boate,
To worke forthwith got many hands,
and vsing the same a floate.
Some I witnesse to saue an ore,
some vitaile for things he lost:
I thinke there helpt to hale a shore,
fiue hundred men almost.
Our boate thus haled vp dry,
all things streight way were brought
The which we mist or could espie,
no man that durst keepe ought.
Then vs they led away,
knowing we wanted meate,
And gaue to vs, euen such as they
themselues do daily eate.
Was neuer Dixie in wood
halfe so much wondered at,
As we were then poore men, alas,
which there among them sat.
We feared yet our part,
and wilde a month were past,
For each man there went with his dart,
which made vs oft agast.
We lay vpon the ground,
with them there all that night:
But fearing still a deadly wound,
we could not sleepe a whit.
Two dayes thus past we well,
no man vs offred wrong:
The cause thereof I gin you tell,
they thought this them among:
Our ships had bene at sea,
and would come there before
Two dayes, to fetch vs thence away,
and giue them wares good store.
But when they thus heare tell
how that our ships be lost,
And that we know not very well,
when ships will come to coast:
They then were wearie streight,
and they which did before
At sundry times giue vs to eate,
did giue vs now no more.
Our lowances wext so small,
that neuer nine I gesse,
Were serv'd the like, yet still withall,
it waxed lesse and lesse.
Some run now in the woods,
and there for roots do seeke,
Base meat would here be counted good,
too bad that we mislike.
Our clothes now rot with sweat,
and from our backs do fall,
Saue that whom nature wils for shame,
we couer nought at all.
One runs to seeke for clay
to fashion straight a pot,
And hardens it in Sunne all day:
an other falleth not

To

Cape three points.

Withouten

To fetch home wood for night,
and eke for fire sought,
That we our roots and things seeth might
if any home were brought.
The rest the wood doth seeke,
eke euery bush and tree
For berries and such baggage like,
which should seeme meate to bee,
Our fingers serue in steed,
both of pickaxe and spade,
To dig and pull up euery weed,
that grew within the shade.
Eke digd for rootes the ground,
and searcht on euery brier
For berries, which if we had found,
then streight way to the fire:
Where we rost some of those,
the rest seeth in a pot,
And of this banket nought we lose,
nor fragment resteth not.
The night as beasts we lie
the bare hard earth vpon,
And round by vs a great fire light
to keepe wild beasts vs from.
But what should I recite,
or couet to declare
My sorowes past, or eke t'endite
of my hard Ginnie fare?
I cease here to enlarge
my miserie in that land,
A toy in head doth now me charge,
as here to hold my hand.
In fine, what would ye more,
the heat did so exceed,
That wanting cloths it scorcht so sore,
no man could it abide,
The countrey eke so wilde,
and vnhealthfull withall,
That hungry stomacks neuer fill'd,
doth cause faint bodies fall.
Our men fall sicke apace,
and cherishing haue none:
That now of nine, within short space
we be left three alone.
Alas, what great agast
to vs three liuing yet,
Was it to see, that death so fast
away our fellowes fet?
And then to Ioue on hie
we call for helpe and grace,
And him beseech vnfainedly,
to fetch vs from this place.
From this wild heathen land,
to Christendome againe,
Or else to lay on vs his hand,
and rid vs from our paine.
Least that we ouerprest
with too much miserie,
Perhaps as weake breake our behest
which we owe God on high.
And least we liuing here
among this heathen, might
Perchance for need do that which were
right heinous in his sight.
Well, to my purpose then,
when we to Ioue thus crie,
To helpe vs hence poore silly men
from this our miserie.
He hearing vs at length,
how we to him doe call,
He helps vs with his wonted strength,
and straight thither withall,
A French ship sends at last,
with whom we three go hence:
But six in earth there lie full fast,
and neuer like come thence.
This French man as I say,
through salt and surging seas,
Vs brought from Ginnie land, away
to France, the Lord we praise.
And warre he proues it plaine
when we entred his ship,
A prisner therefore I remaine,
and hence I cannot slip
Till that my ransome be
agreed vpon, and paid,
Which being leuied yet so hie,
no agreement can be made.
And such is lo my chance,
the meane time to abide
A prisner for ransome in France,
till God send time and tide.
From whence this idle rime
to England I doe send:
And thus till I haue surcher time,
this Tragedie I end. R. Baker.

The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall, called the Castel of Comfort, the May Flower, and the George, and a Pinnesse also. Written by Walter Wren.

The 10. day of December in the yeere aboutsayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12. day we were thwart of Vshant.

The 15. day in the morning being Sunday, we had sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admirall, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portingall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before vs.

The

The 18. day we met with a French ship, of whom we made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell vs ne wes of him: so we followed our course to the Ilands of the Canaries.

The 25. day in the morning we fell with a smal Iland called Porto Santo, and within 3. houres we had sight of another Iland called Madera, which is 6. leagues from Porto Santo.

The said 25. day being the day of the Nativitie, we hoised out our boate, and set Master Edward Fenner Captaine of the May Flower aboord vs being in the George, with the Master whose name was Robert Courtise, and others of the sayd ship, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent vs.

The 28. day we fell with an Iland called Tenerif, which is 27. leagues from the said Iland, and on the East side thereof we came to an anker in fortie fadome water, within a base shoote of the shore, in a little Baie, wherein were three or foure small houses: which Baie and houses were distant from a little Towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we road in the sayd Baie, we might see an Iland called the grand Canarie, which was 6. or 7. leagues from vs.

The 29. day the May Flower for that she could not get into the road where we were at an anker, by reason the wind was off the shore, & because she bare roomer from the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces, which caused her to come roome with vs, and came at last to an anker by vs. And about one of the clocke in the after noone, the forenamed Captaine of the May Flower, wrote a letter a shore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to vnderstand the pretence of the shooting of the sayd ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtise master of the May Flower, and Walter Wren, were appointed to deliuer the same a land at the three or foure houses, to be conueied to the foresayd towne, and so went with sixe men in the boate, and rowed to the shore as neere as they might, for fetching the boate on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shore.

The people stood in number 30. persons, with such armour as they had: the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to them that they had a letter, which they would very gladly haue conueied vnto the towne, shewing that they would traffique with them as merchants, desiring their helpe for the conueiance of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed vs to come on land, & we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the sayd Walter answered them, that they would not come a land, vntill they had answere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards vnraied himselfe, and leapt into the water, and swamme to the boate, whom we receiued. And he saluted vs, and demaunded what our request was: we made him answere, that by misfortune we lost the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Iland to traffique for wines and other things necessarie for vs, doe heare mind to stay vntill she come.

Concerning our letter, he made vs answere that he would with all diligence carry it, and deliuer it according to the direction, and so the sayd Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and deliuered it vnto him, and also gaue him foure royals of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should haue answere of it, he tooke his leaue, and swamme againe a shore, where the people stood ready to receiue him. And after that they had talked with him, and vnderstood our meaning, some of them shew vp their hats, and the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made vs very curteous signes, alwayes desiring that the boate would come a land, but we refusing that rowed backe againe aboord.

The 30. day the Gouernours brother of Santa Cruz, came aboord the May Flower, with sixe or seuen Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a shore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine intertained them well, and at their departure gaue them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and bestowed vpon them two cheeses with other things.

The sayd Gouernours brother promised our Captaine that he should haue sufficient pledges the morow following, which was not done, whereupon we grew suspicious, and went not that day a shore.

The first day of Januarie, our Captaine sent Nicholas Day, and Iohn Sumpter a shore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them. Januarie.

In the sayd Iland is a marueilous high hill called the Pike, which is a farre off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knowen that euer any man could go vp to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28. degrees which is as hote in Januarie, as it is in England at Midsommer, yet is the top of the said hill Winter, and Summer seldome without snow.

In

In this Iland about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz, is a citie called Anagona.

The third day we departed about the Westerne point of the Iland, about 12. or 14. leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right against the house of one Petro de Souses, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5. day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7. dayes before vs, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon we set saile presently to seeke him.

They meete their Admirall againe.

The 6. day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we finde our Admirall, which was very joyfull of our comming, and we also of his sight.

In the said roade we found Edward Cooke in a tall ship, and a ship of the Coppersmiths of London, which the Portingals had trecherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, upon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our General and merchants bought in the said towne for our prouision, 14. buts of wine, which cost 15. ducats a but, which were offered vs at Santa Cruz in Tenerif, for 8, 9, and 10. ducats.

The 9. day we departed from this road to an other Baie, about 3. leagues off, and there tooke in fresh water: and so the 10. day we set saile towards Cape Blanke, which is on the coast of Ginnie.

The 12. day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35. leagues from Cape Blanke. But hauing no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we sounded, and had 16. fadome water two leagues from the shore. The land is very lowe, and white sand. Upon the fall of the said coast, beware how you borow in 12. or 10. fadome, for within 2. or 3. casts of the lead you may be on ground.

A good caueat.

The 17. day, we set saile from Cape Blanke, directing our course South and by East, and South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16. leagues, and about 6. leagues from the shore. The said land seemed vnto vs as if it had bene a great number of ships vnder saile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Mammoks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the said land till we were within 3. leagues of the shore, and then we sounded, and found 28. fadome water, black oase. This day we saw much fish in sundry seuls swimming with their noses with the hinmne of the water.

Cape Verde.

Passing along this coast, we might see two small round hils, seeming to vs about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great store of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high, as the said two hils.

The 19. day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a road fast by the Westermost side of two hils, in 10. fadome of water, where you may ride in fiue or six fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall haue the wind off the shore. And as soone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboord vs, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the Captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtise the master, and dined aboord of vs, being in the George, wherein was Captaine Iohn Heywood, and Iohn Smith of Hampton master, and there we concluded to goe aland, which was halfe a mile from vs: and by the counsell of William Bats, both Captaine and merchants and diuers of the company went without armour: for he said, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were ciuill: so that he would needes giue the venter, without the consent of the rest, to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shore, where, we being in the ship might see a great company of Negroes naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as fell out afterwards.

The foolish rathnesse of Wil. Bats, perswading the company to land vnarmed.

There went a shore the Admirals skiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20. persons or thereabouts, as master George Fenner the Generall, his brother master Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, Iohn Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, Iohn Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, Iohn Tomson, and others.

At their comming to the shore there were 100. Negroes or vpward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, and according to the vse of the countrey, the one demanded pledges of the other, and they were content to deliuer 3. of their Negros for 5. of our men. Our 5. mens names were these, Iohn Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Ioh. Tomson, and Ioh. Curtise: these were deliuered them, and we receiued 3. Negroes into our Admirals skiffe.

Cpuet, muske, gold & grains, the commodities of Cape Verde.

Our men being a shore among the Negroes, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and merchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese and other things. The Negroes answered again, they had cpuet, muske, gold and graines, which pleased our captaines and merchants very well. Then the Negroes desired to haue a sight of some of our wares, to the which our merchants were content, and forthwith sent aboord one of the boates for part of their merchandize,

and

and in the meane time while the boate went to the ship, our fiue men were walking on the shoare with the Negroes, and our Generall and Marchants stayed in the other boate by the sea side, hauing the 3. Negroes with them.

Our boate then came againe, and brought vpon and other marchandize, with bread, wine, and cheese, which they gaue vnto them. Then two of the Negroes (which were the pledges) made themselues sicke, desiring to goe aboare, promising to sende other two for them. Captaine Hayward perceiuing that our men had let the Negroes come aboare, asked what they meant, (and doubting the worst) began to draw toward the boate, and two or three of the Negroes followed him. And when he came to the boate they began to stay him, and he made signes vnto them that he would fet the them more drinke and bread: notwithstanding, when hee was entring into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches, and would haue stayed him, but hee sprange from him and leapt into the boate. And as soone as hee was in, one of the Negroes aboare began to blowe a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate, sitting on the boates side, and Master Wormes sworde by him, suddenly drewe the sworde out of the scaberde and cast himselfe into the sea, and swomme aboare: and presently the Negroes layde handes on our men that were on shoare, and tooke three of them with great violence, and toare all their apparell from their backes, and left them nothing to couer them, and many of them shotte so thicke at our men in our boates, that they coulde scarse set hande to any Dare to rowe from the shoare, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poysoned arrowes: and the poyson is vncurable if the arrowe enter within the skinne and drawe bloud, and except the poyson be presently sucke out, or the place where any man is hurt, be furth with cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they be hurt or pricked, wheresoeuer it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it striketh vp to the heart, and taketh away the stomacke, and causeth the partie marueilously to vomit, being able to brooke neither meate nor drinke.

The Negroes hauing vsed our men with such crueltie, whose names were Nicholas Day, William Bats, and Iohn Tomson, ledde them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water side or there about.

The 20. day we sent too lande a boate or skiffe wherein were eight persons, and one of them was the foresaid Iohn Tomson and our interpreter, which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negroes which spake good French:) they carried with them two harquebusses, two targets, and a mantell.

The cause of sending them was to learne what raunsome they demaunded for Bats and Day, whome they detained. And when they came to the shoare, and tolde the Negroes what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose amongst fourtie or fiftie of them. And being come within a stones cast of the sea side, William Bats brake from them, and ranne as fast as hee coulde into the sea towardes the boate, and hee was not so soone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his footing fayling him in the sande being soft: so that the Negroes came and fell on him and tooke him, and hailed him, that wee thought they had tome him in pieces. For they toare againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the rest shotte at vs with their poysoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the small of the legge, who being come aboorde, (for all that our Surgeons coulde doe) wee thought hee would haue died.

Our Generall (notwithstanding all this villanie,) sent againe to them, and offered them any thing that they desired for the raunsome of our men, but they would not deliuer them: giuing vs this answere, That there was in the foresayde roade three weekes before wee came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people, and vntill wee did bring or sende them againe, wee should not haue our men, although wee would giue our three shippes with their furniture.

The 21. day a French shippe of the burden of fourescore tunnes, (or there aboues,) came to the place where we were, being bounde to traffique at the Cape: we tolde them of the detayning of our two men by the Negroes: and seeing that these Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negroes, we wished them to see whether they coulde procure them againe of the Negroes, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promised the Frenchmen 100. li. to obtaine them. So he committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negroes arrowes, foure died, and one to saue his life, had his arme cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, laye lame not able to helpe himselfe

The Negroes treachery.

The danger of poysoned arrowes.

The answere of the Negroes.

onely two recouered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of thoſe that were loſt, and ſet ſaile.

The 26. day betweene Cape Verde, and Bona viſta, we ſaw many flying fiſhes of the bigneſs of herrings, whereof two flew into our boate, which we towed at our sterne.

Bona viſta. The 28. day we fell with an Iſland called Bona viſta, which is from Cape Verde 86. leagues. The Northſide of the ſaide Iſlande is full of white ſandie hilles, and dales, and ſomewhat high lande.

The ſaide day we came to an ancre within the Weſtermoſt point, about a league within the point, and found in our ſounding faire ſande in tenne foote water, but you may goe neere till you be in fiue or ſixe fadoms, for the ground is faire.

As ſoone as we were at an ancre, our Generall ſent his pinneſſe a land, and founde fiue or ſixe ſmall houſes, but the people were fledde into the mountaines: and the next day hee ſent a ſhoare againe, and mette with 2. Portingals, who willingly went aboorde with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore and ſimple, & gaue eche of them a paire of ſhoes, and ſo ſet them a ſhoare againe.

The 30. day we waied and ſailed into a bay within a ſmall Iſland about a league from vs, and tooke plentie of diuers ſoyes of fiſh. The ſoyeſaide Iſlande lyeth in ſixteene degrees. And if you meane to ancre in the ſaid bay, you may borrow in foure or fiue fadome of the Southermoſt point of the ſaide Iſland, which you may ſee when you ride in the roade. But beware of the middeſt of the bay, for there lyeth a ridge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadom water ouer them.

A good admonition.

The laſt day of Januarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a ſhoare in the bayes the houſes, where he found twelue Portingals. In all the Iſland there were not aboue 30. perſons, which were baniſhed men for a time, ſome for more yeeres, ſome for life, and amongſt them there was one ſimple man which was their captaine.

Baniſhed Portingals.

They liue vpon goates fleſh, cockes, hennes, and freſh water: other victuals they haue none, ſauing fiſh, which they eſteeme not, neither haue they any boates to take them.

They reported that this Iſlande was giuen by the king of Portingall, to one of his Gentlemen, who hath let it foorth to rent for one hundreth ducates a peere, which rent is reared onely in goates ſkinnes. For by their ſpeaches there hath bene ſent foorth of the ſaide Iſland into Portingale 40000. ſkinnes in one peere.

Great ſtore of goates.

We were of theſe men marueilouſly welcome, and to their powers very well intertained, and they gaue vs the fleſh of as many hee-goates as wee would haue, and tooke much paines for vs in taking them, and bringing them from the mountaines vpon their aſſes.

They haue there great ſtore of the oyle of Tortoyſes, which Tortoyſe is a fiſh which ſwimmeth in the ſea, with a ſhell on his backe as broade as a target. It raineth not in this Iſland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the middeſt of July to the middeſt of October, and it is here alwayes very hotte. Kine haue bene brought hither, but by reaſon of the heate and drought they haue died.

Februarie. The 3. of Februarie wee departed from this Iſland, and the ſame day fell with another Iſland called the Iſle of Maiyo, which is 14. leagues from the other Iſland: there is in the middeſt of the way betweene theſe 2. Iſlands a danger which is alwayes to be ſeene.

The Iſle of Maiyo.

Wee ancred in the Northweſt ſide of the ſaide Iſle in a faire bay, of eight fadoms water and faire ſande, but here wee ſtaied not, but the fourth day waied and ſailed to another Iſland called S. Iago, which lyeth off the ſaid Iſlande of Maiyo Eaſt and by South, and about fiue leagues out from the other. Being come within the Weſtermoſt point, wee ſawe a faire roade, and a ſmall towne by the water ſide, and alſo a fort or platforme by it: there wee purpoſed to come to ancre, and our Marchants to make ſome ſale. But before we came within their ſhotte, they let fly at vs two peeces, wherevpon wee went roomer and ſailed along the ſhoare two or three leagues from the roade, where we found a ſmall bay and two or three ſmall houſes, where we came to an ancre in 14. fadom faire ground.

S. Iago.

Within an houre after we had ancred, we might ſee diuers horſemen and footemen on the land right againſt vs riding, and running to and fro.

The next day being the firſt of Februarie, a great companie of their horſemen and footemen appeared on the ſhoare ſide, vnto whome our Generall ſent, to vnderſtande whether they would quietly traffique with them: And they ſent him worde againe, deſiring that they might ſpeake with him, promiſing that if he came to traffique as a marchant, he ſhould be welcome, and alſo that he ſhould haue any thing that he or the marchant would with reaſon demaunde.

When

When this anſwere was brought vnto our Generall, he was very glad thereof, and the whole company, and preſently (with as much ſpeede as he could) hee cauſed his boates to be made readie: but doubting the villanie of the Portingals, armed his boates, putting a double baſe in the head of his pinneſſe, and two ſingle baſes in the head of his Skiffe, and ſo ſent to the May floure and the George, and willed them in like ſort to man their two boates.

Theſe boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entred into his ſkiffe, and with the reſt rowed to the ſhoare where were threeſcore horſemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receiue them. Our Generall marueiled that they came in ſo great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce ſent to them to knowe their pleaſure: and they anſwered them with many faire promiſes and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchants to trafique with him, declaring alſo that their Captaine was comming to ſpeake with him; and therefore deſired our Generall to come and ſpeake with him himſelfe.

With this anſwere the boate returned, and then our Generall cauſed his pinneſſe to rowe to them, and as he came neere the ſhoare, they came in a great companie with much obeyſance, opening their handes, and armes abroade, bowing themſelues with their bonnets off, with as much humble ſalutations outwardly as they might: earneſtly deſiring our Generall and Marchants to come a lande to them, whereunto hee would not agree, without ſufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promiſed to ſende two gages to our Generals contentment, promiſing freſh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were ſuch as they liked: and therefore deſired our Generall and Marchants to ſende them a ſhoare in writing, the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to perfourme, looking for their anſwere the morowe following. And being gone a little from the ſhoare, hee cauſed his baſes, currets, and harquabuſſes to be ſhotte off, and our ſhippes in like caſe ſhotte off fiue or ſixe peeces of great ordinance, and ſo came aboorde to prepare the note. The Portingals moſt of them departed, ſauing thoſe that were left to watch and to receiue the note, which about foure or fiue a clocke in the after noone was ſent, and it was receiued. But all the purpoſes of the Portingals were villanouſly to betray vs (as ſhall appeare hereafter,) although we meant in truethe and honeſtie, friendly to trafique with them.

The treaſon of the Portingals in S. Iago to our men.

There was to the Weſtwards of vs, and about two leagues from vs, a towne behinde a point lait by the ſea ſide, where they had certaine Caruels or ſhippes, and alſo two Bzigandines, whereof they (with all the ſpeede that they might) made readie foure Caruels, and both the Bzigandines which were like two Gallies, and furniſhed them both with men and ordinance, as much as they could carrie, and as ſoone as it was nighe, they came rowing and ſailing towards vs: ſo that the land being high, and the weather ſomewhat cloudie or myſtie, and they comming all the way cloſe vnder the ſhoare, wee could not ſee them till they were right againſt one of our ſhippes called the May floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the cloke in the morning, and the May floure roade nerer them then the other two by a baſe ſhotte, ſo that they made a ſure accompt either to haue taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watche (little thinking of ſuch villanous treacheries after ſo many faire wordes,) were ſinging and playing one with the other, and made ſuch a noyſe, that (being but a ſmall gale of winde, and riding nerre the lande) they might heare vs from the ſhoare: ſo that we ſuppoſed that they made accompt that wee had eſpied them, which in deede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readineſſe.

They came ſo neere vs that they were within gunſhot of vs, & then one of our men chanced to ſee a light, & then looking out ſpied the 4. ſhips, and ſuddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and fought with them ſhotte at vs all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebuſſes, and currets, and ſo lighted certaine trunks or peeces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voyce (as well they on the ſhoare as they in the ſhippes) gaue a great ſhoute, and ſo continued hallowing with great noyſes, ſtill approching neerer and neerer vnto the May-floure. Wee (with all the ſpeede that wee might) made readie one piece of ordinance and ſhotte at them, which cauſed them ſomewhat to ſtaye, ſo they exchanged their ordinance and ſhotte at vs freſhly againe, and while they ſhotte this ſecond time at vs, wee had made readie three peeces, which were ſhotte at them, but they approched ſtill ſomewhat nere, at laſt wee might haue ſpare a flagge ore we to them. Whereupon wee hauing a gale of winde off the ſhoare, boſſed our ſprettaile, and cut our cable at the hawſe, and were cleare our Admirall, and they continued following and ſhooting at vs, and ſometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall ſhotte

one such piece at them that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at vs, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

The Ile of Fuego.

But seeing the villanie of these men, we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediately set saile towards an Island called Fuego, 12. leagues from the saide Island of S. Iago. At which Island of Fuego we came to an ancre the 11. day of this moneth, against a white chappell in the West ende of the said Island, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or there about of the vttermost point of the said Island.

In this Island is a maruellous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about 3. yeeres past, the whole Island was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

Mille.

About a league from the said chappel to the Westward, is a goodly spring of fresh water, where we had as much as wee would. Wheate they haue none growing here, but a certaine seede that they call Mill, and certaine pease like Guinie pease, which Mill maketh good bread, but they haue here good store of rother beastes and goates. Their marchandize is cotton which groweth there.

Cotton in Fuego.

The inhabitants are Portingals, which haue commandement frō the king to traffique neither with Englishmen nor Frenchmen for victual or any other thing, except they be forced so to doe.

The Ile of Braua.

There lieth off this Island another called Ilha Braua, which is not passing two leagues ouer, & hath good store of goates and many trees, but there are not passing three or foure persons dwelling in it.

They returne. March.

The 25. day of February we departed towards the Islands of Azores, and on the 23. day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might see another Island to the Northward of it called Cueruo, lying 2. leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27. we came to an ancre in Cueruo ouer against a village of about twelue simple houses: but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused vs to drawe our ancre after vs, we boyst saile and went to the aforesaid Island of Flores, where wee saw we strange streames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reason of the great abundance of raine that had formerly fallen.

The 29. day we came againe to Cueruo and cast ancre, but a storme arose and continued seuen or eight houres together, so that wee let slippe a cable and ancre, and after the storme was ouer wee came againe thinking to haue recouered the same, but the Portingals had either taken it, or spoiled it: the cable was new and neuer wet before, and both the cable and ancre was better worth then 40. li. So that we accompt our selues much beholding to the honest Portingals.

April.

The 18. day of April wee tooke in water at the Island of Flores, and hauing ancred, our cable was fretted in sunder with a rocke and so burst, where wee lost that cable and ancre also, and so departed to our coast.

Then wee set saile to an Islande named Faiall, about the which lie three other Islands, the one called Pico, the other S. George, and the other Graciosa, which wee had sight of on the 28. day.

The 29. we came to an ancre in the Southwest side of Fayal in a faire bay, and 22. fadom water gainst a litle towne, where we had both fresh water and fresh victual. In this Island by the report of the inhabitants, there groweth certaine greene woad, which by their speaches is farre better then the woade of S. Michael, or of Terçera.

Woade.

May.

The eight day of May we came to Tercera, where we mette with a Portingal shippe, and being destitute of a cable and ancre, our Generall caused vs to keepe her companie, to see if her could conueniently spare vs any. The next morning we might see bearing with vs a great shippe and two Caruels, which wee iudged to bee of the king of Portingals Armado, and so they were, whereupon wee prepared our selues for our defence. The saide shippe was one of the kings Galliasses, about the burden of foure hundreth tunnes, with about three hundreth men in her, the shippe being well appointed with braue pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge, that their shotte was as great as a mans head, the other two Caruels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

A Portingal Galliasse of 400. tunnes.

A fight betweene one English ship, and 3. Portingales.

As soone as they were within shotte of vs, they sought vs to attaine with their ancre, we keeping our course, the greatest shippe shot at vs freely, and the caruell also, and wee prepared our selues, and made all things cleare for our safegard as neere as we could. Then the great shippe shot at vs all her broad side, & her foure greatest pieces that laye in her sterne, and therewith hurt some of our men, and wee did the best wee could with our shotte to requite it. At last the other

Caruels

Caruels came off the ſhoare, and two other pinneſſes full of men, and deliuered them aboorde the great ſhippe, and ſo went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ſhippe and the Caruels gaue vs the firſt day three fights, and when the night was come, they left off ſhooting, yet notwithſtanding kept hard by vs all the night. In the meane time wee had as much as wee could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to ſtrengthen our bulwarkes, putting our truſt in God, and reſoluing our ſelues rather to die in our defenſe, then to bee taken by ſuch wretches.

The next day being the 10. of May in the morning, there were come to ayde the ſaide Portingals 4. great Armados or Caruels more which made ſeuen, of which 4. three of them were at the leaſt 100. tunnes apiece, the other not ſo bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All theſe together came bearing with vs being in our Admirall, and one of the great Caruels came to lay vs aboorde (as we iudged) for they had prepared their falſe nettings, and all things for that purpoſe, ſo that the Gallias came vp in our larboord ſide, and the Caruel in our ſtarboord ſide.

Our Captaine and Maſter perceiuing their pretence, cauſed our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with croſſebarres, chaineſhotte, and haileſhot: ſo the ſhippe and Caruell came vp, and as ſoone as they were right in our ſides, they ſhotte at vs as much ordinance as they coulde, thinking to haue layde vs preſently aboorde: whereupon wee gaue them ſuch a heate with both our ſides, that they were both glad to fall aſterne vs, and ſo pauſed the ſpace of two or three houres being a very ſmall gale of winde.

Then came vp the other fiue and ſhot all at vs, and ſo fell all aſterne vs, and then went to counſell together.

Then our ſmall barke named the George came to vs, and wee conferred together a great ſpace. And as the Portingall ſhippes and Caruels were comming to vs againe, our barke minding to fall aſterne of vs, and ſo to come vp againe, fell quickly vpon the lee, and by reaſon of the little winde, it was ſo long before ſhe could fill her ſailes againe, that both the ſhippe and Caruels were come vp to vs, and ſhe falling in among them, made reaſonable ſhift with them, but they got a head of her, ſo that ſhe could not fetch vs: then 5. of the Caruels followed her, but we ſaw wee defended her ſelfe againſt them all.

Then came the great ſhippe and the Caruell to vs, and fought with vs all that day with their ordinance.

The May floure our other conſort, being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof, and haide all that day cloſe by the winde, but coulde not come neere vs. So when night againe was come, they gaue ouer their fight and followed vs all the night.

In theſe many fights it coulde not otherwiſe bee, but needes ſome of our men muſt be ſlaine, (as they were indeede) and diuers hurt, and our tackle much ſpoyled: yet for all this wee did our beſt indeuour to repaire all things, and to ſtand to it to the death, with our aſſured truſt in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May floure came vp to vs, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and ſpoyles, and wiſhed them if they coulde ſpare halfe a doſen freſh men, to hoyſe out their boate and ſende them to him, but they coulde not ſpare any, and ſo bare away againe. Which when our enemies ſawe in the next morning, that we were one from another, they came vp to vs againe and gaue vs a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde vs or els to ſinke vs: but although our companie was but ſmall, yet leaſt they ſhoulde ſee vs any whit diſmayde, when they hallowed wee hallowed alſo as faſt as they, and waued to them to come and boorde vs if they durſt, but that they woulde not, ſeeing vs ſtill ſo couragious, and hauing giuen vs that day 4. fights, at night they forſooke vs with ſhame, as they came to vs at the firſt with pride.

The 7. Portingals depart with ſhame from one Engliſh ſhipp.

They had made in our ſhippe ſome leakes with their ſhotte which we againe ſtopped with all ſpeede, and that being done, we tooke ſome reſt after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May floure came to vs, and brought vs ſixe men in her boate, which did vs much pleaſure, and we ſent to them ſome of our hurt men.

Then we directed our courſe for our owne countrey, and by the ſecond day of June wee were neere to our owne coaſt, and ſounded being thwart the Lyzard. June.

The third day we had ſight of a ſhippe which was a Portingall, who bare with vs, and at his comming to vs (the weather being calme,) our Captaine cauſed him to hoyſe foorth his boate to come aboorde to ſpeake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demaunded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bounde, and they made anſwere that their lading was Suger and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants ſhewed

them 5. Negroes that wee had, and asked them whether they would buy them, which they were very desirous to doe, and agreed to giue for them 40. chestes of Suger, which chestes were small hauing not about 26. loaues in a piece: so they with their boate did fetch fiue of the chests, and deliuered them, and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, wee might see bearing with vs, a great shippe and a small, which our Captaine supposed to be men of warre or Rouers, and then willed the Portingals to carie their suger to their shippe againe, purposing to make our selues readie for our defence. But the Portingals earnestly intreated our Captaine not so to forsake them, and promised him (if he would safegard them,) to giue him aboue the bargaine 10. chests of suger: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portingal not being good of saile, we spared our topsailes for her; so at last the foresaide ship bare with vs, and (seeing that we did not feare them) gaue vs ouer. And the next morning came two others bearing with vs, and seeing vs not about to flie a lot from them, forsooke vs also.

A Portingal ship (notwithstanding all their braues) defended by our men from Rouers.

The 5. day of June wee had sight of the Start, and about noone wee were thwart of the bay of Lime, and so sounded, and had 35. fadom water.

The sixt day wee came in at the Needles, and so came to an ancre vnder the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence sailed to Southhampton, where wee made an ende of this voyage.

The worthie enterprise of Iohn Fox an Englishman in deliuering 266. *Christians out of the captiuitie of* the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Ianuarie 1577.

AMong our Marchants here in England it is a common voyage, to trafique into Spaine: whereunto a shippe, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with eighe and thirtie men, and well fenced with Munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withal, & hauing winde & tide, set from Portsmouth 1563, and bended her iourney towarde Siuill a Citie in Spaine, intending there to trafique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceiued themselues to be beset round about with eighe Gallies of the Turks, in such wise, that there was no way for them to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeelde or else bee sunke. Which the owner perceiuing, manfully encouraged his companie, exhorting them valiantly to shewe their manhoode, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requesting them also not to faint in seeing such a heape of their enemies readie to deuoure them; putting them in minde also, that if it were Gods pleasure to giue them into their enemies handes, it was not they that ought to shewe one displeasant looke or countenance there against; but to take it patiently, and not to prescribe a day and time for their deliuerance, as the Citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themselues vnder his mercie. And againe, if it were his minde and good will to shewe his mightie power by them, if their enemies were tenne times so many, they were not able to stande in their handes; putting them likewise in minde of the olde and auncient worthinesse of their Countreymen, who in the hardest extremities haue alwayes most preuailed and gone away conquerours, yea, and where it hath bene almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath bene the valiantnesse of our countreymen; and such hath bene the mightie power of our God.

With such other like incouragements, exhorting them to behaue themselues manfully, they fell all on their knees making their Prayers liuely vnto God: who being all risen vp againe, perceiued their enemies by their signes and defiances bent to the spoyle, whose mercie was nothing else but crueltie; wherupon euery man tooke him to his weapon.

Then stoode vp one Groue the Master, being a comely man, with his sworde and target, holding them vp in defiance against his enemies. So likewise stoode vp the owner, the Masters mate, Boteswaine, Purser and euery man well appointed. Howe likewise sounded vp the drummes, trumpets and flutes, which would haue incouraged any man, had hee neuer so little heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge Iohn Fox the gunner in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect; and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise bestowed their pieces thicke as fall toward the Christians. But shortly they were neere, so that the bowmen fell to their charge in sending forth their arrowes so thicke amongst the Gallies, & also in doubling their shot so sore vpon the Gallies, that there were twise so many of the Turkes slaine, as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turkes discharged twise as fast against the Christians, & so long, that

that the ship was very sore stricken & bruised vnder water. Which the Turkes perceiuing, made the more haste to come aboord the shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it derely with the losse of their liues. Yet was all in vaine, and booted they were, where they found so hot a skirmish, that it had bene better they had not meddled with the feate. For the Englishmen shewed themselues men in deede, in working manfully with their bowne bils, and holbards: where the owner, master, boteswaine, and their company stoode to it so lustily, that the Turkes were halfe dismaied. But chiefly the boateswaine shewed himselfe valiant about the rest: for he fared amongst the Turkes like a wood Lyon: for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face: till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which brake his whistle a sunder, and smote him on the breast, so that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good comfort, incouraging them likewise to winne praise by death, rather then to liue captiues in miserie and shame. Which they hearing, in deede intended to haue done, as it appeared by their skirmish: but the preasse and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so ouerpressed, that they could not weild their weapons: by reason whereof they must needs be taken, which none of them intended to haue bene, but rather to haue died: except onely the Masters mate, who shunke from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellowes, nor hauing respect to the miseries, whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was, that the Turkes were victors, wherof they had no great cause to reioyce, or triumph. Then would it haue grieued any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently intreating the Christians, not hauing any respect of their manhood which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their owne state, how they might haue met with such a booty, as might haue giuen them the ouerthrow: but no remorse hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tyrannous dealing, but that the Christians must needes to the gallies, to serue in newe offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled ouer their eares, and towne from their backes, and they set to the oares.

The valour & death of their Boateswaine.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now vnder their enemies raging stripes. I thinke there is no man will iudge their fare good, or their bodies vnloden of stripes, and not pestered with too much heate, and also with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpose, which is, to shew the ende of those, being in meere miserie, which continually doe call on God with a stedfast hope, that he will deliuer them, and with a sure faith, that he can doe it.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a hauen towne, and vnder the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very sensible with strong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe customably bring their gallies on shoare euery yeere, in the winter season, and there doe trimme them, and lay them vp against the spring time. In which roade there is a prison, wherein the captiues & such prisoners as serue in the gallies, are put for all that time, vntill the seas be calme and passable for the gallies, euery prisoner being most grieuously laden with yrons on their legges, to their great paine, and sore disabling of them to any labour taking. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the miserie, while that they were all, through reason of their ill vsage and worse fare, miserably starued: sauing one Iohn Fox, who (as some men can abide harder and more miserie, then other some can, so can some likewise make more shift, and worke more deuises to helpe their state and liuing, then other some can doe) being somewhat skilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Insomuch, till at the last, God sent him fauour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, so that he had leaue to goe in and out to the roade, at his pleasure, paying a certaine stipend vnto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his legge: which libertie likewise, fewe more had vpon like sufferance: who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would worke the Turkes any mischiefe, had libertie to goe in and out at the said roade, in such manner, as this Iohn Fox did, with yrons on their legges, and to returne againe at night.

The Englishmen carried prisoners vnto an hauen neere Alexandria.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the winter season, the Gallies happily comming to their accustomed harborow, and being discharged of all their masts, sailes, and other such furnitures as vnto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Maisters and mariners of them being then nested in their owne homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had beene taken by the Turkes fore, and were of fifteene sundry nations. Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named Iohn Fox of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Essex. Which Iohn Fox

hauing

hauing bene thirteene or fourteene yeeres vnder their gentle entertenance, & being too too weary thereof, minding his escape, wrieth with himselfe by what meanes it might be brought to passe: and continually pondering with himselfe thereof, tooke a good heart vnto him, in hope that God would not be alwaies scourging his children, and neuer ceassing to pray him to further his pretended enterprise, if that it should redound to his glory.

Not farre from the roade, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the Citie, there was a certaine Victualing house, which one Peter Vnticaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee vnto the keeper of the roade. This Peter Vnticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Christian, and had bene prisoner aboue thirtie yeeres, and neuer practised any meanes to escape, but kept himselfe quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracie: vntill that now this Iohn Foxe vsing much thither, they brake one to another their minds, concerning the restraint of their libertie and imprisonment. So that this Iohn Fox at length opening vnto this Vnticaro the deuise which he would faine put in practise, made priuie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter, at such times as they could compasse to meete together: insomuch, that at seuen weekes ende they had sufficiently concluded howe the matter should be, if it pleased God to further them thereto: who making fiue more priuie to this their deuise, whome they thought that they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same Iohn Fox, and Peter Vnticaro, and the other fiue, appointed to meete all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this Iohn Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and deuise was, and howe and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who thereunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their deuise. Which the same Iohn Fox seeing, deliuered vnto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Vnticaro, charging them that euery man should be ready discharged of his yrons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

The last of December.

Ianuarie.

On the next day at night, this saide Iohn Fox, and his fiue other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Vnticaro, passing the time away in mirth for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practise their deuise, sent Peter Vnticaro to the master of the roade, in the name of one of the Gaolers of the citie, with whome this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede.

In the meane season, the other seuen had prouided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and Iohn Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serue his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in stede of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaiues as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come vnto the house, and perceiuing no light, nor hearing any noyse, straight way suspected the matter: and returning backe ward, Iohn Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped forth vnto him: who perceiuing it to be Iohn Fox, saide, O Fox, what haue I deserued of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt knowe what thou hast deserued at my handes: where with he lift vp his bright shining sword of ten yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall his head clane asunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Vnticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stoode with the keeper: who came presently forth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaiues hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, wherinto they entered softly, where were fiue warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friends. Which when they were all within, proued contrary: for quoth Fox, my maisters, here is not to euery man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who so behaued themselues in deede, that they had dispatched these fiue quickly. Then Iohn Fox, intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to worke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Canon against it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keies of the fortresse and prison by his bed side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in duckets, which this Peter Vnticaro, and two more, opening, stuffed themselues so full as they could, betweene their shirts and their shirte: which Iohn Fox would not

once

once touch, and saide, that it was his and their libertie which he sought for, to the honour of his God, and not to make a marte of the wicked treasure of the Infidels. Yet did these words sinke nothing into their stomakes, they did it for a good intent: so did Saule saue the fattest Oxen, to offer vnto the Lord, and they to serue their owne turne. But neither did Saule scape the wrath of God therefore, neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirst after. Such is Gods iustice. He that they put their trust in, to deliuer them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, (he I say) could supply their want of necessaries.

Nowe these eight, being armed with such weapons, as they thought well of, thinking themselues sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemie, and comming vnto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called foorth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming vp the gate, some to the dressing vp of a certaine gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto some caried mastes, sailes, oares, and other such furniture, as doth belong vnto a gallie.

At the prison were certaine warders, whome Iohn Fox and his company slewe: in the killing of whome, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceiued them, and got them to the toppe of the prison: vnto whome Iohn Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slaine, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As Iohn Fox was thrise shot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Vnticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckets, were slaine, as not able to weild themselues, being so pestered with the weight and vneasie carying of the wicked and prophane treasure: and also diuers Christians were aswell hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slaine.

Amongst the Turkes was one thrust thorowe, who (let vs not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stoode a house or two) came and dawed him, so that they vnderstoode the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: wherewith they raised both Alexandria, which lay on the west side of the roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortresse which lay on the North side of the roade: so that nowe they had no way to escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so vpon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them. So was the red sea impossible for the Israelites to passe through, the hils and rockes lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other. So was it impossible, that the wals of Iericho should fall downe, being neither vndermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wisedome, pollicie, or helpe set or put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. He that helde the Lyons iawes from renting Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold ye roring canons of this hellish force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Ouen, from the three children, that praised his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blastes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with lustie souldiers, labourers, and mariners, who are faine to stand to their tackling, in setting to euery man his hand, some to the carying in of victuals, some munitions, some oares, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemie from the wall of the roade. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour il bestowed, or in vaine. So that in short time, this gally was ready trimmed vp. Whereinto euery man leaped in all haste, hoyssing vp the sailes lustily, yeelding themselues to his mercie and grace, in whose hands is both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the safetie of the roade: nowe haue the two Castles full power vpon the gally, now is there no remedie but sinke: how can it be auoided? the canons let flee from both sides, and the gally is euen in the middest, and betweene them both. What man can deuise to saue it? there is no man, but would thinke it must needes be sunke.

There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with fiue and fortie shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold foorth his buckler, he shieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the vttermost. Now commeth his speciall helpe: yea, euen when man thinks them past all helpe, then commeth he himselfe downe from heauen with his mightie power, then is his present remedie most ready prest. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them comming downe by heapes to the water side, in companies like vnto swarmes of bees, making shew to come after them with gallies, in bustling themselues to oresse vp the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, mastes, sailes, gables, nor any thing els ready in

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any gally. But yet they are carying them into them, some into one gally, and some into an other, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to ouertake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased thereat: it could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speake neuer a word for dulnes, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoeuer it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receiue such a gibe. But howsoeuer their God behaued himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God in deede, and that he was the only liuing God: for the seas were swift vnder his faithfull, which made the enemies agast to behold them, a skilfuller Pylot leades them, and their mariners beskirre them luckily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pylote, nor any skilfull Master, that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast, Iohn Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull vnto almightie God for their deliuerie, and most humbly to fall downe vpon their knees, beseeching him to aide them vnto their friends land, and not to bring them into another daunger, sithe her had moste mightily deliuered them from so great a thaldome and bondage.

Thus when euery man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with the oares, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour striuing to come to some Christian land, as neere as they could gesse by the starres. But the windes were so diuers, one while driuing them this way, an other while that way, so that they were now in a newe mast, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And forasmuch as there were no victuals nowe left in the gallie, it might haue bene a cause to them, (if they had bene the Israelites) to haue murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God, who had deliuered them out of Ægypt, was such a louing and mercifull God, as that he would not suffer them to be confounded, in whome he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie soeuer they sustained, they knew it was but for their farther triall, and also (in putting them in minde of their farther miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselues therefore. Hauing (I say) no victuals in the gally, it might see me, one miserie continually to fal vpon an others necke but to be briefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28. daies, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest.

Extremitie of famine.

So it fell out, that vpon the 29. day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Ile of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sworde, wherewith Iohn Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious iewell, and hung it vp for a monument.

Iohn Fox his sworde kept as a monument in Gallipoli.

When they thought good, hauing leaue to depart from thence, they sailed along the coast, till they arriued at Tarento, where they solde their gallie, and deuided it, euery man hauing a part thereof. The Turkes receiuing so shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians, and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bene their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seuen gallies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing least they should haue bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed asunder, euery man taking him to his next way home. From whence Iohn Fox tooke his iourney vnto Rome, where he was well entertained of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede vnto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gaue him his letters vnto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his moste worthy enterprise, gaue him in fee twenty pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his owne countrey, he came thither at such time as he conueniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lord God, 1579. Who being come into England, went vnto the Court, and shewed all his trauell vnto the Councell: who considering of the state of this man, in that he had spent and lost a great part of his youth, in thaldome and bondage extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Christians.

The copie of the certificate for Iohn Fox, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE the Prior, & Fathers of the Couet of the Americates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers do testifie, that vpon the 29. of Ianuary last past, 1577. there came in to

to the ſaid citie a certaine gallie from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Chriſtians, whereof was principal, Maſter Iohn Fox, an Engliſh man, a gunner, and one of the chiefeſt that did accompliſh that great worke, whereby ſo many Chriſtians haue recouered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, vpon our earneſt requeſt to the ſame Iohn Fox, he hath left here an olde ſword, wherewith he ſlewe the keeper of the priſon: which ſword we doe as a monument and memoriall of ſo worthie a deede, hang vp in the chiefe place of our Couent houſe. And for becauſe all things aforeſaid, are ſuch as we will teſtifie to be true, as they are orderly paſſed, and haue therefore good credite, that ſo much as is aboue expreſſed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforeſaid, haue ratified and ſubſcribed theſe preſents. Yeuen in Gallipoly, the third of Feb. 1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the ſame place, confirme the premiſes, as they are aboue written.
I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.
I Frier Anthony Celeler of Galli, confirme as aforeſaid.
I Frier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as aboue ſaid.
I Frier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

The Biſhop of Rome his letters, in the behalfe of *Iohn Fox.*

BE it knowen vnto all men, to whome this writing ſhal come, that the bringer hereof Iohn Fox Engliſhman, a Gunner, after he had ſerued captiue in the Turks gallies, by the ſpace of foureteene yeeres, at length, thorow God his helpe, taking good opportunitie, the third of Ianuarie laſt paſt, ſlew the keeper of the priſon, (whom he firſt ſtroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the aſſiſtance of his fellow priſoners: and with 266. Chriſtians, (of whoſe libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence, arriued firſt at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwards at Tarento in Apulia: the written teſtimony and credite of which things, as alſo of others, the ſame Iohn Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Vpon Eaſter eue, he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his iourney to the Spaniſh Court, hoping there to obtaine ſome reliefe toward his liuing: wherefore the poore diſtreſſed man humbly beſeecheth, and we in his behalfe, do in the bowels of Chriſt, deſire you, that taking compaſſion of his former captiuitie, and preſent penurie, you doe not onely ſuffer him freely to paſſe throughout all your cities and townes, but alſo ſuccour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof, you ſhall hereafter moſt aſſuredly receiue, which we hope you will affoord to him, whome with tender affection of pitie, wee commend vnto you. At Rome, the xx. of Aprill. 1577.

Thomas Grolos Engliſhman, Biſhop of Aſtraphen.
Richard Silleen Prior Anglie.
Andreas Ludouicus, Regiſter to our Soueraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credite of the premiſes, haue ſet my ſeale to theſe preſents. At Rome, the day and yeere aboue written.
Mauricius Clement, the gouernour and keeper of the Engliſh Hoſpitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the *placing of Iohn Fox in the office of a Gunner, &c.*

TO the illuſtrious Prince, Veſpaſian Gonſaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia, hauing conſideration, that Iohn Fox Engliſhman, hath ſerued vs, and was one of the moſt principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they haue brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie and eight Chriſtian captiues. We licence him to practiſe, and giue him the office of a Gunner, and haue ordained, that he goe to our ſaid Realme, there to ſerue in the ſaid office in the Gallies, which by our commaundement are lately made. And we doe commaund, that you cauſe to be paied to him eight duckets pay a moneth, for the time that he ſhall ſerue in the ſaide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwiſe prouide for him, the ſaid eight duckets monethly of the money

which

which is already of our prouision, present and to come, and to haue regarde of those which come with him. From Escuriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King.

Iuan del Gado.

And vnder that a confirmation of the Councell.

Verses written by A. M. to the curteous Readers, who was present at Rome, when Iohn Fox receiued his letters of the Pope.

Leauing at large all fables vainely vsde,
all trifling toyes that doe no truthe import:
Loe here how the'nd (at length) though long deuefoldeth plaine a true and rare report: (fusd
To glad those minds, who seek their coũtries welth
by profered paines t'enlarge his happy helth.
At Rome I was, when Fox did there arriue:
therefore I may sufficiently expresse
What gallant ioy his deedes did there reuiue
in the harts of those which heard his valiantnes.
And how the Pope did recompence his paines,
and letters gaue to moue his greater gaines.

I was at Rome in the English house, when Fox was there, and receiued his letters.

But yet I know that many doe misdoubt,
that those his paines are fables and vntrue;
Not onely I in this will beare him out,
but diuerse more that did his pattents view.
And vnto those so boldely I dare say: (wray.
that naught but trueth Iohn Fox doth here be-
Besides heer's one was slaue with him in thrall,
lately returnd into our natiue land:
This witnes can this matter perfect all,
what needeth more? for witnes he may stand.
And thus I ende, vnfolding what I knowe:
the other man more larger proofe can shewe.

Honos alit artes. A. M.

The ambassage of Master Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne *Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her Highnes, to Mully Abdelmelech*, Emperour of Maroccus, and King of Fes, and Sus: in the yeere 1577. written by himselfe.

May.

Master Hogan his arriuall at Asafi in Barbarie.

I Edmund Hogan, being appointed Ambassadour from the Queenes Maiestie, to the aboue named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my companie, and seruants from London, the two and twentie day of April, 1577. being imbarked in the good shippe, called the Gallion of London, and arriued in Asafi, a port of Barbarie, the one and twentie day of Maye, next following. Immediately I sent Leonell Edgerton a shoare, with my letters, directed to Iohn Williams, and Iohn Bampton, who dispatched a Trottero to Maroccus, to know the kings pleasure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thursday night.

They with all speede, gaue the King vnderstanding of it, who being glad thereof, speeded the next day certaine Captaines, with souldiers, and tents, with other prouision, to Asafi: so that vpon Whitsonday at night, the said Captaines, with Iohn Bampton, Robert Washborne, and Robert Lyon, and the kings officers, came late to Asafi.

In the meane time, I remained a boord, & caused some of the goods to be discharged for lightning of the shippe, and I wrote in my letters, that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kinges pleasure.

The 22. day, being Saturday, the Makespeede arriued into the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27. day, being Whitsonday, came aboord the Gallion Iohn Bampton, and others, giuing me to vnderstand, how much the King reioyced of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maiestie, and how that for my safe conduite to the Court he had sent foure Captaines, and 100. souldiers well appointed, with a horse furnished, which he vsed himselfe to ride on, with al other furniture accordingly: they wished me also to come on land, in ẏ best order I could, as well for my selfe, as my men, which I did, hauing to the number of 10. men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The

The ships being foure, appointed themselues in the best order they could, for the best shew, and shot off all their ordinance, to the value of twentie Markes in powder.

At my comming a shoare, I found all the souldiers well appointed on horsebacke, the Captaines, and the Gouernour of the towne standing as neere the water side as they could, with a Jennet of the kings, and receiued me from the boate, declaring how glad his maiestie was of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes maiestie my maistresse, and that he had sent them to attend vpon me, being his pleasure that I should tary there on shore, flue or sixe dayes for my refreshing.

So being mounted vpon the Jennet, they conducted mee through the towne into a faire fielde vpon the Sea side, where was a tent prouided for me, and all the ground spread with Turkie carpets, and the Castle discharged a peale of ordinaunce, and all things necessarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table, and lodged, and had other conuenient tentes for my seruaunts.

The souldiors enuironed the tents, and watched about vs day and night as long as I lay there, although I sought my speedier dispatch.

On the Wednesday towardes night, I tooke my horse and trauailed ten miles to the first place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and so trauailed till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till 4. and so trauailed as long as day light would suffer, about 26. miles that day.

In Barbarie they haue no Innes, but they lodge in open fields where they can find water.

The next day being Friday, I trauailed in like order, but eight and twentie miles at the least, and by a Riuer beyng about sixe miles within sight of the Citie of Moroccus wee pitched our tents.

Immediately after came all our English merchaunts, and the French on horsebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fifftie men, and diuers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my supper, declaring vnto me how glad the king shewed himselfe to heare of the Queenes maiestie, and that his pleasure was I should be receiued into his countrey as neuer any Christian the like: and desired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, because he would that all the Christians, as also his nobilitie, should meete me, and willed Iohn Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

The singular humanitie of the king to our Ambassador.

About seuen of the clocke being accompanied with the French and English merchants, and a great number of souldiours, I passed towardes the Citie, and by that time I had trauailed two miles, there met me all the Christians of the Spaniardes and Portingals to receiue me, which I knowe was more by the kings commaundement, then of any good wils of themselues: for some of them although they speake me faire, hung downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portingals, and I countenanced them accordingly.

The Spaniards and Portingals were commanded by the king in pain of death, to meete the English Ambassador.

So I passed on till I came within two English miles of the Citie, and then Iohn Bampton returned, shewing mee that the king was so glad of my comming, that hee could not deuise to doe too much, to shewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Maiestie, and her Realme.

His counsailers mette me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footemen and guard were placed on both sides of my horse, and so brought me to the kings palace.

The king sate in his chaire with his counsaile about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and, according to his order giuen vnto mee before, I there declared my message in Spanish, and made deliuerie of the Queenes Maiesties letters, and all that I spake at that present in Spanishe, hee caused one of his Elchies to declare the same to the Moores present in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he answered me agayne in Spanish, yeelding to the Queenes Maiestie great thankes, and offering himselfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certayne of his Counsailers to conduct mee to my lodging, not beyng farre from the Court.

The house was faire after the fashion of that countrey, being daily well furnished with all kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The same night hee sent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him aboue the space of two howers, where I throughly declared the charge committed vnto mee from her Maiestie, finding him conformable, willing to pleasure, and not to vrge her Maiestie with any demaundes, more then conueniently shee might willingly consent vnto, hee knowyng that out of his countrey, the Realme of England might be better serued with lackes, then hee in comparison from vs.

The king of Spain sought to disgrace the Queenes and her Ambassadours.

Further he gaue me to vnderstand, that the king of Spaine had sent vnto him for a licence, that an Ambassadour of his might come into his countrey, and had make great meanes that if the Queenes Maiestie of England sent any vnto him, that he would not giue any credite or entertainment, albeit (sayd he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so gouerned by the Inquisition, that he can doe nothing of himselfe.

Therefore when he commeth vpon the licence which I haue granted, he shall well see how litle account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will enroll you for the Queenes maiestie of England.

Hee shall not come to my presence as you haue done, and shall daily: for I minde to accept of you, as my companion, and one of my house, whereas he shall attend eleuen dayes after her hath done his message.

After the end of this speach, I deliuered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as hee tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court, to a palace, where there came a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Musicians as he had.

The king of Barbaric sent into England for Musicians.

Then I presented him with a great base Lute, which he most thankefully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Musicians, and I told him that there was great care had to prouide them, and that I did not doubt, but vpon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to giue them good entertainment with prouision of victuall, and to liue according to their law and conscience, wherein he vseth none to the contrary.

I find him to be one that liueth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament, as also in the new, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others, because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of idoles, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

A rich gift bestowed vpon our Ambassadour.

The same night being the first of June, I continued with him till twelue of the clocke, and he seemed to haue so good liking of me, that he tooke from his girdle, a short dagger, being set with 200. stones, rubies, and turkies, and did bestow it vpon me, and so I being conducted, returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday and our Sabboth day he did let me rest. But on the Munday in the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, & Musike.

Likewise on the Tuesday by three of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him lye vpon a silke bed, complaining of a sore leg: yet after long conference hee walked into an other Orchard, where as hauing a faire bankering house, and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboord the gallie, and tooke me with him, and passed the space of two or three houres, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he sayd) he had exercised himselfe eighteene yeeres in his youth.

After supper he shewed me his iewels and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I haue not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his sore legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

June. The 13. of June at five of the clocke at night, I had againe audience with the king, and I continued with him till midnight, hauing debated as well for the Queenes commission, as for the well dealing with her merchants for their traffique here in these parts, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes maiestie and the Realme, offering that all English ships with her subiects may with good securitie enter into his ports and dominions, as well in trade of merchaundize, as for victuall & water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies, to lying in pyles, and to make sales as occasion should serue, or els to depart againe with them at their pleasure.

The offers of the king to our English merchants.

Likewise for all English shippes that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, and thorow the Secrets into the Leuant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and merchants with their goods, might passe into the Leuant seas, and so to the Turkes dominions, and the king of Argiers as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke, and to the king of Argier his letters for the well vsing of our ships and goods.

Also that hereafter no Englishmen, that by any meanes may be taken captiues, shall bee sold within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes maiestie accepting of this his offers, was pleased to confirme the intercourse, and trade of our merchants within this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should haue need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of merchandize, so as he required nothing contrary to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the christian princes her neighbors.

A good pleasure.

The

The ſame night I preſented the king with the caſt of corabes, and deſired his maieſtie to haue ſpeciall regard that the ſhips might be laden backe againe, for that I found little ſtore of Salt peter in readineſſe in Iohn Bamptons handes. He anſwered me that I ſhould haue all the aſſiſtance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to haue ſome ſtore in his houſe there, as alſo that the Mountayners had made much in a readineſſe: I requeſted that he would ſend downe, which he promiſed to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe, and ſo continued there till night, and he ſhewed me his houſe with paſſime in ducking with water Spaniels, and baiting buls with his Engliſh dogges.

At this time I mooued him againe for the ſending downe to Sus, which he graunted to doe, and the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompes and his company, the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Viceroy.

The 23. day the king ſent me out of Morocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his guard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24. at night I came to the court to ſee a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promiſed me audience the next day being Tueſday, but he put it off till Thurſday: and the Thurſday at night I was ſent for to the king after ſupper, and then he ſent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a litle talke I deſired to be brought to the king for my diſpatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of Iohn Bamptons which he had made for prouiſion of Salt peter, alſo two bils for the quiet traffique of our Engliſh merchants, and bils for ſugers to be made by the Iewes, as well for the debes paſt, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Alſo I mooued him againe for the Salt peter, and other diſpatches, which he referred to be agreed vpon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and vpon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell ſicke, ſo on Sunday we made meanes to the king, and that afternoone I was ſent for to conferre vpon the bargaine, with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Vpon Tueſday I wrote a letter to the king for my diſpatch, and the ſame afternoone I was called againe to the court, and referred all things to the king, accepting his offer of Salt peter.

That night againe the king had me into his gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thurſday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals groſſe of Salt peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came vnto me to my lodging, ſhewing me that the king was offended with Iohn Bampton for diuers cauſes.

The Sunday night late, being the 7. of July, I got the king to forgiue all to Iohn Bampton, Iuly. and the king promiſed me to ſpeake againe with me vpon Munday.

Vpon Tueſday I wrote to him againe for my diſpatch, and then he ſent Fray Lewes to me, and ſayd that he had order to write.

Vpon Wedneſday I wrote againe, and hee ſent mee worde that vpon Thurſday I ſhould come and bee diſpatched, ſo that I ſhould depart vpon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of Iuly.

So the Friday after according to the kings order and appointment, I went to court, and whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demands which I had preferred, they were all graunted, and likewiſe the priuiledges which were on the behalfe of our Engliſh merchants requeſted, were with great fauour and readineſſe yeelded vnto. And whereas the Iewes there reſident, were to our men in certaine round ſummes indebted, the Emperors pleaſure and commaundement was, that they ſhould without further excuſe or delay, pay and diſcharge the ſame. And thus at length I was diſmiſſed with great honor and ſpeciall countenance, ſuch as hath not ordinarily bene ſhewed to other Ambaſſadors of the Chriſtians.

And touching the priuate affaires intreated vpon betwixt her Maieſtie and the Emperor, I had letters from him to ſatiſfie her highneſſe therein. So to conclude, hauing receiued the like honourable conduct from his court, as I had for my repaire at my firſt landing, I embarked my ſelfe with my ſoreſayde company, and arriuing not long after in England, I repaired to her maieſties Court, and enioyed my Ambaſſage to her highneſſe good liking, with relation of my ſeruice performed.

A Letter written from Goa, the principall Citie of all the East Indies, by one Thomas Steuens an Englishman, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Steuens, An. 1579.

After most humble commendations: These shall be to craue your daily blessing, with like commendations vnto my mother, and with all, to certifie you of my being, according to your will and my duetie. I wrote vnto you taking my iourney from Italie to Portingall, which letters I thinke are come to your handes, so that presuming thereupon, I thinke I haue the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which neuertheless in one word I may conclude, if I doe but name, obedience. I came to Lisbone toward the ende of March, eight dayes before the departure of the ships, so that if they had not bene stayed about some weighetie matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: in so much that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings pouch ou and ours also might not be in vayne. Neuertheless, our sudden comming tooke place, and the 4. of Aprill, fiue shippes departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and souldiours, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no maruell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting forth from the porte, I neede not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinaunce, you may easily imagine it, considering that they goe in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth, we came to the sight of Porto Sancto neere vnto Madera, where an English ship set vpon ours, (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ships had laied out her greatest ordinaunce, they straight departed as they came. The English ship was very faire and great, which I was sory to see so ill occupied, for she went rouing about, so that wee sawe her againe at the Canarian Iles, vnto the which we came the 13. of the said moneth, and good laisure wee had to wonder at the high mountaine of the Iland Tenerif, for wee wandered betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such euill weather wee had vntill the 14. of May, that they dispaired to compasse the Cape of Good Hope that yeere. Neuertheless, taking our voiage betweene Guinea, and the Iles of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arriued at length vnto the coast of Guinie, which the Portingals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the 6. degree vnto the Equinoctiall, in which partes they suffered so many inconueniences of heates, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselues happy when they haue passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudie, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so vnwholesome, that if the water stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meate which is hanged vp, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we oftentimes saw a thing swimming vpon the water like a cockes combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the coulour much fairer which combe standeth vpon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in coulour and bignesse, and beareth vnderneath in the water, strings, which saueth it from turning ouer. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the 6. degree vnto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then 30. dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The 30. of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course as wel as we could to passe the promontorie, but in all that gulfe, and in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot goe without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoyt vp, and saile excellent well, vnlesse the waters be too too furious, which seldome happened in our nauigation. You shall vnderstand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway goe the right way to the promontorie: but according to the wind, they draw alwaies as neere South as they can to put themselues in the latitude of the point, which is 35. degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compasse the point. But the wind serued vs so, that at 30. degrees we did direct our course toward the point of promontorie of Good Hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helpes God prouided for these men. There is not a sowle that appeareth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they haue not written, which haue made the voyages heretofore. Wherefore, partly by their own experience, & pondering withal what space the ship is able to make with such a wind, & such direction,

and

and partly by the experience of others, whose bookes and nauigations they haue, they gesse whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure: but the greatest and best industrie of all, is to marke the variation of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Island of S. Michael, which is one of the Asores in the latitude of Lisbone is iust North, and thence swarueth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesaid, and the point of Affrica it carieth 3. or 4. quarters of 32. And againe in ye point of Affrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in English the needles) it returneth againe vnto the North, and that place passed, it swarueth againe toward the West, as it did before proportionally. As touching our first signes, the neerer we came to the people of Affrike, the more strange kindes of Fowles appeared, insomuch that when we came within no lesse then 30. leagues (almost an 100. miles) and 600. miles as we thought from any Island, as good as 3000. fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship: some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained 7. spans, as the mariners said. A maruelous thing to see how God prouided, so ye in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, & nothing wanteth them. The Portingals haue named thē all according to some proprietie which they haue: some they cal Rushtailes, because their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long & smal like a rush, some forked tailes because they be very broad and forked, some veluet sleeues, because they haue wings of the coulor of veluet, & boweth them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwaies welcome, for he appeareth neerest the Cape. I should neuer make an end if I should tell all particulars: but it shal suffise briefly to touch a few, which yet shalbe sufficient, if you marke them to giue occasion to glorifie almightie God in his wonderful works, and such varietie in his creatures. And to speake somewhat of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone, neere ye line (for without we neuer saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they cal Tuberones, they come to eate such things as from the ship fall into the sea, not refusing men themselues if they light vpon them. And if they find any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These haue waiting on them 6. or 7. smal fishes (which neuer depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely seruing men: and they go two or three before him, and some on euery side. Moreouer, they haue other fishes which cleaue alwayes vnto their bodie, and serme to take such superfluities as grow about them, and they are said to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they neede. The mariners in time past haue eaten of them, but since they haue seene them eate men, their stomacks abhorre them. Neuerthelesse, they draw thē vp with great hookes, and kil of them as many as they can, thinking that they haue made a great reuenge. There is another kind of fish as big almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These haue two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon foloweth them with great swiftnes to take them. This poore fish not being able to swim fast, for he hath no finnes, but swimmeth with mooiung of his taile, shutting his wings, lifteth himselfe aboue the water, and flieth not very high: The Albocore seeing that, although he haue no wings, yet giueth he a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe vnder the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being wearie of the aire, or thinking himself out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemie the sea Crow, catcheth him before he falleth. With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and saluation of the ship, we came at length vnto the point, so famous and feared of all mē: but we found there no tempest, only great waues, where our Pilot was a little ouerseene: for wheras commonly all other neuer come within sight of land, but seeing signs ordinarie, and finding bottome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to haue wind at will, shot so nigh the land, that the wind turning into the South, and the waues being exceeding great, rolled vs so neere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14. fadoms of water, no more then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Las Agulias, and there we stoode as vtterly cast away: for vnder vs were rockes of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no anker could hold the ship, the shore so euill that nothing could take land, and the land it selfe so full of Tigers, and people that are sauage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ankers, hoising vp the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with winde from the land, and so we escaped thanks be to God. And the day folowing, being in the place where they are alwayes woont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they tooke that they serued all the ship for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled vp a curreall of great bignesse and price. For there they say (as we sawe by experience) that the curreals doe grow in the maner of stalkes vpon the rockes in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The

The variation of the compasse.

Signes about the Cape of Bona Speranza.

Fishes on the sea coast of Affrica.

Note.

Curreal.

day of perill was the 29. of July. And you shall vnderstand that the Cape passed, there bee two wayes to India: one within the Isle of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselues at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more, land in Goa. The other is without the Isle S. Laurence, which they take when they set footh so late, and come so late to the point, that they haue no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe beauily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long nauigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummes waxe great and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legs swell, and all the body becommeth lame, and so benummed, that they cannot stirre hand nor foote, and so they die for weakenesse, others fall into flixes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chaunce to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past 27. which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet thankes be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health well in the land, if it may be, to his honour and seruice. This way is full of prittie rocks and quick sandes, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the prouidence of God we saw nothing, nor neuer found become vntill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree, or somewhat more, we sawe crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden, but this was no signe of land. After, about the 11. degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they serued our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meate nor almost any thing els to eate, our nauigation growing so long that it dyed we neere to seuen moneths, where as commonly they goe it in fiue, I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of birdes, which were a kind of Hawkes, whereof they ioyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but in deede they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotera, an Isle in the mouth of the red sea. But there God sent vs great winds from the North east or Northnortheast, whereupon vnwillingly they bare vp toward the East, and thus we went ten dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceiued their errour: for they had diuers their course before, alwayes Northeast, coueting to multiplie degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran Northwest, haue drawen vs to this other danger, had not God sent vs this wind, which at length waxed larger, and restored vs to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceiue the most part of the gouernours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselues with ordinarie experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarue, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land, were certaine fowles which they knew to bee of India: the second, boughes of palmes & sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coine of monye, as broad, and as round as a groat, wonderfully painted and stamped of nature, like vnto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serue, they see land, which we did to our great ioy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those partes) and victuals began to faile vs. And in Goa we came the 24. of October, there being receiued with passing great charitie. The people be tawnie, but not disfigured in their lippes and noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, go naked, sauing an apron of a spanne long, and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke themselues as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here, I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I haue not seene tree here, whose like I haue seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which nevertheless here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portingall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruite called Cocos. And this shall suffise for this time. If God send me my health, I shall haue opportunitie to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leaue, and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the 10. of Nouember. 1579.

Two wayes beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

They commonly saile from Lisbone to Goa in fiue moneths.

Running seas very dangerous.

Certaine signes of land.

They arriue at Goa the 24. of October.

Your louing Sonne

Thomas Steuens.

The

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse of Zuldan Murad Chan, to the sacred regall Maiestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteining the grant of the first priuileges.

IN greatnesse and glorie most renowmed Elizabeth, most sacred Queene, and noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of Iesus, most wise gouernor of the causes and affaires of the people and familie of Nazareth, cloud of most pleasant raine, and sweetest fountaine of nobleness and vertue, ladie and haire of the perpetuall happinesse and glorie of the noble Realme of England, (whom all sortes seeke vnto and submit themselues) we wish most prosperous successe and happie ends to all your actions, and doe offer vnto you such pleasures and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as best beseemeth vs) our former salutations.

In most friendly maner we giue you to vnderstand, that a certeine man hath come vnto vs in the name of your most excellent Regall Maiestie, commending vnto vs from you all kindnesse, curtesie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highnesse would vouchsafe to giue leaue and libertie to him and vnto ‖ two other merchants of your kingdome to resort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be suffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like sort to make their returne.

‖ These two were Sir Edward Osborne and maister Rich. Staper.

Our stately Court and Countrey hath beene euer open for the accesse both of our enemies and friends. But because we are informed that your most excellent Regall Maiestie doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kinde of louing affection towards vs, so much the rather shall the same our Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subiects, as by way of merchandize shall trade hither: and we will neuer faile to aid and succor any of them that are or shall be willing to esteeme of our friendship, fauor, and assistance: but will reckon it some part of our duetie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is giuen to vnderstand that your most excellent Regall Maiestie doth excell in bountie and curtesie, we therefore haue sent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and trauellers by sea, to all our Captaines and mariners seafaring men, all condemned persons, and officers of ports and customes, straightly charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resort hither by sea from the Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of merchandize, may lawfully come to our Imperiall dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall moue to molest or trouble them. And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horsebacke, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the ‖ king of Germanie, with diuers other our neighbours about vs, haue libertie to come hither, and to returne againe into their owne countries, in like sort the merchants of your most excellent Regall Maiesties kingdome, shall haue safe conduct and leaue to repaire hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their owne Country: streightly charging that they be suffered to vse and trade all kinde of merchandize as all other Christians do, without let or disturbance of any.

‖ He called the Germane emperor, but king of Germanie.

Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Regal Maiestie, it shall be meet, according to our beneuolence, humanitie and familiaritie towards your most excellent Maiestie, that you likewise bethinke your selfe of your like beneuolence, humanitie and friendshippe towardes vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to nourish by all good meanes this kindnesse and friendship: and that like libertie may be granted by your highnesse to our subiects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: and that your most excellent Regall Maiestie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendshippe towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the doore thereof vnto vs.

The Turke commaundeth like priuileges for his subiects in the Queenes dominions.

Giuen at our citie of Constantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our most holy prophet Mahomet ‖ 937.

‖ With vs the yeere 1579.

The

The anſwere of her Maieſtie to the aforeſaid Letters of the Great Turke, ſent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Maiſter Richard Stanley.

ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & vnici cœli, terræq; Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Chriſtianæ contra omnes omnium inter Chriſtianos degentium, & Chriſti nomen falſò profitentium Idololatrias inuictiſſima & potentiſſima Defentatrix, auguſtiſſimo, inuictiſſimóque principi Sultan Murad Chan, Turcici regni dominatori poteutiſſimo, Imperijq; orientis Monarchę ſupra omnes ſoli & ſupremo, ſalutem, & multos cum rerum optimarũ affluentia fœlices, & fortunatos annos. Auguſtiſſime & inuictiſſime Cæſar, accepimus inuictiſſimæ Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudinis literas, die decimo quinto Martij currentis anni ad nos ſcriptas Conſtantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quàmq; clementer, literæ ſupplices quæ Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudini, a quodam ſubdito noſtro Guilielmo Harebrowno in Imperiali Celſitudinis veſtræ ciuitate Conſtantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ profectionis pro ſe & ſocijs eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus ſubditis noſtris cum mercibus ſuis ad terras ditioneſq; Imperio veſtro ſubiectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indeq; reuerſionis veniæ poteſtatiſq; humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab inuictiſſima veſtra Cæſarea celſitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neq; id ſolùm, ſed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignaq; auguſtiſſima Cæſarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis ſupplicibus poſitum, ei ſocijſq; ſuis donatum & conceſſum fuit, pro ea, vti videtur, ſolùm opinione, quam de nobis, & noſtra amicitia veſtra celſitudo concepit. Quod ſingulare beneficium in dictos ſubditos noſtros collatum tam gratè tamq; beneuolè accepimus (maximas celſitudini veſtræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum noſtrarum ratione, proq; ea quam nobis inſeuit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cuius auſpicijs regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotiſſimas nos eſſe voluit, & abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima ſuſpitione, docuitq; nullorum vnquam vt principum, vllis in nos meritis nos ſineremus vinci, aut ſuperari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium depoſuiſſe, ſe veſtra Celſitudo exiſtimet. Propterea q; animum noſtrum in præſentiarum, veſtræ celſitudini etnetimur, benè ſentiendo & prædicando, quantopere nos obſtrictas beneficij huius in ſubditos noſtros collati putemus memoriâ ſempiternâ: longè vberiorem, & ampliorem gratitudinis erga veſtram celſitudinem noſtræ teſtificationem daturæ, cum tempora incident vt poſſimus, & à nobis deſiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ noſtris paucis ſubditis, eaq; ſuis ipſorum precibus, ſine vlla interceſſione noſtra conceſſa donatio eſt, in æquè libera poteſtate ſita eſt ad omnes terras ditioneſq; Imperio veſtro ſubiectas, cum mercibus ſuis tam per mare quàm per terras, eundi & redeundi, atq; inuictiſſimæ Cæſareæ veſtræ celſitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atq; adeo regis Romanorum ſubditis largita vnquam aut donata fuit, celſitudinem veſtram rogamus ne tam ſingularis beneficentiæ laus in tam anguſtis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, ſed ad vniuerſos ſubditos noſtros diffuſa, propagatáque, celſitudinis veſtræ beneficium eò reddat auguſtius, quò ciuſdem donatio latiùs patebit, & ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam ſingularis in nos beneficij meritum, eò erit celſitudini veſtræ minùs pœnitendum, quò ſunt merces illæ, quibus regna noſtra abundant, & aliorum principũ ditiones egent, tam humanis vſibus commodæ tamq; neceſſarię, nulla gens vt ſit, quæ eis carere queat, propterea q; longiſſimis, difficiliſimiſq; itineribus conquiſitis non vehementer gaudeat. Carius autem diſtrahunt alijs, quo ex labore ſuo quiſq; victũ & quæſtũ quæritat, adeo vt in earũ acquiſitione vtilitas, in emptione autem ab alijs onus ſit. Vtilitas celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditis augebitur liberà hac paucorum noſtrorum hominum ad terras veſtras profectione: onus minuetur, profectionis quotumcunq; ſubditorum noſtrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditos proficiſcetur, par, æquaq; mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint, ad regna dominiaq; noſtra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celſitudini veſtræ pollicemur, tam amplam lateq; patentem fore, quàm eſt vlla à confœderatorum veſtrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet, Romanorum, Gallorum, Pollonorum, ac republica Veneta, celſitudinis veſtræ ſubditis vllo vnquam tempore conceſſa & donata. Qua in re ſi honeſtæ petitioni noſtræ inuictiſſima Cæſarea veſtra celſitudo dignabitur auſcultare, facietq; vt acceptis noſtris literis intelligamus gratum nè habitura ſit quod ab ea contendimus & rogamus, ea propoſita præſtitaq; ſecuritate, quæ ſubditos noſtros quoſcunq; ad dominia ſua, terra, mariq; proficiſcentes, indeq; reuertẽtes tutos & ſecuros reddat ab omni quorumcunque ſubditorum ſuorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt quę

Deus

Deus opt. max. in regna dominiaq; noſtra contulit commoda (quæ tam ſingularia ſunt, omnium vt principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, ſummęq; neceſſitudinis coniunctionem vobiſcum contrahendam, ſtabiliendámque quo liberius tantis ſummi Dei beneficijs fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) noſtri ſubditi ad regna dominiáque Celſitudinis veſtræ aduehant tã affluenter tamq; cumulate, vt vtriq; incommodo prædicto neceſſitatis & oneris plenſſimè ſuccurratur. Facit prætereà ſingularis iſta Celſitudinis veſtrę in nos Gentémque noſtram ſummæ beneuolentiæ ſignificatio ac fides, vt eandem in cauſam quorundam ſubditorum noſtrorum, qui captiui triremibus veſtris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemúſque, vt quoniam nullo in celſitudinem veſtram peccato ſuo, ſuè arma in eam ferendo, ſuè iniquiis præter fas & ius gentium ſe gerendo in ſuos ſubditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, ſoluti vinculis, & libertate donati, nobis pro ſua fide & obſequio inſeruientes, cauſam vberiorem præbeant veſtræ Celſitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: & Deum illum, qui ſolus, & ſupra omnia & omnes eſt acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, ſuíque honoris contra Gentium & aliorum falſos Deos Zelotes, præcabimur, vt veſtram inuictiſſimam Cæſaream Celſitudinem, omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quæ ſola & ſummè iure merito habentur deſideratiſſima.

Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenouici, prope ciuitatem noſtram Londinum, quintodecimo Menſis Octobris, Anno Ieſu Chriſti Saluatoris noſtri 1579, Regni verò noſtri viceſimo primo.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth by the grace of the moſt mightie God, and onely Creatour of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Quæene, the moſt inuincible and moſt mightie defender of the Chriſtian faith againſt all kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Chriſtians, and falſelie profeſſe the name of Chriſt, vnto the moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible prince, Zuldan Murad Chan, the moſt mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, ſole and aboue all, and moſt ſouereigne Monarch of the Eaſt Empyre, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the beſt things.

Moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible Emperor, we haue receiued the letters of your mightie highneſſe written to vs from Conſtantinople the fifteenth day of March this preſent yeere, whereby we vnderſtand how graciouſly and how fauorably the humble petitions of our William Harborne a ſubiect of ours, reſident in the Imperiall citie of your highneſſe preſented vnto your Maieſtie for the obteining of acceſſe for him and two other merchants more of his company our ſubiects alſo, to come with merchandizes both by ſea & land, to the countries and territories ſubiect to your gouernement, and from thence againe to returne home with good leaue and libertie, were accepted of your moſt inuincible Imperiall highneſſe, and not that onelie, but with an extraordinarie ſpeed and worthie your Imperiall grace, that which was craued by petition was granted to him, and his companie in regard onely (as it ſeemeth) of that opinion which your highneſſe conceiued of vs and our amitie: which ſingular benefit done to our aforeſaid ſubiects, we take ſo thankefully, and in ſo good part (yeelding for the ſame our greateſt thankes to your highneſſe) that we will neuer giue occaſion to your ſaid highneſſe (according as time, and the reſpect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke ſo great a pleaſure beſtowed vpon an vngratefull prince. For the almightie God, by whō, and by whoſe grace we reigne, hath planted in vs this goodneſſe of nature, that we deteſt & abhorre the leaſt ſuſpition of ingratitude, & hath taught vs not to ſuffer our ſelues to be outmatched with the good demerits of other princes. And therefore at this time we do extend our good minde vnto your highnes, by well conceiuing, and publiſhing alſo abroad, how much we repute our ſelfe bound in an euerlaſting remembrance for this good pleaſure to our ſubiects, meaning to yeeld a much more large and plentifull teſtification of our thankefulneſſe, when time conuenient ſhall fall out, and the ſame ſhall be looked for at our hands.

But whereas that graunt which was giuen to a few of our ſubiects, and at their onelie requeſt without any interceſſion of ours, ſtandeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdomes ſubiect to your maieſtie, both by land and ſea with merchandizes, as euer was granted to any of your imperiall highneſſe confederates, as namelie to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as alſo to the ſubiectes of the king of the Romans, we deſire of your highneſſe that the commendation of ſuch ſingular curteſie may not be ſo narrowlie reſtrained to two or three men onely, but may be inlarged to all our ſubiects in generall, that thereby your highneſſe goodneſſe may appeare the more notable, by reaſon of the granting of the ſame to a greater number of perſons. The beſtowing of which ſo ſingular a benefit your highneſſe ſhall ſo much the leſſe repent you of, by how much the more fit & neceſſarie for the vſe of man thoſe commodities are,

wherewith

where with our kingdoms be abound, and the kingdomes of other princes be wante, so there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult trauels: and when they haue them, they sell them much better to others, because euery man seeketh to make profit by his labor: so that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is losse. But this profit will be increased to the subiects of your highnesse by this free accesse of a few of our subiectes to your dominions, as also the losse and burden will be eased, by the permission of generall accesse to all our people. And furthermore we will grant as equall and as free a libertie to the subiects of your highnesse with vs for the vse of traffike, when they will, and as often as they will, to come, and go to and from vs and our kingdoms. Which libertie we promise to your highnesse shalbe as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your subiects by the aforesaid princes your confederates, as namely the king of the Romans, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Uenice. In which matter, if your most inuincible imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall giue order vpon these our letters, that we may haue knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it will be granted, with sufficient securitie for our subiects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and iniuries of your people, we on the other side will giue order, that those commodities which almightie God hath bestowed vpon our kingdoms (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie & good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to inioy these so great blessings of God, which we haue, and they can in no case want) our subiects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdoms and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconueniences of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreouer the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to vs and our nation, doth cause vs also to intreat and vse mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our subiects, who are detained as slaues and captiues in your gallies, for whome we craue, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that miserie, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behauing of themselues contrary to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their seruice towards vs, according to their duetie: which thing shall yeeld much more abundant cause to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is aboue all things, and all men, and is a most seuere reuenger of all iniurie, and is ielous of his honor against the false gods of the nations) to adorne your most inuincible imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely & deseruedly are accounted most worthie of asking.

Giuen at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our citie of London, the fiue and twentith day of October, in the yeere of Iesus Christ our Sauior 1579, and of our reigne the one and twentith.

The charter of the priuileges granted to the English, and *league of the Great Turke with the Queenes Maiestie in respect* of traffike, dated in Iune 1580.

AMmensa & maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilibúsque verbis & nunquam finienda, innumerabiliue clementia & ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi & pura mente colendissimi tremendissimique vniuersitatum creatoris, princeps temporum præsentium, vnicus modernæ ætatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus sceptra diuidere potens, clementiæ, gratiaq; diuinæ vmbra, regnorum, prouinciarumue & vrbium ciuitatumue distributor permultarum: Nos sacratissimus Cæsar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id est domus diuinæ, Medinæ, gloriosissimæ & beatissimæ Ierusalem, Aegypti fertilissimæ, Iemen & Zouan, Eden & Canan, Sami pacifere & Hebes, Iabza & Pazra, Zeruzub & Halepiæ, Caramariæ & Diabekiruau & Dulkadiriæ, Babyloniæ, & totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzorum & Georgianorum, Cypri diuitis, & regnorum Asiæ, Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi & nigri, Græciæ & Mesopotamiæ, Affricæ & Goletæ, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, selectissimæue Europæ, Bude, & Temesuar, & regnorum tranſalpinorum & his similium permultorum princeps Cæsarue facerrimus, potentissimus Murad Chan, filius principis Zelim Chan, qui fuit Zoleiman Chan, qui fuit Zelim Chan, qui fuit Paiezid Chan, qui fuit Mehemed Chan, &c.

Nos princeps potentissimus Murad Chan, hoc in signum nostræ Cæsareæ amicitiæ significamus & manifestamus, quòd in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina (cuius mercatorum exitus sit fœliciſſimus)

ad

ad noſtrã excelſam, & iuſtitiæ plenã, fulgidiſſimámue portã, quę omnibus principibus mũdi eſt refugium & requies, per egregium Gulielmũ Harebronũ literas miſit ſuas, quibus ſua maieſtas ſignificauit, quod tempore præterito, quidã ſubditi ſui veniſſent adnoſtrã portam excelſam, & ſuam obedientiã erga eam demonſtrauiſſent, & ob eam cauſam illis quoq; ad noſtras ditiones mercandi gratia venire & redire poſceret, venia & poteſtas fuiſſet data: & quòd in locis & hoſpitijs eorũ per mare & terrã nemo auderet impedire & illis damnũ facere, mandatũ Cæſareum fuiſſet datũ: & quòd hanc noſtrã gratiã, quã paucis hominibus ſuæ maieſtatis demonſtrauiſſemus, veniam ſuis ſubditis concederemus, petebat. Quare, quemadmodum cũ ſereniſſimis benuolentiã & obedientiã, ſeruitiáue ſua demõſtrantibus erga noſtrã portã excelſam regibus & principibus confœderatis (vt ſunt rex Gallorũ, Veneti, & rex Polonorũ & cæteri) pacẽ & fœdus ſanctiſſimũ pepigimus: ſic etiã cũ præfata Regina amicitiã cuſtodiendã, pacẽ & fœdus eũ iunximus. Illius igitur homines, & vniuerſi mercatores, ſine aliquo impedimento cũ ſuis mercibus & oneribus cunctis ad noſtras ditiones Cæſareas pacificè & ſecurè veniant, & ſuã exerceant mercaturã, maneant in ſuis ſtatibus, & ſecũdũ ſuos mores negocientur. Et adhęc, ſua maieſtas ſignificabat ex hominibus ſuis aliquos iamdudũ captos fuiſſe, & in captiuitate detineri, & quòd hi diuulgarentur perebat, & quòd ſicut alijs principibus nobiliũ confœderatis priuilegia & mandata Cæſarea ſuper fœdus ſanctiſſimũ dediſſemus, ſic præfatæ quoq; Reginę priuilegiũ & mandata Cæſarea vt daremus, noſtrę Celſitudini placeret. Quare ſecundùm noſtram benuolentiam & gratiam innatam, optata ſuæ maieſtatis apud nos grata fuere: Et hoc noſtrũ priuilegium iuſtitijs plenum dedimus maieſtati ſuæ: Et Beglerbegis, Zanziacbegis famulis noſtris, & Kazijs, id eſt, iudicibus, & omnibus teloniatoribus omnium locorum, portuũ, & vadorũ ſimiter mandamus, vt donec ex parte præfatæ reginæ fœdus, & pax, & eorũ conditiones articuli, (vt conuenit) cuſtodiuntur & ſeruãtur, noſtrę quoq; Cæſareæ celſitudinis mandata ſunt:

Fœdus Turcici Imperatoris cũ Regina initum.

1 Vt præfatę Reginę homines, & ſubditi eius quibuſuis rebus & mercibus, oneribus & ſuppellectilibus per mare in magnis & paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & pecoribus, ſecurè & pacificè ad noſtras ditiones Cæſareas veniant, & nemo illis noceat, ſed ſecurè & ſine aliquo impedimẽto negocientur, & in ſuis ſtatibus & conditionibus permaneant.

Articuli huius priuilegij.

2 Item, ſi præfati homines & mercatores in ſuis rectis vijs & negociationibus aliquo modo ſuperentur, ſine aliqua tergiuerſatione dimittantur, libẽterque.

3 Item, ſi naues eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore, & ſine impedimento veniant, & diſcedant in ſua loca.

4 Item, ſi in tempeſtatibus maris naues eorum eſſent in periculo & auxilio opus eſſet illis, naues noſtræ Cæſareæ celſitudinis, earúmque homines, & aliorum naues hominéſque ſtatim auxilium & opem ferant illis, mandamus. (emant.

5 Item, ſi edulia ſuis pecunijs emere voluerint, nemo reſiſtat illis, ſed ſine impedimento edulia

6 Itẽ, ſi infortunio maris naues eorũ in terrã proiecerit, Begi & iudices, & cæteri noſtri ſubditi ſint auxilio illis, merces & res eorũ quę remanſerint iterũ reddãtur illis, & nemo impediat illos.

7 Item, ſi præfatæ reginæ homines, eorũ interpretes, & mercatores, ſiue per terram, ſiue per mare mercandi gratiã ad noſtras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & nauium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in perſonis, & rebus eorum, pecoribúſque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, ſi aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ære alieno eſſet obſtrictus, inueneríque non poſſit, ratione debitorum alterius nullius niſi eſſet fideiuſſor, capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, ſi Anglus teſtamẽtum fecerit, & ſua bona cuicunq; legauerit, illi dentur bona illius, & ſi ſine teſtamento moreretur, conſul eorum cuicunq; ſociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, ſi Angli, & ad Angliam pertinentium locorũ mercatores & interpretes, in vendendis & emendis mercibus fideiuſſionibus & rebus aliquid negocij habuerint, ad iudicẽ veniant, & in librum inſcribi faciant negotium, & ſi voluerint, literas quoq; accipiant à iudice, propterea quòd ſi aliquid inciderit, videant librum & literas, & ſecundùm tenorẽ eorũ perficiantur negocia eorũ ſuſpecta: ſi autem neq; in librũ inſcriberentur, neq; literas haberent, iudex falſis teſtimonijs non admittat, ſed ſecundùm iuſtitiam legem adminiſtrans non ſinat illos impediri.

11 Item, ſi aliquis diceret quod iſti Chriſtiani noſtræ fidei Muzulmanicæ maledixerint, & eam vituperijs affecerint, in hoc negotio etiam & alijs, teſtes falſi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, ſi aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patraret, & fugiens non poſſit inueniri, nullus niſi eſſet fideiuſſor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, ſi aliquod mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, & conſul eorũ peteret illud, examinetur diligenter mancipium, & ſi inuentum fuerit Anglicum, accipiatur, & reddatur Anglis.

14 Item

14 Item, ſi aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ, ſiue ſit vxoratus, ſiue ſit ſine vxore, non ſoluat cenſum.

15 Item, ſi in Alexandria, in Damaſco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portubus & in aliis omnibus locis, vbicunq; voluerint facere Conſules, faciant: Et iterũ ſi voluerint eos mutare, & in loca priorũ conſulum alios locare, liberè faciant, & nemo illis reſiſtat.

16 Item, ſi illorum interpres in arduis negotijs occupatus abeſſet, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, & interim nemo illos impediat.

17 Item, ſi Angli inter ſe aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad ſuos conſules ire, nemo reſtat illis, ſed liberè veniant ad Conſules ſuos, vt ſecundùm mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, ſi poſt tempus aut datum huius priuilegij, piratæ, aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, & trans mare vel cis mare venderint, ſecundùm iuſtitiam examinetur: & ſi Anglus inuentus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam aſſumpſerit, liberè dimittatur: ſi autem adhuc eſſet Chriſtianus, Anglis reddatur, & emptori ſuam pecuniam ab illo petant, à quo emerant.

19 Item, ſi noſtræ Cæſareæ Celſitudinis naues armatæ exiuerint ad mare, & ibi inuenerint naues Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediat illas, imò amicè tractentur, & nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis, Venetis, & cæteris nobiſcum confœderatis regibus, & principibus priuilegium, & articulos priuilegijs dedimus, & conceſſimus, ſimili modo his quóque Anglis priuilegium & articulos priuilegijs dedimus & conceſſimus, & contra legem diuinam, & hoc priuilegium, nemo vnquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, ſi naues magnæ, & paruæ in itinere & loco vbi ſtant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire, ſed potiùs auxilio ſint illis.

21 Item, ſi latrones & fures vi raperent naues illorum, nauiúmque merces, magna diligentia quærantur latrones & fures, & ſeueriſſimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegij, & Zanziarbegi, Capitanei noſtri, Mancipia, & per mare nauigantes ſerui Capitaneorum, & Iudices, & Teloniatores, & Gubernatores nauium Reiz dicti, & liberi Reiz, omnes iſti præfati, ſecundùm tenorem huius priuilegij, tenorémue articulorum eius, omnia facere teneantur, & debeant. Et de hoc in priuilegio deſcriptum fœdus, & pax illius Maieſtatis ex parte ſanctè ſeruabitur, & cuſtodietur, ex parte etiam noſtra Cæſarea cuſtodiri, & obſeruari mandamus.

Datum Conſtantinopoli, anno noſtri prophetæ Sanctiſſimi 988, in principio menſis Iunij, anno autem Ieſu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or priuilege of the moſt mightie *and Muſulmanlike Emperour Zuldan Murad Chan, granted at the requeſt* of Elizabeth by the grace of the moſt mightie God, and only Creator of heauen & earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the ſaid princes and their ſubiects.

THE moſt ſacred Muſulmanlike Emperor, by the infinite & exceeding great power, by the euerlaſting and woonderfull clemencie, and by the vnſpeakable helpe of the moſt mighty and moſt holy God, creator of all things, to be worſhipped and feared with all pureneſſe of minde, and reuerence of ſpeech. The prince of theſe preſent times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to giue ſcepters to the potentates of the whole world, the ſhadow of the diuine mercy and grace, the diſtributer of many kingdoms, prouinces, townes & cities, Prince, and moſt ſacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to ſay, of Gods houſe, of Medina, of the moſt glorious and bleſſed Ieruſalem, of the moſt fertile Egypt, Yemen, and Iouan, Eden & Chamam, of Damos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Iabſar, and Bazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramania and Diabekiriuan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Curdians & Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdoms of Alia, of Ozakio, of the tracts of the White and Blacke ſea, of Grecia and Meſopotamia, of Affrica & Galata, of Algeris, and of Tripolis in the Weſt, of the moſt choiſe and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeſuar, and of the kingdoms beyond the Alps, and many others ſuch like, moſt mightie Murad Chan, the ſonne of the Emperor Zelim Chan, which was the ſonne of Soliman Chan, which was the ſonne of Zelim Chan, which was the ſonne of Bairzid Chan, which was the ſonne of Mehemed Chan, &c.

We moſt mightie prince Murad Chan, in token of our imperiall friendſhip, do ſignifie & declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France, & Ireland, the moſt honorable Queene of Chriſtendome

Chriſtendome (to whoſe marchants wee wiſh happie ſucceſſe) ſent her letters by her worthy ſeruant William Harebrowne, vnto our ſtately and moſt magnificent Porche replenished with iuſtice, which is a refuge and ſanctuarie to all the princes of the worlde, by which letters her Maieſtie ſignified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her ſubiects had repaired to our ſaide ſtately Porche, and had ſhewed their obedience to the ſame, and for that cauſe had deſired that leaue and libertie might alſo be graunted vnto them, to come and goe for traſiques ſake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commaundement might be giuen, that no man ſhould preſume to hurt or hinder them in any of their abodes or paſſages by ſea or land, and whereas ſhe requeſted that we would graunt to all her ſubiects in generall, this our fauour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee haue entred into amitie, and moſt holy league with the moſt excellent kings and princes our confederats, ſhewing their deuotion, and obedience of ſeruices towards our ſtately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) ſo alſo we haue contracted an inuiolable amitie, peace and league with the aforeſaid Queene. Therefore we giue licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and ſafely to come vnto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandiſe and goods without any impeachment, to exerciſe their traſique, to vſe their owne cuſtomes, and to buy and ſell according to the faſhions of their owne countrey.

And further her Maieſtie ſignified vnto vs, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken priſoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and required that they might bee ſet at libertie, and that as we had graunted vnto other princes our confederats, priuileges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our moſt inuiolable league with them, ſo it would pleaſe our Imperiall Maieſtie to graunt and confirme the like priuileges, and princely decrees to the aforeſayde Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed diſpoſition, the requeſts of her Maieſtie were accepted of vs, and wee haue graunted vnto her Maieſtie this priuiledge of ours agreeable to reaſon & equitie. And we ſtraightly cõmaunde all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our ſeruants, and our Reyz, that is to ſay, our Iudges, and all our cuſtomers in all places, hauens and paſſages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obſerued on the behalfe of the aforeſaid Queene. 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleaſure is, that the people and ſubiectes of the ſame Queene, may ſafely and ſecurely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandiſe, and ladings, and other commodities by ſea, in great and ſmall veſſels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man ſhall hurt them, but they may buy and ſell without any hinderance, and obſerue the cuſtomes and orders of their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforeſaid people and marchants ſhalbe at any time in the courſe of their iourneis, and dealings by any meanes taken, they ſhall bee deliuered and inlarged, without any excuſe or euaſion.

3 Item, if their ſhips purpoſe to ariue in any of our ports and hauens, it ſhalbe lawfull for them ſo to doe in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it ſhall happen that any of their ſhips in tempeſtuous weather ſhall bee in danger of loſſe and periſhing, and thereupon ſhall ſtand in neede of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ſhips be readie to helpe and ſuccour them.

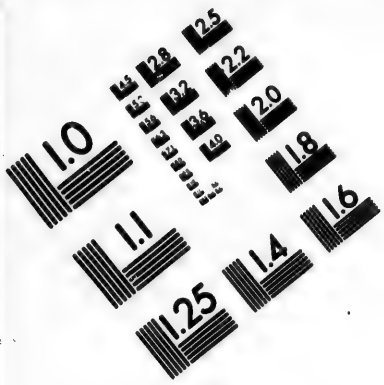
5 Item, if they ſhalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no perſon ſhall withſtande them, but they ſhall buy the ſame without any diſturbance to the contrary.

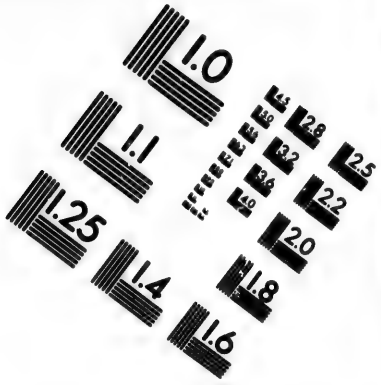
6 Item, if by any caſualtie their ſhippes ſhall bee driuen on ſhoare in perill of ſhipwracke, our Beges and Iudges, and other our ſubiects ſhall ſuccour them, and ſuch wares, and goods of theirs as ſhall bee recouered from the loſſe, ſhall bee reſtored to them, and no man ſhall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforeſaide Queene, their interpreters and marchants, ſhall for traſique ſake, either by lande or ſea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and cuſtome, they ſhall haue quiet paſſage, and none of our Captaines or gouernours of the ſea, and ſhippes, nor any kinde of perſons, ſhall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way moleſt them.

8 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall growe in debt, and ſo owe money to any other man, and thereupon doeth abſent himſelfe that hee can not be founde, let no man arreſt or apprehend him for any other mans debt, except he be the creditour.

9 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall make his will and teſtament, to whome ſoeuer by the ſame hee ſhall giue his goods, the partie ſhall haue them accordingly, and if hee die inteſtate,





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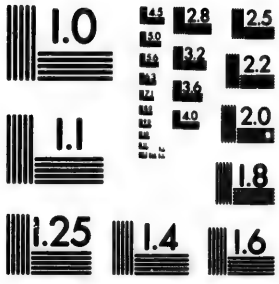

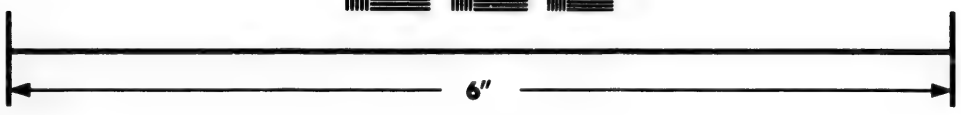

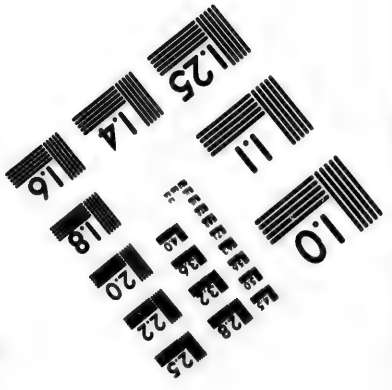

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he to whom the Consull or gouernour of the societie shall say the goods of the dead are to be giuen, he shall haue the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iurisdiction of England, shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controuersie, let them goe to the Iudge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they will, let them also take letters of the Iudge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoeuer thing shall happen, and that according to the tenor thereof the matter in controuersie and in doubt may be ended: but if such thinges be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons haue taken letters of the Iudge, yet he shal admit no false witnes, but shall execute the lawe according to iustice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians shall speake any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and shall slander the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon can not be found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his suretie.

13 Item, if any slaue shall be found to be an Englishman, and their Consull or gouernour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slaue be diligently examined, and if he be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwell or traffique, whether he be married or vnmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunes, Tripolis in ꝑ Weſt, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselues Consuls or gouernours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, let them doe so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any time absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question be stayed and differred till his comming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuersie shal arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Consuls or gouernours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controuersie begunne, may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this priuiledge, any pirats or other free gouernors of ships trading the sea, shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the sea, or on this side of the sea, the matter shalbe examined according to iustice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receiue the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he will still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall demaunde their money againe of them who solde the man.

19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnes shall at any time goe forth to sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hinder them, but rather shall vse them friendly, and doe them no wrong, euen as we haue giuen and graunted articles, and priuiledges, to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederats, so also we haue giuen the like to the English: and contrary to this our diuine lawe and priuiledge, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyage, or in any place to which they come, be stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theeues and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theeues and robbers be sought, and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most seuerely.

21 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaues and seruants of Captaines vsing the sea, and our Iudges, customers and gouernours of shippes called Reiz, and free Reiz, all these according to the tenor of this priuiledge and articles, shalbe bounde to doe according lye: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duely keepe and obserue this league and holy peace, expressed in this priuiledge, we also for our Imperial part, doe charge and commaunde the same so long to be straightly kept and obserued.

Giuen at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophete, in the beginning of the moneth of June, And in the yeere of Iesvs, the 1580.

Her

Her Maiesties letters to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581.

promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe, committed in the Leuant.

ELizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, Fraunce and Irelande, moſt ſacred Queene, and of the moſt Chriſtian faith, againſt all the prophaners of his moſt holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the moſt renowned and Emperious Cæſar, Sultan Murad Chan, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the Eaſt Monarchie chiefe aboue all others whoſoeuer, moſt fortunate yeeres with the ſucceſſe of all true happineſſe. As with very great deſire we wiſh and embrace the loue and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the ſame by all good dueties and meanes wee ſeeke to be confirmed: ſo to vs there may be nothing more grieuous and diſliking, then that any thing ſhould happen through the default of our ſubiects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into ſuſpicion: Although wee are not ignorant howe many good princes by the like miſaduenture be abuſed, where the doings of the ſubiects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But ſuch matters of importance and ſo wel approued we may not omit: ſuch is to vs the ſacred eſtimation of our honour, and of our Chriſtian profeſſion, as we would the ſame ſhould appeare alwell in the concluding of our promiſes and agreements, as in the faithfull performing of the ſame.

The matter which by theſe our letters we ſpecially beholde, is a moſt iniurious and grieuous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderſtanding, that ſhould bee done vnto certaine of your ſubiects by certaine of our ſubiects, as yet not apprehended: but with all ſeueritie vpon their apprehenſion they are to be awarded for the ſame. And as the deede in it ſelfe is moſt wicked, ſo is it much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credite of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the eſtimation of our worde faithfully giuen vnto your Imperiall dignitie. In which ſo great a diſorder if wee ſhould not manifeſt our hatred towards ſo wicked and euill diſpoſed perſons, wee might not onely moſt iuſtly be reprooued in the iudgement of all ſuch as truely fauour Iuſtice, but alſo of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might not ſeeme be condemned. That therefore conſidered, which of our parts is ordained in this cauſe which may be to the good liking of your highneſſe, wee are moſt eſpecially to requeſt of your Imperiall Maieſtie, that though the default and diſorder of a ſort of euill and wicked diſpoſed perſons, you will not withdraw your gratious fauour from vs, neither to hinder the traffique of our ſubiects, which by vertue of your highneſſe ſufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions and countreis, or that either in their perſons or goods they be preiudiced their trauayling by land or by water, promiſing vnto your greatneſſe moſt faithfully, that the goods whereof your ſubiects by great wrong and violence haue bene ſpoyled, ſhall wholie againe be reſtored, if either by the liues or poſſeſſions of the robbers it may any way be brought to paſſe: And that hereafter (as now being taught by this euill example) wee will haue ſpeciall care that none vnder the title of our authoritie, ſhall be ſuffered to commit any the like wrongs or iniuries.

This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaine Grecians in the Leuante.

Neither they which haue committed theſe euil parts, had any power vnder your highneſſe ſafe-conduit graunted vnto our ſubiects, but from ſome other ſafe conduit, whether it were true or fained, we know we not, or whether they bought it of any perſon within the gouernment of Marſeils: but vnder the colour thereof they haue done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth vtterly abhorre. Notwithſtanding howſoeuer it be, wee will ſurely meaſure their euill proceedings with moſt ſharpe and iuſt correction, and that it ſhall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as alſo it ſhalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this vnfortunate happe had neuer chaunced, and that the ſinguler affection of our ſubiects towardes your Imperiall Maieſtie vowed, and dayly more and more deſired, might be conſerued and defended, wee therevnto doe make our humble ſuite vnto your greatneſſe: And for ſo great goodneſſe towards vs and our people graunted, doe moſt humbly pray vnto the Almightie creatour of heauen and earth, euer to maintaine and keepe your moſt renowmed Maieſtie in all happineſſe and proſperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of June, Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or priuiledges graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Edward Osburne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our officers, ministers, and subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as els where vnder our obeysance, iurisdiction, or otherwise, vnto whome these our letters shall be seene, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued subiects Edward Osburne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our saide Citie marchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, trauailed, and caused trauaile to be taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and sea, to finde out and set open a trade of marchandize and traffique into the landes, Illands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memorie of any man now liuing knowen to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the marchants or any subiects of vs, or our progenitours; and also haue by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the saide Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and traffique of marchandise to be vsed, and continued by our subiects within his saide dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendome, and release of many Christians that be or may happen to be in thraldome or necessitie vnder the saide Grand Signior, his vassals or subiects, and also good, and profitable vent and veterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundrie other great benefites to the aduauncement of our honour, and dignitie royal, the increase of the reuennes of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme, Knowe yee that hereupon, wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our subiects in their good enterprises for the aduauncement of the common weale, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt vnto our saide trustie, and welbeloued subiects Edward Osburne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London esquire, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London marchants, their executours, and administratours, and to the executours and administratours of them, and of euery of them, that they, and euery of them, and such other person and persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the nomber of twelue, as they the saide Edward and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, aduenturers, or doers with them the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard, and William, in their societie by themselues, their seruants, factours or deputies, and to such others as shall be nominated according to the tenour of these our letters patents, shall and may during the terme of seuen yeeres from the date of these patents, freely trade, traffique, and vse feates of marchandise into, and from the dominions of the said Grand Signior, and euery of them, in such order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shalbe betweene them limitted and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any lawe, statute, vsage, diuersitie of religion or faith, or other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it shalbe lawfull to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and aduenturers with them the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the nomber of twelue (as is sayd) to traffique and vse the said trade & feate of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and euery such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to be appointed or admitted as parteners in the said trade or traffique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment or admittance, haue and enioy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and traffique, during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeeres according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaid, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and administratours, seruants, factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated or admitted, to be parteners or aduenturers in the saide trade, or so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselues for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or businesse of the said trade in any place or places for the same

ſame conuenient, from time to time during the ſaide terme of 7. yeeres, within our dominions or elſewhere, and to make, ordeine, and conſtitute reaſonable lawes and ordinances, for the good gouernment of the ſaid companie, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the ſaide trade and traffiques, not being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, eſtatutes or cuſtomes of our Realme, and the ſame lawes or ordinances ſo made to put in vre, and execute accordingly, and at their pleaſures to reuoke the ſame lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occaſion ſhall require.

And in conſideration that the ſaid Edward Oſburne hath bene the principall letter foorth and doer in the opening, & putting in vre of the ſaid trade, we do therfore eſpecially ordeine, conſtitute, and prouide by theſe patents, that the ſaid Edwarde Oſburne ſhall be gouernour of all ſuch as by vertue of theſe our letters patents, ſhall be parteners, aduenturers, or traffiquers in the ſaide trade, during the ſaide terme of ſeuen yeeres, if hee ſo long liue: And that if the ſaide Edward ſhall happen to deceaſe during the ſaid terme, the ſaid Richard Staper then liuing, then the ſaide Richarde Seaper ſhall likewiſe be gouernour during the reſidue of the ſaid terme (if he ſo long liue) and that if the ſaid Edward and Richard ſhall both happen to deceaſe during the ſaid terme, then the parteners or aduenturers for the time being, or the greateſt part of them, ſhall from time to time as neceſſitie ſhall require, chooſe and elect a gouernour of the ſaid companie.

Prouided alwayes, that if there ſhall happen any great or vrgent occaſion to remooue or diſplace any perſon that ſhall be gouernour of the ſaide fellowſhip, that then it ſhall, and may be lawfull for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, to remooue, and diſplace euery ſuch gouernour, and to place another of the ſaide fellowſhip in the ſame office, during ſuch time as ſuch perſon ſhould haue enioyed the ſame, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cauſe to the contrary.

And wee further for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe graunt to the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executours and adminiſtratours, that nothing ſhall be done to be of force or validitie touching the ſaide trade or traffique, or the exercile thereof, without or againſt the conſent of the ſaide Edward, during ſuch time as hee ſhall bee Gouernour as afore is ſaide. And after that time without the conſent of the Gouernour for the time being, and of the more part of the ſaide company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, haue graunted, and by theſe patents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe graunt to the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, that they, the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, and the ſaide perſon and perſons, by them the ſaid Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is ſaid, together, with ſuch two other perſons, as wee our heires or ſucceſſors from time to time during the ſaide terme ſhall nominate, ſhall haue the whole trade and traffique, and the whole entire onely libertie, vſe and priuiledge of trading, and traffiquing, and vſing feate of marchandiſe, into, and from the ſaid dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior, and euery of them. And when there ſhall be no ſuch perſons ſo nominated or appointed by vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, that then the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and adminiſtrators, and ſuch perſons by them ſo to be appointed, ſhall haue the ſaide whole trade and traffique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, vſe, and priuiledge of trading and traffiquing aforeſaid. And that they the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, and alſo all ſuch as ſhal ſo be nominated or appointed to be partners or aduenturers in the ſaid trade, according to ſuch agreement as is aboueſaide, and euery of them, their ſeruants, factours and deputies, ſhal haue full and free authoritie, libertie, faculte, licence and power to trade and traffique into and from all and euery the ſaide dominions of the ſaide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occaſion of the ſaid trade, they ſhal happen to arriue or come, whether they be Chriſtiãs, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, & from all ſeas, riuers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coaſts & places, with their ſhips, barks, pinneſſes & other veſſels, and with ſuch mariners and men, as they will lead with them or ſend for the ſaid trade, as they ſhal thinke good at their owne proper coſt & expenſes, any law, ſtatute, vſage, or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary notwithſtãding. And that it ſhalbe lawful for the ſaid, Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and to the perſons aforeſaid, and to & for the mariners and ſea men to be vſed & employed in the ſaid trade and voyage to ſet and place in the tops of their ſhips & other veſſels the armes of England with the red croſſe ouer the ſame, as heretofore they haue vſed ỹ red croſſe, any matter or thing to the cõtrary notwithſtanding.

And we of our further royal fauor, & of our eſpecial grace, certaine knowledge & meere motion haue graunted, & by theſe preſents doe graunt to the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Tho. Smith, Richard Staper, & William Garret, their executors & adminiſtrators by theſe preſents, that the ſaid lands,

territoryes, and dominions of the ſaide Grand Signior, or any of them, ſhall not be viſited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandiſe by any other our ſubiects during the ſaide terme, contrary to the true meaning of theſe patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogatiue royall (which we will not haue argued or brought in queſtion) we ſtraightly charge and commaunde, and prohibite for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, all our ſubiects (of what degree or qualitie ſoeuer they bee) that none of them directly, or indirectly, doe viſite, haunt, frequent or trade, traffique, or aduenture by way of marchandiſe into, or from any of the Dominions of the ſaide Grand Signior, or other places aboueſaide by water or by lande (other then the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors or adminiſtrators, or ſuch as ſhalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforeſaide,) without expreſſe licence, agreement, and conſent of the ſaide Gouernour, and companie or the more part of them, whereof the ſaid Gouernour alwayes to be one, vpon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and loſſe, as well of the ſhip and ſhippes, with the furniture thereof, as alſo of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatſoeuer they be of thoſe our ſubiects which ſhall attempt, or preſume to ſaile, traffique, or aduenture, to or from any the dominions, or places aboueſaid, contrary to the prohibition aforeſaid: the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of vs our heires and ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to the vſe of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the ſaide companie, and further to ſuffer impriſonment during our pleaſure, & ſuch other punihment as to vs, for ſo high contempt ſhall ſeeme meete and conuenient.

And further of our grace ſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condiſcended and graunted, and by theſe patents for vs our heires and ſucceſſors, doe condiſcend and graunt to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executors and adminiſtrators, that we our heires and ſucceſſors during the ſaid terme, will not graunt libertie, licence or power to any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, contrary to the tenor of theſe our letters patents, to ſaile, paſſe, trade, or traffique into or from the ſaid dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior or any of them, without the conſent of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and ſuch as ſhalbe named or appointed as afore is ſaid, or the moſt of them. And that if at any time hereafter during ỳ ſaid terme, the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the ſuruiuors of them, ſhall admit or nominate any of our ſubiects to be partners & aduenturers in the ſaid trade to the number of 12. or vnder as afore is ſaide, that then we our heires and ſucceſſors at the inſtance and petition of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard, and William, or the ſuruiuors of them in our Chancerie to be made, and vpon the ſight of theſe preſents, will graunt, and make to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the ſuruiuors of them, & to ſuch perſons as ſo ſhalbe nominated or appointed by their ſpeciall names, ſyrnames, and additions as is aforeſaid, new letters patents vnder the great ſeale of England in due forme of law with like agreement, clauſes, prohibitions, prouiſoes and articles, (mutatis mutandis) as in theſe our letters patents are conteined, for, and during the reſidue of the ſaid terme of 7. yeeres then remayning vnexpired. And that the ſight of theſe preſents ſhalbe ſufficient warrant to the Lord Chancelour, or Lord keeper of the great ſeale for the time being, for the making, ſealing and paſſing of ſuch newe letters patents, without further writte or warrant for the ſame to be required, had, or obtained.

And the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and ſuch others as ſhalbe ſo nominated and appointed, as is aforeſaid, to be of their trade or companie, ſhall yeerely during 6. of the laſt yeeres of the ſaide 7. yeres, laue out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforeſaide, ſo much goods and marchandizes, as the cuſtome, and ſubſidie inwards and outwards, ſhall amount in the whole to the ſumme of 500. li. yeerely. So that the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the ſaid perſons ſo to be nominated as is aforeſaid, or any of them, or their ſhippe or ſhippes be not barred, ſtayed, reſtrained or let by any reaſonable occaſion from the ſaide trade or traffique, and ſo that the ſaid ſhippe or ſhippes doe not periſh by any miſfortune, or be ſpoiled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the ſaide Edwarde Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richarde Staper, and William Garret, and ſuch others as ſhall bee appointed as aforeſaide to bee of their ſaide trade or companie, ſhall giue notice vnto the Lorde Admirall of England, or to ſome of the principall officers of the Admiralrie for the time being, of ſuch ſhippe or ſhippes as they ſhall ſet forth in the ſame voyage, and of the number of marriners appointed to goe in the ſame ſhip or ſhippes, by the ſpace of fifteene dayes before the ſetting or going forth of the ſame ſhippe or ſhippes. And alſo the ſaide Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and ſuch other as ſhall bee by them the ſaide Edward and Richard, nominated to bee of the ſaide trade,

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ſhall and will at the ſecond ſayth of their ſhippe, or ſhippes, for the ſame voyage, permit and ſuffer the Maſter of the Ordinances of vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, or ſome others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantity of ſuch Ordinance, powder, and munition, as ſhall be caried in the ſaid ſhippe, or ſhippes, and ſhall alſo at the returne of the ſame ſhippe, or ſhippes, ſuffer a view to be taken, and vpon requeſt made, make an accompt to the ſaid officers of our Ordinance, of the expenſes, and waſtes of the ſaid Ordinance, powder, and munition, ſo to be caried in the ſame ſhippe, or ſhips.

Prouided alwaies, that if any of the ſaid trade or companie, or their ſeruants, factors, or ſailers, in any ſhippe by them laden, ſhall commit any piracie or outrage vpon the ſeas, and that if the ſaid companie or societie ſhall not, or doe not, within reaſonable time, after complaint made, or notice giuen to the ſaid companie, or to any of them, either ſatiſfie or recompence the parties that ſo ſhall ſeeme to be robbed, or ſpoiled by any of the ſaid companie, or ſailers, in the ſaid ſhippes, or els ſhall not doe their endeuour to the vttermoſt of their reaſonable power, to haue the parties ſo offending puniſhed for the ſame their offences, that then, and from thenceforth, theſe preſent letters patents ſhall be vtterly voide, ceaſe, and determine.

Prouided likewiſe, that if it ſhall hereafter appeare vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, ſhall not be profitable to vs, our heires, our ſucceſſors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thence forth, vpon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be giuen vnto the ſaid companie, or to the Gouernour thereof, by vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, this preſent grant ſhal ceaſe, be voide, and determine, to all intents, conſtructions, and purpoſes.

Prouided alſo, that we, our heires, and ſucceſſors, from time to time, during the ſaid 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authoriſe two perſons, being fit men, to be of the ſaid companie, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the ſaid trade, for ſuch ſtocke and ſumme of monie, as they ſhall put in, ſo that the ſaide perſons to be nominated, or authoriſed, ſhall be contributorie to all charges of the ſaid trade & aduenture indifferently, according to their ſtockes: and as other aduenturers of the ſaid trade, ſhall doe for their ſtockes, and ſo that likewiſe they doe obſerue the orders of the ſaid companie, allowable by this our grant: and that ſuch perſons ſo to be appointed, by vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, ſhall, and may, with the ſaid companie, and fellowſhip, vſe the trade and feate of marchandiſe aforeſaide, and all the liberties and priuiledges herein before granted, according to the meaning of theſe our letters patents, any thing in theſe our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And further of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condeſcended, and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, doe condeſcend, and grant to the ſaid Edward Oſborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and adminiſtrators, that if at the ende of the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeeres, it ſhall ſeeme meete, and conuenient vnto the ſaid Edward Oſborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the ſuruiuer of them, that this preſent grant ſhall be continued: and if that alſo it ſhall appeare vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, that the continuance thereof ſhall not be preiudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or ſucceſſors, at the inſtance, and petition of the ſaid Edward Oſborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the ſurtuiuer of them, to be made to vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, will grant and make to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard, and William, or the ſurtuiuer of them, and to ſuch other perſons, as ſo ſhall be by the ſaid Edward, and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, vnder the great ſeale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like couenants, grants, clauſes, and articles, as in theſe preſents are contained, or with addition of other neceſſarie articles, or change of theſe in ſome part, for and during the full terme of ſeuen yeeres, then next following. Willing, and ſtreightly commanding, and charging all and ſinguler our Admirals, Vice admirals, Juſtices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Eſcheaters, Conſtables, Bailiffes, and all & ſinguler our other officers, miniſters, liege men, and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping, and aſſiſting vnto the ſaide Gouernour, and companie, and their ſucceſſors, and to their Deputies, officers, ſeruants, aſſignes, and miniſters, and euery of them, in executing, and enioying the premiſſes, as well on land as on ſea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, ſhall be thereunto required, any ſtatute, acte, ordinance, proviſo, proclamation, or reſtraint heretofore had, made, ſet forth, ordained, or prouided, or any other matter, cauſe or thing to the contrarie, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

In witnes whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, witnes our ſelfe, at Weſtminſter, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our Raigne.

The

The Queenes commission vnder her great seale, to her seruant *Master William Harebrowne, to be her Maiesties Ambassadour, or* Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582.

ELlizabetha, Dei Optimi Maximi, conditoris, & rectoris vnici clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei contra Idololatras falsò Christi nomen profitentes inuicta & potentissima propugnatrix, vniuersis, & singulis præsentes has literas visuris, & inspecturis, salutem. Cùm augustissimus, & inuictissimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici Regni Dominator potentissimus, imperijque Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiámque nobiscum percusserit, iurauerítque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inviolatè seruare destinamus) ad eámq; magis ornandam, illustrandámque concesserit idem augustissimus Imperator subditis nostris liberam suas merces exercendi rationem in omnibus Musulmanici imperij sui partibus, cum tam ampla priuilegiorum concessione, quàm alijs bonis principibus, sociis, & fœderatis nostris largitus est, quorum priuilegiorum donationem, nos gratam, acceptámque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus, deliberatúmque, nihil in votis habentes potiùs, quàm bonorum erga nos principum animos beneuolos honoratissima mente fouere, promererique: Sciatis, nos de singulari erga nos, obsequiúmque nostrũ, fide, obseruantia, prudentia, & dexteritate multùm nobis chari Guilielmi Harebrowne, è custodibus corporis nostri vnius, plurimùm confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem nostrum, certum, & indubitatum, ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus, per præsentes: dantes ei, & concedentes potestatem, authoritatem, nomine nostro, & pro nobis prædictum amicitiæ fœdus confirmandi, priuilegiorum concessionem in manus suas capiendi, ratámque habendi, omnibus & singulis subditis nostris, Musulmanicis oris, terrísque negotiantibus, pro Maiestatis nostræ authoritate præcipiendi, mandandíque, vt sint in suis commerciis, quamdiu, quotiésque cum Musulmanicis versantur, dictorum priuilegiorum præscripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obsequia tanta amicitia digna se componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus nostrum iustitiam exequatur. Potestatem, & authoritatem ei damus in omnes, & singulos subditos nostros in quibuscunque locis, & partibus Musulmanici Imperii dominationi subiectis negotiantes, constituendi emporiorum suorum sedes, in quibus voluerit portubus, & ciuitatibus, in aliis vetandi, in constitutis autem emporiorum sedibus, consules curandi, leges, præceptionésque ferendi, condendíque, quarum ex præscripto, dicti nostri subditi, & eorum quilibet sese publicè, & priuatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, castigandíque, omnia denique & singula faciendi, perimplendíque, quæ ad dictorum subditorum nostrorum honestam gubernationem, & commercii exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent, promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcunque dictus Orator, & Agens noster, à legibus nostris non abhorrentia in præmissis aut præmissorum aliquo fecerit. In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, & sigilli nostri impressione iussimus muniri. Datum è castro nostro Windsorię, 20. die Mensis Nouembris. Anno Iesu Christi, 1582. regni verò nostri, vicesimo quarto.

¶ *The same in English.*

ELizabeth, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only creator and gouernour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, inuincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all and singuler persons, to whose sight and view, these our present letters may come, greeting. Whereas the most renowmed, and most inuincible Prince, Zuldan Murad Can, the most mighty gouernour of the kingdome of Turkie, and Monarch of the East Empire, hath entred into league and friendship with vs, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in vs, do purpose solemnly, and inuiolably to keepe in all times to come,) and whereas for the better countenancing and authorizing of the same, the foresaid renowmed Emperour hath granted vnto our subiects free libertie of traffike, in all the partes of his sacred Empire, with as ample, and large a graunt of priuiledges, as is giuen to other good Princes, our neighbours, and confederats, the graunt of which priuiledges, wee taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainely, and thoroughly determined to keepe and maintaine, with the like goodnes and curtesie of minde, desiring nothing more, then with an honourable respect to nourish, and deserue the beneuolent affections of good Princes toward vs: Knowe yee, that wee thinking well, and hauing good confidence in the singular trustines, obedience, wisdome, and disposition, of our welbeloued seruant William Harebrowne, one of the Esquires of our bodie, towardes vs, and our seruice, doeby these

theſe preſents make, ordaine, and conſtitute him, our true and vndoubted Orator, Meſſenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giuing and granting vnto him, power, and authoritie, in our name, and for vs, to confirme the foreſaid league of friendſhip, to take into his handes, and to ratifie the grant of the priuiledges, and to commaunde, and enioyne by the authoritie of our Maieſtie, all and ſinguler our ſubiects, trading and dealing in any of the coaſtes, and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffike with his ſubiects, they be obedient to the preſcription and order of the foreſaide priuiledges, applying themſelues in all things, and thorough all things, to ſuch duties, and ſeruices, as appertaine to ſo great a league, and friendſhip, and the offenders againſt this our league, to receiue iuſtice, and punishment accordingly. We further giue vnto him power and authoritie, ouer all and ſinguler our ſubiects, dealing, and vſing traffike in any place or part whatſoeuer, ſubiect to the gouernement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffikes, in what hauen or citie it ſhall pleaſe him, and to prohibite them from all other places, whereſoeuer their traffikes are appointed to be kept, there to make and create Conſuls, or Gouernours, to exact lawes, and ſtatutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof, all our foreſaid ſubiects, and euery one of them, ſhall both publikely, and priuately vſe and behaue themſelues, to correct and punish the breakers of thoſe lawes: and laſt of all, to doe and fulfill all and ſinguler things whatſoeuer, which ſhall ſeeme requiſite and conuenient for the honeſt and orderly gouernment of our ſaid ſubiects, and of the maner of their traffike in thoſe parts. Promiſing aſſuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatſoeuer ſhall be done of our ſaid Orator, and Agent, in all or in any of the premiſſes, not repugnant and contrarie to our lawes, ſhall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by vs. In witnes whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, and our ſeale thereunto to be appenſed. Giuen at our Caſtle of Windſore, the 20. day of Nouember, in the yeere of Chriſt, 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The firſt voyage or iourney, made by Maſter Laurence Alderſey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Ieruſalem, and Tripolis, &c.

In the yeere, 1581. Penned and ſet downe by himſelfe.

I Departed from London, the firſt day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lorde, 1581. and the next morning, being Sunday, I arriued at Grauеſende, where I found a Crater laden with beere, then ready to depart, for Flushing: I, and the companie that was with me, ſtaied there that day, vntill one of the clocke in the afternoone the next day: and then I, and Thomas God, with foure or fiue more that were in the companie, to goe to Antwerpe, imbarked our ſelues in that Crater, and ſo ſet ſaile, and departed: but the winde being quite contrary, we were ſet on ſhoare, a mile or two before we came to Quinborough: in the euening, we mailed our way to the towne, ſo that we lay in the Marſhes all that night, til two of the clocke the next morning, and then by chance Thomas God happened vpon a tennants houſe of his, by whome we were brought to Quinborough, where we were well entertained, and well refreſhed our ſelues.

Vpon Mondday, the firſt of Aprill, we tooke the ſeas againe, (the winde being ſomewhat good) and it ſerued vs ſo well, that we arriued at Flushing vpon the next day, at foure of the clocke in the afternoone. Vpon Friday in the afternoone, I arriued at Antwerpe, and hauing diſpatched my buſines there by Saturday, I tooke my paſſage for Dort, where I arriued vpon Sunday, the ninth of the ſame moneth, ſtaying there but that night: and in the morning, hauing found companie that went to Wezell, I tooke my paſſage with them in a ſmall boate, the boate being heauie laden, and ſore peſtered with paſſengers, and but one man and a boy, to guide the ſame: and the water withal being very rough, I cauſed them to land me at Gorcom, but foure mile from Dort, and there ſtaied that night, and the next day I tooke a ſtronger boate, better manned, and leſſe peſtered, in which boate, I thanke God, I was ſafely deliuered at Neumegen.

From thence, I tooke my paſſage to Collen, in a ſtronge hoy, laden with houſhold ſtuffe, and ſome other marchandize, and about twelue paſſengers, beſide my ſelfe. From Neumegen, we departed vpon Mondday, the 12. of Aprill, with very ſcant winde, by reaſon whereof, we were very long vpon the way, and many times ſet on ground in great danger, beſides the perill of the Malecontents, who were vpon both ſides of the riuer. One euening, as we lay at anker, the winde being contrarie, there came about ſixteene of the Malecontents, in a great ſhip boate, and thought to haue boorded vs, but our watch perceiuing them comming, called vs, the reſt of our companie being all ready and appointed for them, diſcharged a peece or two at them: they nothing afraide,

ſtill

ſtil came vpon vs, although thoſe 2. peeces were diſcharged, & I being faſt in ſleepe in my Cabin, was therewith awaked: and aſking what the matter was, one told me, that the Pale couetous were comming aboord vs: whereupon I being ſomewhat amazed, roſe out of my Cabin, and betooke me to my ſword, for that was the beſt weapon I had, and vp I went to the top of the hatches, and when I perceiued them comming, I procured halfe a doſen to diſcharge at once, to let them vnderſtand, that there were thoſe in the ſhip, that would bid them welcome: and when thoſe peeces were all at one inſtant diſcharged, they were amazed, and ſtaied, and wiſt not what to do. Then I, with the beſt dutch I had, called to them, and aſked them wherefore they came not, they ſhould be welcome to vs, with the beſt cheere that we were able to make, and ſo ſhot off another volley, and ſhewed our ſelues with long pikes, ſwords, and other weapons, in ſuch order, that they went their waies, and would not accept our entertainment, nor thanke vs for our good wils: we were foure daies in danger of them, the wind was ſo contrary. Then at the laſt, we procured the Maſter to go on ſhoare, to hire a couple of horſes to towe the ſhip, which he did, and vpon Sunday, the 16. of the ſame moneth, we landed at Wezell, and there hired a waggon, to goe ouer land to Collen, becauſe I had haſte to be at Venice, before this moneth were out.

Vpon Tueſday, the 17. of Aprill, I ſet from Wezell by lande, and that day I dined at Duiſburge, which is three Dutch miles from Wezell, and I lay all night at Thiſtleborough, which is within fiue miles of Collen, and vpon Wenſday I came to Collen, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, and ſtaied there till Tueſday, the 24. of the ſame moneth, and then ſet towards Mentz.

The monuments of the Citie of Collen ſeene by Maſter Alderſey.

The monuments which I ſawe at Collen, be theſe. I ſawe the tombe (as they ſay) of the three Kings of Collen, which are very faire, incloſed in copper, and Maſſe ſaid in it euery day: it is in the great Church of Collen.

I was alſo in the Church of S. Vrſula, where I found the people at a ſermon, made by a Ieſuite: to which ſermon, beſides the people, there reſorted all the ſchollers of the ſaid Ieſuite, who haue their learning there for nothing: I reckoned and numbred them, to be fiue hundreth and more, as they came out, and yet I ſuppoſe there are as many more, as I numbred, which went out at an other doore of the Church, ſo that I could not number them all. Alſo I ſawe the tombe of S. Vrſula there, and the tombe of the Engliſh King, that was her huſband, whoſe ſkuls are ſhrined in ſiluer for great monuments, and the plate of ſiluer is made to open, ſo that euery body that will, may ſee the ſkuls: and there are the bones and ſkuls of a great many of other virgins, and ladies of England, to the number of ten thouſand, the ſkuls of all which Ladies, were ſhrined alſo, and the ſkuls of all the virgines were gilt, and put in caſes of purple, and crimſon veluet: alſo the bones of S. Vrſula, and moſt of the bones of the Ladies, with the bones of the Pope, that came with them from Rome, (as they ſay) be all gilt.

This S. Vrſula was a Queene of Wales, and her huſband was a King, or a King's ſonne of England, and his name was Enterius, which were all ſlaine, comming homewards from Rome, at Collen, with the Pope in their companie, that had chriſtened them at Rome, (for they were all heathen people before) and thinking to be their conductor home, was ſlaine with them. There I ſaw alſo (as they told me) the wedding ring of S. Vrſula: there are the bones and ſkuls alſo of the ſeuen brethren, and the mother of them, mentioned in the Machabees, which were all martyred, for not obeying the tyrants commaundement. I ſawe alſo one of the pots, that (by their report) had water in it at the mariage in Cana of Galile, which Chriſt turned into wine: and I dranke out of the ſame pot, which is made of white marble, and holdeth about a gallon, and the foote of it is trimmed with ſilke of diuers colours.

From Collen, I was commended by George Caſteler to Auguſta, to one Elias Geneſe, towards which place I went vpon Tueſday the 24. of Aprill, and in the way, I ſaw many faire townes, and haue cities, wherein I entred not, as Punt, which is foure Dutch miles from Collen.

The Caſtle of Drageyfield, is a mile from Punt, which ſtandeth vpon a very high mountaine, and is very ſtrong, and of each ſide of it, is a Caſtle or two more: it is built within the rocke, ſo as it is inuincible, if it were withall well fortified. Then came we to Andernaga, a great Citie, which is not farre from the Caſtle of Drageyfield: from thence to Coplands, which is alſo a great Citie: thence to S. Cure, and Elfielde, two great Cities alſo: and then to the houſe of the Palſgraue, which is vpon the riuer of Rhene, which is not to be come vnto, but by water.

Vpon Sunday, the nine and twentie of Aprill, at twelue of the clocke, I came to Mentz, where I ſtaied but till three of the ſame day, and then tooke paſſage for Vpnam, where I lay all that night.

Mentz

Mentz is a very great Citie, and beautifull: the Biſhop thereof is in dignitie, and authoritie, a great Prince, his Pallaice like a Princes Pallaice, his barges like dwelling houſes, ſo large, and ſo full as it were of Chambers, that euery one of his ſeruants hath his doore, and thereunto his locke and key of his Chamber in the barge: they haue in the ſaide barge a dining Chamber, walkes, great tables to play at dice or cardes, and much more then I ſpeake of, becauſe I ſawe not all.

Upon Thurſday, the third day of May, I came to Auguſta, where I deliuered the letter I had to Maiſter Ieniſe, from Maiſter Caſtler, whome I found very willing to pleaſure me, in any thing that I could or would reaſonably demaund. He firſt furniſhed me with a horſe to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to ſhewe me the Citie, for that I had a day to tarie there, for him that was to be my guide.

The deſcription of Auguſta in Germany.

He ſhewed me firſt the ſtate houſe, which is very faire, and beautifull: then he brought me to the fineſt garden, and orchard, that euer I ſawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wyer both aboue and beneath, with fine litle branches of trees, for them to ſit in, which was full of thoſe Canarie birdes. There was ſuch an other for Turtle doues: alſo there were two pigeon houſes, ioyning to them, hauing in them store both of Turtle doues, and pigeons. In the ſame garden alſo, were three or ſeuen fiſhponds, all railed about, and full of very good fiſhe. Alſo, ſeuen or eight fine fountaines, or water ſpringes, of diuers faſhions: as for fruit, there wanted none of all ſortes, as orenges, figges, raiſons, wallnuts, grapes, beſides apples, peares, filberds, ſmall nuts, and ſuch other fruite, as wee haue in England.

Then did he bring me to the water tower of the ſame Citie, that by a ſleight and deuiſe, hath the water brought vp as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tell you the ſtrange deuiſes of all, it paſſeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another very faire garden, called the ſhooters hole, where are buts for the long bowe, the croſſe bowe, the ſtone bowe, the long peece, and for diuers other exerciſes more.

After this, we walked about the wals of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, vpon one ſide of the towne, ſo full of fiſhe, as euer I ſawe any ponde in my life, and it is reſerued onely for the States of the Citie. And vpon the other ſide of the Citie, is alſo a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaſeth the States to hunt for their pleaſure, thither they reſorte, and haue their courſes with Graphoundes, which are kept for that purpoſe.

Venice.

The firſt of May, I departed from Auguſta, towards Venice, and came thither vpon Whitſunday, the thirteenth of the ſame moneth. It is needeleſs to ſpeake of the height of the mountaines, that I paſſed ouer, and of the danger thereof, it is ſo well knowen already to the world: the height of them is marueilous, and I was the ſpace of ſixe daies in paſſing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which laſted foureteene daies, wherein I ſawe very many, and faire ſhewes of wares. I came thither too ſhort for the firſt paſſage, which went away from Venice, about the ſeuenth or eight of May, and with them about three ſcore pilgrims, which ſhippe was caſt away at a towne called Eſtria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, ſaue thirtie, or thereabout, loſt.

Within eight daies after fell Corpus Chriſti day, which was a day amongſt them of proceſſion, in which was ſhewed the plate, and treaſure of Venice, which is eſteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I doe not accompt it worth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more then I ſawe. To ſpeake of the ſumptuouſnes of the Copes, and Veſtments of the Church, I leaue, but the trueth is, they be very ſumptuous, many of them ſet all ouer with pearle, & made of cloche of golde. And for the Ieſuites, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Collen.

The number of Iewes in Venice.

The number of Iewes, is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, & haue alſo a place, to which they reſorte to pray, which is called the Iewes Sinagogue. They all, and their children, vſe to weare red caps, (for ſo they are commanded) becauſe they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my farther knowledge of theſe people, I went into their Sinagogue vpon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I founde them in their ſeruice or prayers, very deuoute: they receiue the fiue bookes of Moſes, and honour them, by carrying them about their Church, as the Papiſtes doe their croſſe.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people ſit round about it, & in the middeſt, there is a place for him that readeth to the reſt: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne ouer their garment, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The

The Psalmes they sing as we doe, hauing no image, nor vsing any manner of idolatrie: their errour is, that they beleeue not in Christ, nor yet receiue the New Testament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to be commended, wherein is good order for all things: and also it is very strong, and populous: it standeth vpon the maine sea, and hath many Ilands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the Duke of Venice, & of the Seigniory: there is one chosen that euer beareth the name of a Duke, but in trueth, he is but seruant to the Seigniorie, for of himselfe he can do little: it is no other wise with him, then with a Pict, that is at Paske vpon a festiuall day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come vnto him, and craue some friendshippe at his handes, he will say, you must goe to the Masters of the parrish, for I can not pleasure you, otherwise then by preferring of your suite: and so it is with the Duke of Venice, if any man hauing a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliuer his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but he will tell him, you must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the best friendshippe that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter vnto him, he may not open it, but in the presence of the Seigniorie, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliuer it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniorie there be about three hundreth, and about fortie of the priuie Counsell of Venice, who vsually are arraied in gownes of crimsen Satten, or crimsen Damaske, when they sitte in Counsell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Seignirie, or a scholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not doe that without licence.

The excesse of the women of Venice.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monsters, then women. Euery Shoemakers or Tailers wife, will haue a gowne of silke, and one to carie vp her traine, wearing their shoes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground: if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke, by the state that she goeth with, that he meeteth a Ladie.

His ende arriuing at Venice for Jerusalem.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, vpon Midsommer day, being the foure and twentith of June, and thinking that the shippe would the next day depart, I stayed, and laye a shippebord all night, and we were made beleeue from time to time, that we should this day, and that day to part, but we tarried still, till the foureteenth of July, and then with scant winde we sette saile, and sailed that day, and that night, not aboue fiftie Italian miles: and vpon the sixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrarie, so that the Master knewe not what to doe: and about the fift howre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pylot descried a saile, and at last perceiued it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to deuise howe to escape the danger, and to lose little of our way: and while both he, and all of vs, were in our dumps, God sent vs a merry gale of winde, that we ranne three score and tenne leagues before it was twelue a clocke the next day, and in sixe dayes after, we were seuen leagues past Zanta: and vpon Sunday morning, being the three and twentie of the same moneth, we came to the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrarie, with great blastes, and stormes, vntill the eight and twentie of the same moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out vpon me, because I was an Englishman, and saide, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the middest of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe, were the worse for me. I answered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my selfe the worst creature in the worlde, and consider you your selues also, as I doe my selfe, and then vse your discretion. The Friers preached, and the sermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did vnderstand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, thus you saide in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or els it were not possible for vs to haue such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not in deede all good Christians, for there are in the shippe some, that holde very vnchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they saide) that I would not see, when they sayd the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Ladie, and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the shippe, and he told me what they said of me, because I would not sing, Salue Regina, and Aue Maria, as they did: I told them, that they that prayed to so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Iesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne destructions.

All this was tolde the Friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at euening

ning prayer, they sent the purser about with the image of our Ladie to euery one to kisse, and I perceiuing it went another way from him, and would not see it: yet at last he fetched his course about, so that he came to me, and offered it to me as he did to others, but I refused it: whereupon there was a great stir: the patron and all the friers were tolde of it, and euery one said I was a Lutheran, and so called me: but two of the friers that were of greatest authoritie, seemed to beare me better good will then the rest, and [illegible]uelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

The second day o[illegible] I we arriued in Cyprus, at a towne called Missagh: the people there be very rude, and like beasts, and no better, they eat their meat sitting vpon the ground, with theyr legs a crosse like tailors, theyr beds for the most part be hard stones, but yet some of them haue sayre matraces to lie vpon. Cyprus. Missagh.

Upon thursday the eight of August we came to Joppa in a small barke, which we hyred betwixt Missagh and Salina, and could not be suffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great Basha, who sate vpon the top of a hill to see vs sent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any house for victualles, but were to content our selues with our owne prouision, and that which we bought to cary with vs was taken from vs. I had a paire of stirrops, which I bought at Venice to serue me in my iourney, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Basha saw me vp before the rest of the companie, he sent one to dismount me, and to strike me, whereupon I turned me to the Basha, and made a long legge, saying, Grand mercye Seignior: and after a while we were horsed vpon litle asses, and sent away, with about fiftie light horsmen to be our conduct through the wildernesse, called Deserta fœlix, who made vs good sport by the way with theyr pikes, gunnes, and fauchins, Joppa. The Basha of Joppa.

That day, being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Joppa, and there we stayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the castell, euery man a chekin, which is seuen shillings and two pence sterling. So then we had a new gard of souldiers, and left the other. Rama.

The house we lodged in at Rama, had a doore so low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were vpon my knees, and within it are three roomes to lodge trauellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the prouision, without stooles or benches to sit vpon. Our victualles were brought vs out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great store of fruite, as pomgranets, figges, grapes, oringes, and such like, and drinke, we drue out of the well. The towne it selfe is so ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of stones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to haue gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, so we stayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a fresh gard of souldiers we departed toward Jerusalem. We had not ridden fiue English miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who stayed vs, and would not suffer vs to passe till they had somewhat, so it cost vs for all our gard aboue twentie shillings a man betwixt Joppa and Jerusalem. These Arabians troubled vs often times. Our Truchman that payed the money for vs was stricken downe, [illegible] had his head broken because he would not giue them as much as they asked: and they that [illegible] haue rescued both him and vs, stood still, and durst doe nothing, which was to our cost. Troopes of theeuish Arabians.

Being come w[illegible] ght of Jerusalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and giue God thankes, that it hath pleased him to bring vs to that holy place where he himselfe had beene: and there we leaue our horses, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and so we were permitted to go to our lodgings. His arriuall in the sight of Jerusalem.

The gouernor of the house met vs a mile out of the towne, and very curteously bade vs all welcome, and brought vs to the monasterie. The gates of the citie are all couered with yron, the entrance into the house of the Christians, is a very low and narrow doore, bard or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monastery: there we lay, and dieted of free cost, we fared reasonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, and all the meat well serued in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monasterie two dayes, friday and saturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the house with vs: in the way thither we saw many monuments, as:

The mountaine where the Angell tooke vp Abacucke by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne. The monuments in and about Jerusalem.

The fountaine of the prophet Jeremie.

The place where the wise men mette that went to Bethlem to worship Christ, where is a fountaine of stone.

Being come to Bethlem we saw the place where Christ was borne, which is now a chapell with two altars, whereupon they say masse: the place is built with gray marble, and hath been beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the sepulchre of the innocents slaine by Herod, the sepulchre of Paul, of Jerome, and of Eusebius.

Also a little from this monasterie is a place vnder the ground, where the virgin Mary abode with Christ when Herod sought him, to destroy him.

We stayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Judea, which are about eight miles from Jerusalem, where are the ruines of an olde monasterie. In the mid way from the monasterie to Jerusalem is the place where Iohn Baptist was borne, being now an olde monasterie, and cattle kept in it. Also a mile from Jerusalem is a place called Inuentio sanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the crosse.

In the citie of Jerusalem we saw the hall where Pilat sat in iudgement when Christ was condemned, the staires whereof are at Rome, as they tolde vs. A little from thence is the house where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is also the piscina or filippoole where the sicke folkes were healed, which is by the walles of Jerusalem, but the poole is now dry.

The mount of Caluaria is a great church, and within the doore thereof, which is little, and barred with yron, and fiue great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of tauerne doores in London, they it that are appointed to receiue our money with a carpet vnder them vpon a banke of stone, and they legs a crosse like tailors: hauing paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right against the church doore is the graue where Christ was buried, with a great long stone of white marble ouer it, and railed about, the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by meanes that euery man scrapes his name and marke vpon it, and is ill kept.

Within the sepulchre is a partition, and in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they say masse, and at the doore thereof is the stone whereupon the angell sat when he said to Mary, He is risen, which stone was also rowled to the doore of the sepulchre.

The altar stone within the sepulchre is of white marble, the place able to containe but foure persons, right ouer the sepulchre is a deuise of lanterne for light, and ouer that a great louer, such as are in England in ancient houses. There is also the chapell of the sepulchre, and in the mids thereof is a canape as it were of a bed, with a great sort of Estridge egges hanging at it, with tassels of silke and lamps.

Behinde the sepulchre is a little chapell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Vpon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his sonne: and in the same place the tombe of Melchisedech.

S. Helens chapell. There is a chapell also in the same church erected to S. Helen, through which we go vp to the place where Christ was crucified: the stayres are fiftie steps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the crosse stood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with siluer, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent also of the mountaine is there to be seene, in the creuis whereof a man may put his arme.

Vpon the other side of the mount of Caluarie is the place where Abraham would haue sacrificed his sonne. Where also is a chapell, and the place paued with stones of diuers colours.

There is also the house of Annas the high priest, and the Oliue tree whereunto Christ was bound when he was whipt. Also the house of Caiphas, and by it the prison where Christ was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Jerusalem in the vallie of Josaphat, is a church vnder the ground, like to the shrowds in Paules, where the sepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the stayres be very broad, and vpon the stayres going downe are two sepulchres: vpon the left hand lieth Josaphat, and vpon the right hand lieth Joachym and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Josaphat, we came to mount Oliuet, where Christ prayed vnto his father before his death: and there is to be seene (as they tolde me) the water and bloud that fell from the eyes of Christ. A little higher vpon the same mount is the place where the Apostles slept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Christ was imprisoned.

Vpon the mountaine also is the place where Christ stood when he wept ouer Jerusalem, and where he ascended into heauen.

His departure from Jerusalem. Now hauing seene all these monuments, I with my company set from Jerusalem, the 20 day of August, and came againe to Joppa the 22 of the same month, where we tooke shipping presently for Tripolis, & in 4 dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ships lie that come for Tripolis.

The

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, ſo that no ſhip can come further then Methna: ſo that night I came thither, where I lay nine dayes for paſſage, and at laſt we imbarked our ſelues in a good ſhip of Venice called the new Naue Ragaſona. We entred the ſhip the ſecond of September, the fourth we ſet ſaile, the ſeuenth we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: where we ſtayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell ſicke of an ague, but recouered againe, I praiſe God. Tripolis in Syria.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was deſtroyed by the Turke ten yeeres paſt: there are in it now but ſeuenteene perſons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina, is a ſalt piece of ground, where the water groweth ſalt that raineth vpon it. Salina.

Thurſday the 21 of September, we came to Hillagh, and there we ſtayed eight dayes for more lading: the 18 of September before we came to Hillagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, becauſe the winde was contrarie, there came a great boat full of men to boord vs, they made an excuſe to ſeeke for foure men which (they ſaid) our ſhippe had taken from their ſ about Tripolis, but our captaine would not ſuffer any of them to come in to vs. Hillagh a towne in Cyprus.

The next morning they came to vs againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at the leaſt, whereupon our captaine ſent the boat to them with twelue men to know their pleaſure: they ſaid they ſought foure men, and therefore would talke with our maiſter: ſo then the maiſters mate was ſent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, and with three other gallies, and then would needes ſpeake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimſon damaſke, and other very braue apparell, and fiue or ſixe other gentlemen richlie alſo apparelled. They hauing the Turks ſafe conduct, ſhewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it vpon his head, charging him to obey it: ſo with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pices of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

That day as aforeſaid, we came to Hillagh, and there ſtayed eight dayes, and at laſt departed towards Candie, with a ſcant winde. Candie.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which alſo made a ſeeuerleſſe arrant, and troubled vs very much, but our captaines paſport, and the gift of 100 chekins diſcharged all.

The 27 of October we paſſed by Zante with a merry winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third of November we arriued at Eſtria, and there we left our great ſhip, and tooke ſmall boats to bring vs to Venice. Zanta. Eſtria.

The 9 of November I arriued againe at Venice in good health, where I ſtaid nine dayes, and the 25 of the ſame moneth I came to Auguſta, and ſtaid there but one day.

The 27 of November I ſet towards Nouemberge, where I came the 29, and there ſtayed till the 9 of December, and was very well intertained of the Engliſh merchants there: and the gouernors of the towne ſent me and my company ſixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Entrige, from Entrige to Doyt, from Doyt to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flulhing, from Flulhing to London, where I arriued vpon Twelfe eue in ſafetie, & gaue thanks to God, hauing finiſhed my iourney to Jeruſalem & home againe, in the ſpace of nine moneths and fiue dayes.

The Queenes letter to the Great Turke 1582, written in commendation of *M. Harebrowne, when he was ſent Ambaſſadour.*

ELIZABETH &c. Auguſtiſſimo inuictiſſimoque principi, &c. Cùm ad poſtulatum noſtrum Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtas anno ſaluatoris noſtri Ieſu 1580, pacis fœdus nobiſcum pepigerit, coniunctum cum liberaliſſima priuilegiorum quorundam conceſſione, quorum beneficio ſubditi noſtri cum omni ſecuritate tutiſſimè liberiméq; ad vniuerſas & ſingulas Muſulmanici imperij veſtri partes terra mariq; proficiſci, in ijſq; commercij exercendi gratia, negotiari, habitare, manere, exindeq; ire & redire cum volent queant, ab ijs qui ſub Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtate in magiſtratu ſunt vbiq; locorum protegendi defendendiq; ſine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorũ læſione: nos tantæ conceſſionis beneficium gratum acceptumq; habentes, quantum in nobis eſt, approbamus confirmamúſq; pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem ſine vlla violatione ſartam tectamq; conſeruabimus: faciemúſq; vt ſubditi noſtri priuilegiorũ ſibi indultorum conceſſione ita vtantur, vt Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem magnificentiſſimæ ſuæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem conceſſionis huius virtus in vſu potiùs quàm verbis, Maieſtatis vtriuſq; noſtrum ſententiã, ponenda videtur, voluimus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Harebroune, ex ſatellitibus quibus ad corporis noſtri tutelam vtimur vnum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum,

ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem ablegare, qui tum nomine nostro vobis gratias ageret, tum vt eius opera vteremur ad eam subditorum nostrorum mercimoniorum rationem stabiliendam tam in Imperiali vestra ciuitate Constantinopoli, quàm alijs imperij vestri Musulmanici locis, quæ ex præscripto priuilegiorum Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis benignitate conceditur, & ex vsu subditorum vtriusq; nostrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis authoritate, summa contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui sub se in magistratu sunt, vt quibuscunq; poterunt melioribus modis huic nostro mandatorio in Cæsareę vestrę Maiestatis placito exequendo, adiutores sint & esse velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandauimus, in qua quàm fidem suam sit honeste liberaturus erga Maiestatem vtriusq; nostrũ neutiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, vt in omnibus sint obtemperantes nostri subditi quantum Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis concessio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Mustafa sacræ Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis Musulmannorum interpres egregiam nauarit operam vt hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus summopere vt in nostram gratiam eum in Mustafaracarum ordinem Cæsarea vestra Maiestas recipere dignetur. Si in his alijsq; omnibus honestis causis hic noster agens subditiq; nostri Imperatoriæ vestræ sublimitatis æquanimitatem senserint, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officijs huic vestrę Maiestatis fauori & beneuolentiæ (si vlla ratione rebus vestris commodare poterimus) respondere libentissimè semper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

Mustafa interpres

¶ The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mighty God and onely creator of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries of all that liue among the Christians and falsly professe the name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall & most inuincible prince, Sultan Murad Chan, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, sole aboue all and most souereigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.

Wheras at our request your Imperiall Maiestie in the yeere of our Sauior Iesus 1580, hath entred into a league of peace with vs, whereunto was vnited a most large & bountifull grant of certeine priuileges, by benefit wherof our subiects may with all security most safely and freely trauell by sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of merchandize may traffike, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in all places be maintened & defended from all damage of bodies and goods by such as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maiestie: we thankefully & gratefully receiuing the benefit of so great a priuilege, as much as in vs lieth do approue & confirme the same, promising in the word of a prince, that we will keepe the said league perfect and inuiolable, and will cause our subiects so to vse the grant of the priuileges giuen vnto them, as your Imperiall Maiestie shall neuer haue occasion to repent you of your most princely liberality. And because the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our Maiesties, seemeth rather to consist in the vse therof, then in the words, we thought good to send vnto your Imperial Maiesty this our ambassador William Harebowne, one of the esquires of our bodie, which both on our behalfe should yeeld thanks vnto your Maiesty, and also that we might vse his good indeuor for the establishing of such order in our subiects trade of merchandize as well in your Imperiall citie of Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as according to ỹ prescript of the priuileges is granted by your princely Maiesties goodnesse, and thalbe for the benefit of both our subiects. For performance wherof, because he standeth in need of your Imperiall Maiesties authoritie, we earnestly beseech the same, that you would cause all those which be in authority vnder your highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and assist this our ambassador in executing this your Imperiall Maiesties pleasure, for vnto him we haue committed this charge: wherin how honestly he will discharge his creuit toward both our Maiesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whom also our pleasure is, that all our subiects thalbe obedient, as far as the grant of your Imperiall Maiestie doth permit. Moreouer, whereas that worthy personage Mustafa your Imperiall Maiesties interpretor hath taken speciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene vs, we earnestly beseech you that for our sakes your Imperiall Maiestie would vouchsafe to aduance him vnto the degree of the Mastafaraks or chiefe pensioners. If in these and in all other honest causes our aforesaid agent and our subiects shall finde your Imperiall highnesses fauor, a noble traffike will florish betweene these nations, and we (if by any way we may stand your state in stead) will alwayes most willingly be ready to requite this your Maiesties fauor and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almighty God the maker of the world, preserue and keepe your Imperiall Maiestie, &c.

M. William Harebowne sent ambassador to the Turke.

A request for the preferring of Mustafa Beg.

The

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta vnto the Englishmen in the barke Raynolds. 1582.

FRere Hugo de Lonbeux Verdala, Dei gratia sacræ domus hospitalis sancti Ioannis Hierosolimitani magister humilis, pauperúmque Iesu Christi custos, vniuersis & singulis principibus ecclesiasticis & secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, præfectis, castellanis, admiralijs, & quibuscúnque triremium vel aliorum nauigiorum patronis, ac ciuitatum rectoribus, potestatibus ac magistratibus, cæterisque officialibus, & quibuscúnque personis cuiusuis dignitatis, gradus, status & conditionis fuerint, vbilibet locorum & terrarum constitutis, salutem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis attestamur, *come nel mese di Maggio prossime passato le nostre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, done habendo mandato per soccorrere a vn galionetto de Christiani che hauea dato trauerso in quelle parti, essendo arrivati sopra questa isola alla parte de ponente trouarono vna naue Inglesa, sopra cargo de essa il magnifico Giouanni Keale, & Dauid Filly patrono, volendo la reconoscere che naue fosse, han visto, che se metteua in ordine per defendersi, dubitando che dette nostre galere fossero de inimici: & per che vn marinaro, rivoltose contra la volonta de detti magnifico Giouani Keale & Dauid Filly, habbi tirato vn tiro di artiglieria verso vna de dette galere, & che non se amangnana la vela de la Maiestra secondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly patrono, fu rimensata detta nane nel presente general porto di Malta, secondo l'ordine del venerando generale de dette galere, & essendo qua, monsignor Inquisitore ha impedita quella per conto del sancto offfcio, & si diede parte alla santita di nostro signor Gregorio papa xiij. a la fin fu licenciata per andarsene al suo viaggio. Han don á, humilmente supplicato detti magnifico Gionanni Keale & Dauid Filly per nome & parte delli magnifici Edwardo Osburn senatore & Richardo Staper merchanti Inglesi della nobile citta di Londra, & anco di Thomaso Wilkinson scriuano, pilotti, nocheri, & marinari, gli volessimo dare le nostre lettere patente & saluo condutto, accio che potranno andare & ritornare quando gli parera commodo con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro benuista: si come noi, essendo cosa giusta & che retornera commoda a nostra relligione & a questi forresteri, per tenor de li presenti se gli habiamo concesse con le conditione per ò infrascritte.* videlicet:

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con sopradetta naue o con altra non porteranno mercantie de contrabando, & che constara per fede authentica & con lettere patente de sanita, poteran liberalmente victualiarse de tutte le victuarie necessarie, & praticare in questa isola & dominij, & poi partirsene & seguire suo viaggio per done volessero in leuante o altrone, come tutti altri vasselli & specialmente de Francesi & altri nationi, & di vendere & comprare qual si voglia mercantia a loro benuista,

Item, che potera portare poluere de canone & di archibuso, salnitro, carboni di petra rosetta, platine de rame, stagno, acciale, ferro, carisee commune, tela grossa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore & antenne de galere, bastardi & alteri. Et in conclusione, hauendo visto che loro per il tempo che restarano qua, si portorno da fideli & Catholici Christiani, & che sua santita habbia trouato bono il saluo condutto del gran Turko a loro concesso, per il timor della armata Turkesca & di altri vasselli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di sua sanctitá, & massime per che hanera de andare & passare per diuersi lochi & tanto lontani come Inghilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altrone, a noi ha parso farle le presente nostre lettere patente come fidele conuersatore nostro, accio piu securamente & senza obstaculo possa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta naue o con altre, a loro benuista. Per tanto donque tutti & ciascun di voi sudetti affectuosamente pregamo, che per qual si voglia de vostra inrisditione, alla quale detto magnifico Giouani Keale & Dauid filly a nome quo supra con la naue & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caschera, nauigare, passare, & venire sicuramente, alla libera, senza alcuno disturbo o altro impedimento li lasciate, & facciate lasciare stare, & passare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore & contemplatione nostra il detto magnifico Giouanni keale a nome quo supra con le nane, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta, fastidio & ritentione alcuna, anzi se gli dia ogni agiuto & fauore, cosa degna di voi giusta, & a noi gratissima de recompensarnila con vgnale & maggior seruitio, quando dall'occasione ne saremo rechiesti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti & qual si vogla relligiosi & frati de nostra relligione di qual si voglia conditione, grado & stato che siano, & a tutti riceuitori & procuratori nostri in tutti & qual si voglia priorati nostri deputati & deputandi in vertu di santa obedientia, & a tutti nostri vassalli & alla giurisditione di nostra relligione soggetti, che in tale & per tale tenghino & reputino il detto magnifico Giouanni keale a nome vt supra, naue, marinari, & mercantia, senza permettere, che nel detto suo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo sia molestato, o in qual si voglia

maneta impedito, anzi tutte le cose sue, & negotij loro sian da voi agiutati & continuamente favoriti. In cuius rei testimonium Bulla nostra magistralis in cera nigra presentibus est impressa. Date Melita in conventu nostro die duo decimo Mensis Julij. 1582.

¶ The same in English.

FRier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, maister of the holy house, the hospitall of S. John at Jerusalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Jesus Christ, to all & euery prince ecclesiasticall & secular, archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Capetines, Vicelords, Maiors, Castellanes, Admerals, and whatsoeuer patrons of small boats, or other greater ships, and gouernors of cities, potentates and magistrates, and to other officers and persons whatsoeuer, of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soeuer they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of trueth doe witnesse, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where hauing commandement to succor a litle ship of the Christians which was driuen ouer into that part, being arriued vpon this iland on the West part they sold one English ship vnder the charge of the worshipfull John Reele, and Dauid Fillie maister: & our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselues in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, and therefore one mariner reuolted contrary to the will of the worshipfull John Reele, and Dauid Fillie maister, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her saile, according to the will of the said worshipful John Reele, and Dauid Fillie maister, the said ship was brought backe againe vnto the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reuerend generall of the said gallies: and in being there, maister Inquisitor staid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregory the thirteenth, in the end was licensed to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipfull John Reele, and Dauid Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull maister Edward Osburne alderman, and Richard Staper, English merchants of the noble citie of Londō, haue humblie besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, maister and mariners, that we would giue our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might go and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleasure: whereupon the thing seeming vnto vs iust, and that it might be for the profit of our religion, and of these strangers, by the tenor of these presents we haue granted the same to them: yet, with the conditions hereunder written, viz.

That euery time the said merchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such merchandize as is forbidden, and that by sufficient proofe, and letters testimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselues with all necessarie victuals, and traffike with vs, and in this iland and dominion, and afterward may depart, and follow their voyage whither they will into the Leuant or els where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoeuer merchandize they shall thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebush, salpecter, cole of Newcastle, plates of latten, tinne, steele, yron, common karsies white, course canuas to make saile for the gallies, balles of yron for shot, fine millstones, trees and masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, hauing seene that they for the time of their abode heere, did behaue themselues like faithfull and catholike Christians, and that his holinesse hath allowed the safeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemie, submitting our selues to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people haue occasion to passe by diuers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we haue vouchsafed to make these our letters patents, as to our faithfull trafficant, so as more surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure: we therefore pray all and euery of your subiects effectuously that by what part soeuer of your iurisdiction, vnto the which the said worshipfull John Reele, and Dauid Fillie by name aboue said, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall haue accesse, saile, and passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you giue leaue, and cause leaue to be giuen that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they please, depart, in such sort, that for our loue and contentation the said worshipfull John Reele, with the ship and mariners haue no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you giue all helpe and fauor, a thing worthie of your iustice, and to vs most acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater seruice, when vpon occasion it shalbe required.

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And finally, we commaund all, and whatsoeuer religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatsoeuer condition, degree, and state they be, and all our receiuers and procurators, in all and whatsoeuer our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are subiect to the iurisdiction of our religion, that in, and by the same they hold, and repute the sayd worshipfull Iohn Keele in the name as abouesayd, the shippe, mariners, and merchandise, without let in the same their voiage, or in any other place, that they be not molested, nor in any wise hindered, but that in all their causes and businesse they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In witnesse whereof, our seale of gouerment is impressed to these presents in blacke waxe. Giuen at Malta in our Conuent, the twelfth of the moneth of July, in the yeare, 1582.

Certayne remembrances of an intended voyage to Brasill, and the *Riuer of Plate, by the Edward Cotton, a shippe of M. Edward Cottons of Southhampton, which perished through extreme negligence neere Rio grande in Ginnie, the 17. of Iuly, 1583.*

ARticles of Couenants agreed vpon between Edward Cotton esquier, owner of the good ship called the Edward Cotton of Southhampton, and of all the merchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, captaine of the said ship, Iohn Hooper his lieutenant, Iohn Foster master, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voiage, and William Cheesman merchant, on the other part.

1 TO obserue and keep the daily order of Common praier aboord the ship, & the companie to be called thereunto, at the least once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the first faire wind, to set saile and sailes in the voiage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly constrained by weather, or other apparant and vrgent cause.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Isles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25. or 30. tunnes of salt, to be imploied among other the owners merchãdize, at Santos, & S. Vincents, to his only behoofe, & the rest of the salt, so much as shall be needed for victuall, and for sauing of the hides to be kept aboord, & the same salt to be prouided either at the fishermens hands nere the said Isles for trucke of cõmodities, or els to be taken in at the aforesaid Isles, at the discretion of the abouenamed.

4 Item, vpon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himselfe by this deede, to yeeld vnto any such of the company, as shall refuse their shares before they depart from the coast of England, 20. markes a single share, for the dutie of the whole voyage, making not aboue 75. shares single in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the sayd shippe abouen amed, shall at all times be as well readie to doe their painfull indeuor, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction giuen by the aboue named officers, vpon paine of forfeiture of their shares and wages, the same to be deuided amongst the company.

6 Item, that the shares be taken at their returne out of all the traine oile, and hides of the seales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the salt that shall be vended and other commodities, at, or neere the coast of Brasill, to allow after 9. li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.

7 Item, that if any man shall practise by any deuise or deuises whatsoeuer, to alter the voyage from the true purpose and intent of the owner, viz. to make their first port at Santos, and S. Vincents, and there to reuictuall and traffike, and from thence to the riuer of Plate, to make their voyage by the traine, and hide of the seales, with such other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with diuers that haue gouernment in the said ship, are bound to her highnes by their deeds obligatorie in great summes, that all such practisers vpon due proofe made, shall loose their whole intertainment due by shares or otherwise for this said voiage to be adiudged by the captaine, his lieutenant, the master, Pylot and merchaunt, or three of them at the least, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinnesse be ready at all times to serue the merchants turne vpon his demaund, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to, and from the shore, when, and as oft as need shall bee, and to giue due attendance at the merchaunt, and merchaunts direction, during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being set downe for such an officer vnder the hand of the owner, at the going to sea of the said ship, shall or may be displaced from his said place or office, with-

out

out great cause, and his misdemeanor to be abiudged by the captaine and his lieutenant, the master, the Pylot, and the merchant, or by the consent of 3. of them at the least.

10 Item, that vpon the returne of the ship to the coast of England, the master and Pilot put not into any porte or harbour, to the Westward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or such like vrgent cause.

William Huddie. Iohn Foster.
Iohn Hooper. William Cheesman.
Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the ship, as especially for William Cheesman Merchant, for the voyage to the Riuer of Plate.

AT your comming to the Isle of S. Sebastian, vpon the coast of Brasil, you shall according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be there about well vented, and likewise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals bee prouiding, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the riuer of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton Woolle, and some quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Munkies, and the beast called Serraboſa. Also you shall barrell vp of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrels, and to lose no good opportunitie, to gather of the Indian figs, and the graines of them to preserue die, in such quantitie as conueniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preseruing of the hides, I leaue it wholy to the order and the discretion of the chiefe of the company. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride vpon the coast of America, that triall be made with the dyags, for the pearle Dikers, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Captaine, his lieutenant, the master, the pylot, and merchaunt, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Captaine and merchant, vnder two lockes, either of them to haue a key to his owne locke, and that a true inuentorie be deliuered also to the master and pilot of the sayd pearle or other iewels of price gotten in the sayd voyage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment bee made of any such thing vpon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shal so conceale and not reueale it vnto the officers aboue named. Also to doe your best indeuour to try for the best Oze of gold, siluer, or other rich mettals whatsoeuer. Forget not also to bring the kernels & seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruite inclosed in him. Serue God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes vpon your gard.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 83. men of all sortes furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle vpon Friday the 20. of May, Anno 1583. and the 17. day of July ensuing, fell with the coast of Guinie, to take in fresh water, where, though meere dissolute negligence, shee perished vpon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped, the substance and tenor whereof is this.

The confession of William Bends, Masters Mate in the Edward Cotton, the 21. of October, An. 1584.

HE saith that the 17. day of July, Anno 1583. hauing some lacke of fresh water, they put roome vpon the coast of Guinie, where they were set vpon a sand about 8. leagues from the shore, and this Examinate with 29. more, got into the pinnesse, who arriued in an Island, being desolate of people, and fiue miles in compasse, where they rested 18. dayes though force of weather, not hauing els to eate but grasse. The rest of the company, the ship being splitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of raftes came also a shore into another Island, neere to Rio grande, where they all died as he supposeth.

The other 30. in the pinnesse, at the end of 18. dayes, departed that Island, and came to Saint Domingo,

Domingo, where comming on shore, they were taken of the Moores, and stripped naked. And they buried one Coxe an old man aliue, notwithstanding his pitifull lamentation and shrikings: the rest hauing Rice and water allowed them, liued there a certaine time. This Examinate was at last sold to a Portingall, with whom he dwelt the space of a quarter of a yeere, and in the end a Portingall Caruell comming thither, his master laded the same with Negroes, and he obtained leaue of his master to goe in the same Caruell, and by that meanes arriued at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17. of October, 1584. leauing behind him of his company aliue, Richard Hacker, Iohn Baker, Iohn Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond S. Domingoes: all which, as he saith, were so sicke and diseased, that he iudgeth them to be long before this time dead.

One Coxe an old English man buried aliue by the Moores of Rio grande in Guinea.

The Passeport in Italian granted to Thomas Shingleton Englishman, by the king of Algier. 1583.

NOi Assam Bassha Vicere & lochotenente e capitan della iurisditione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero saluo conduitto a Thomas Shingleton *mercadante, che possi con suo vassello e marinari de che natione se siano, e mercadantia di qual si voglia natione, andare & venire, e negotiare, e contrattare liberamẽte in questa citta de Algier & altri lochi de la nostra iurisditione cosi di ponente come di Leuante: & cosi anchora commandiamo al capitan di mare di Algier & d'altri lochi de nostra iurisditione, Rais de Vasselli & capitani de Leuante, & altri capitani di vassells tanto grossi como picholi, si commanda a qual si voglia, che trouando il sopradetto* Thomas Shingleton *Inglese nelli mari di Genoua, Francia, Napoli, Calabria, e Sardigna con suo vassello e mercantia, & homini de che nationi si siano, non gli debba molestare, ne pegliare, ne toccare cosa de nessuna manera tanto di denare, como di qual si voglia altra robba, sotto la pena e disgratia di perdir la vita & la robba: Et per quanto hauete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor nostro patrone,* Soltan Murates Ottomano, *lo lasciarete andare per suo camino senza dargli nessuno impedimento. Dato in Algieri in nostro reggio Palazzo, sigillato del nostro reggio sigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & scritto del nostro reggio Secretario il dì 23. de Ienaro, 1583.*

¶ The same in English.

WE Assam Bassha Viceroy and lieutenant, and capitaine of the iurisdiction of Algier, giue and graunt free safe conduct to Thomas Shingleton merchaunt, that with his ship & mariners, of what nation soeuer they be, and with his merchandize of what countrey soeuer, he may goe and come, and trade and traffique freely in this citie of Algier, & other places of our iurisdiction, as well of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the capitaine of the sea of Algier, and other places of our iurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels and capitains of the Leuant, and other capitains of vessels as well great as small, wholsoeuer they be, we do command them, That finding the foresayd Thomas Shingleton Englishman in the seas of Genua, Fraunce, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, and men of what nation soeuer they be, that they molest them not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, vnder paine and perill of losing of their liues and goods: and as you make account of the fauour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Algier in our kingly palace, signed with our princely signet, and sealed with our great seale, and written by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of Ianuarie, 1583.

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne to the king of Argier, the 20. of July, 1584. in the behalfe of certaine English captiues there deteined.

MVy alto y poderoso Rey,

Sea seruida vostra alteza. Como la muy alta y potentissima magestad del Gran Señor tiene hecho articulos de priuilegios con la Serenissima Magestad de nuestra Reyna d'Inglatierra, para los vassallos della poder libremente yr y bolver, y traher por mar y tierra en los dominios de su potentissima Magestad, Como a la clara paresce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el traslado al Senor Iuan Tipton nuestro

nuestro commissario para lo muestrar a vostra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de su ciudad de Argier ha sido hechado al fondo en la mar vn des nuestros navios que venia de Petras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que alla se compraron, y las mas de la gente della matados y ahogados en la mar: y el resto estan detenidos por esclaues: cosa muy contraria a los dichos articulos y priuilegios. Que es occasion, que por esto supplicamos a vostra Alteza muy humilmente, que, pues que la potentissima magestad del Gran Senor es seruida nos fauorescer por los dichos articulos, tambien sea servida vostra Alteza assistirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por vostra autoridad su ayuda y fauor, segun que esperamos, para que puedan estar libres, y bolver para aca aquellos pobres hombres assi hechos esclauos, como dicho es. Y assi mismo, que mande vostra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maestres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nuestro trafico con seys naos cada año para Turquia a los dominios del Gran Senor a paz y a salvo, por no cõtrariar a los dichos nuestros priuilegios, Llevando cada una de nuestras dichas naos por se conoscer un salvo conducto de su alta & potentissima magestad. Y con esta vostra tan señallada merced y fauor que en esso reseciberemos, quedaremos nosotros con grandissima obligation a vostra Alteza de seruirla por ello, segun que el dicho Senor Iuan Tipton, *a quien nos remitimos de todo lo demas, mejor informera a vostra Alteza: Cuya serenissima persona y estado supplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente prospere y acrescente con toda felicidad y honra. De la ciudad de Londres a los veynte dias de Iulio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.*

Al servicio de vostra Alteza por y en nombre de todos los traentes en Turquia, lo el mayor de Londres,
Edward Osborne.

¶ The same in English.

RIght high and mighty king,

May it please your highnesse to vnderstand, that the most high and most mightie maiestie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of priuiledges with the most excellent maiestie of our Queene of England, that her subiects may freely go and come, and traffique by sea and land in the dominions of his most mightie maiestie, as apppeareth more at large by the said articles, whereof we haue sent the copy vnto M. Iohn Tipton our Commissarie, to shew the same vnto your highnesse. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships which came from Petras which is in Morea, laden with currants and other merchandizes which were bought in those partes, was sunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Argier, and the greatest number of the men thereof were slaine and drowned in the sea, the residue being detained as slaues: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforesaid articles and priuiledges, which is the occasion that by these presents we beseech your highnesse very humbly, that since it hath pleased the most mightie maiestie of the Grand Signor to fauour vs with the sayd priuiledges, it would please your highnesse in like maner to assist vs in the same, granting vs by your authoritie, your aide and fauour, according as our hope is, that these poore men so detained in captiuitie, as is aforesaid, may be set at libertie, and returne into their countrey. And likewise that your highnesse would send to giue order to the captaines, masters and people of your gallies, that from henceforth they would suffer vs to vse our traffique with six shippes peerely into Turkie vnto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and safetie, that they doe not withstand those our said priuiledges, euery one of our foresaid ships carying with them a passeport of his most high and most mightie maiestie to be knowen by. And for that your so singular fauour and curtesie which in so doing we shall receiue, we on our part with all bounden duetie vnto your highnesse, will seeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the said master Iohn Tipton (to whom we referre our selues touching all other circumstances) shall more at large enforme your highnesse, whose most excellent person and estate, we pray and beseech almightie God to prosper and increase with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London the 20. of July, 1584.

An English ship sunke by two gallies of Argier.

At the seruice of your highnesse, for and in the name of our whole Company trading into Turkie, I Maior of London, *Edward Osborne.*

Notes concerning the trade of Argier.

The money of Argier.

THe money that is coined in Argier, is a piece of gold called Asiano, and Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Asiano, but the Doubla is most vsed, for all things bee solde by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aspers there.

The Asper there is not so good by halfe and more, as that in Constantinople: for the Chekin of gold of the Turkes made at Constantinople, is at Argier worth an hundred and fiftie Aspers, and at Constantinople it is but 66. Aspers.

The

The pistolet and roials of place are most current there.

The said pistolet goeth for 150. Aspers there: and the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40. Aspers, but sometimes is sold for more, as men need them to carry up into Turkie.

Their Asianos and doublaes are pieces of course gold, worth here but 40. shillings the ounce, so the same is current in no place of Turkie out of the kingdome of Argier, neither the Aspers, for that they be lesse then others be, for they come them in Argier.

The custome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commodities selfe, or as it shall be rated. The custome.

There is another custome to the Elemine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Justice of the Christians: the goods for this custome are rated as they are for the kings custome.

Having paid custome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commodities that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waighe there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and spices, &c. which is here 120. li. subtil. The waights.

Gettall not refined, as lead, iron, and such grosse wares are sold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: so it is 180. li. subtil of ours here.

The measure of corne is by a measure called a Curtia, which is about 4. bushels of our measure, and corne is plentifull there and good cheape, except when there happeneth a very dry yeere. The measure.

The surest lodging for a Christian there, is in a Jewes house: for if he haue any hurt, the Jew and his goods shall make it good, so the Jew taketh great care of the Christian and his goods that lieth in his house, for feare of punishment. The surest lodging for a Christian.

An Englishman called Thomas Williams, which is M. John Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the streete called The Soca of the Iewes.

Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria.

ALexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the Castels, presently the Ermyn sends aboord to haue one come and speake with him, to know what goods are aboord: and then he will set guards aboord the shippe to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermine you goe to the * Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and so from thence to the Consuls house where you lye. The Venecians haue a Consul themselues. But all other nations goe to the French nations Consul, who will giue you a chamber for your selues apart, if you will so haue it. This is another officer.

The customs inward of all commodities, are ten in the hundred, and the custome is paid in wares also that you buy: for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for money, you pay no more custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd money, for more custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for money, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it bee taken, you pay double custome for that you steale. Other small customs you pay besides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for Consullage you pay two in the hundred.

The waighe of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marseils 109. li. of Marseils waighe, at 15. ounces the pound, which is 103. li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waighe called Pois Gerrin, which is 150. li. of Marseils waighe, by which are sold all things to eate: but spice is sold by the former waighe.

From Alexandria to Cairo, is three dayes iourney, but you must take a Janissarie with you: and to goe up thither by water, it is 8. dayes iourney. Roials of Spaine are current money there, and are the best money you can carry. And 4. roials are worth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aspers. Pistolets and crowines of France, and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are best. Cairo three dayes iourney from Alexandria by land.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a present to the Bye and Ermine some may passe.

All sorts of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill disposed. And after you be searched & haue leaue to passe, you must presently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will search you againe. And you must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The dutie to the Consul, is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Siluer is better current then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly

Commonly the Carauans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and there fore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the Consuls houses. Yet oftentimes the Christians go vp to Cairo to buy drugs and other commodities there as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible, are all sortes of kersies, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is vsually sold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for 14. ducats. You must take canuas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of Buffe hides.

The voiage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1584. with *a ship called the Iesus, wherein the aduentures and distresses of some Englishmen are truly reported, and other necessarie circumstances obserued.* Written by Thomas Sanders.

This voiage was set foorth by the right worshipfull, sir Edward Osburne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Stapers, the ship being of the burthen of one hundred tunne, called the Iesus, she was builded at Farmne a riuer by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomson, Nicholas Carnabie, and Iohn Gilman. The master (vnder God) was one Zacheus Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthony Ierado a French man, of the prouince of Massils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners sonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings, a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs seruant vnto the said master Stapers. The owners were bound vnto the merchants by charter partie thereupon, in one thousand markes, that the sayd ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portesmouth to Newhauen in Normandie, from thence to S. Lukar, otherwise called S. Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the East part of Affrica, & so to returne vnto London. But here ought euery man to note and consider the workes of our God that (many times) what man doth determine, God doth disappoint. The said master hauing some occasion to go to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of wind, the boate wherein they were, was drowned, the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saued himselfe: these were the beginnings of our sorowes. After which the said masters Mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the vnwillingnesse of the masters Mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16. of October, in An. 1584. she made saile from Portesmouth, and the 18. day then next following she arriued into Newhauen, where our said last master Deimond by a surfeit died. The factors then appointed the said Andrew Dier being then masters Mate, to be their master for that voiage, who did chuse to be his Mates, the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Austine, and Shillabey, and for purser was shipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8. day of Nouember, we made saile foorthward, and by force of weather we were driuen backe againe into Portesmouth, where we refreshed our victuals and other necessaries, and then the wind came faire. About the 29. day then next following, wee departed thence, and the first day of December by meanes of a contrary winde, we were driuen to Plimmouth. The 18. day then next following, we made foorthward againe, and by force of weather we were driuen to Falmouth, where we remained vntil the first day of Ianuarie: at which time the wind cōming faire, we departed thence, & about the 20. day of the said moneth we arriued safely at S. Lucas. And about the 9. day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18. day of the same moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where wee were very well intertained by the king of that country, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himself before his commons) requested our said factors to traffique with him, and promised them that if they would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no maner of custome, and they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterward perceiuing that they might haue farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceed theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the factors bought all their oiles of the kings custome free, and so laded the same aboord.

Man doeth purpose, and God doth dispose.

A new master chosen.

The new master died.

The Iesus arriued in Tripolis.

In

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenſon, in a ſhippe of Briſtow, who together with our ſaid Factors tooke a houſe to themſelues there. Our French Factor Romaine Sonnings deſired to buy a commoditie in the market, and wanting money, deſired the ſaid Miles Dickenſon to lende him an hundred Chikinoes vntill hee came to his lodging, which hee did, and afterward the ſame Sonnings metre with Miles Dickenſon in the ſtreete, and deliuered him money bound vp in a napkin: ſaying, maſter Dickenſon there is the money that I borowed of you, and ſo thanked him for the ſame: hee doubted nothing leſſe then falſhoode, which is ſeldome knowen among marchants, and ſpecially being together in one houſe, and is the more deteſtable betweene Chriſtians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The ſaid Dickenſon did not tell the money preſently, vntill hee came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that euery Chikinoe is worth ſeuen ſhillings of Engliſh money, he came to the ſaide Romaine Sonnings and deliuered him his handkerchiefe, and aſked him howe many Chikinoes hee had deliuered him? Sonnings anſwered, an hundred: Dickenſon ſaid no: and ſo they proteſted and ſwore on both partes. But in the ende the ſaid Romaine Sonnings did ſweare deepely with deteſtable othes and curſes, and prayed God that hee might ſhewe his workes on him, that other might take enſample thereby, and that hee might be hanged like a dogge, and neuer come into England againe, if hee did not deliuer vnto the ſaide Dickenſon an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blaſphemers, curſers and ſwearers, howe God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it commeth to paſſe, that God ſheweth his miracles vpon ſuch monſtrous blaſphemers, to the enſample of others, as nowe hereafter you ſhall here what befell to this Romaine Sonnings.

Another ſhip of Briſtowe came to Tripolis.

There was a man in the ſaid towne a pledge, whoſe name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings ſome pleaſure there. The foreſaide Patrone Norado was indebted vnto a Turke of that towne, in the ſumme of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certaine goods ſent by him into Chriſtendome in a ſhippe of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himſelfe remained in Tripolis as pledge, vntill his ſaide brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arriual into Chriſtendome, hee came among lewde companie, and loſt his brothers ſaid ſhippe and goods at dice, and neuer returned vnto him againe.

A conſpiracie practiſed by the French Factor, to deſtroine a Turkiſh marchant of 450. crownes.

The ſaide Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding nowe opportunitie, conſulted with the ſaide Sonnings for to ſwimme a ſeaboorde the Iſlands, and the ſhippe being then out of danger, ſhould take him in, (as after was confeſſed) and ſo to goe to Tallowne in the prouince of Marſilis, with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in the reſt of his lading.

The ſhippe being readie the firſt day of May, and hauing her ſailes all aboarde, our ſayde Factors did take their leaue of the King, who very courteouſly bidde them fare well, and when they came aboorde, they commaunded the Maſter and the companie haſtely to get out the ſhippe: the Maſter anſwered that it was vnpoſſible, for that the winde was contrary and ouerblowen. And he required vs vpon forfeiture of our handes, that wee ſhould doe our indeuoure to get her forth. Then went wee to warpe out the ſhippe, and preſently the king ſent a boate aboorde of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the ſaide Sonnings to come a ſhoare: at whoſe comming, the king demaunded of him cuſtome for the ayles: Sonnings anſwered him that his highneſſe had promiſed to deliuer them cuſtome free. But notwithſtanding the king weighed not his ſaide promiſe, and as an infidel that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a King, hee cauſed the ſaide Sonnings to pay the cuſtome to the vttermoſt penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haſte away, ſaying, that the Ianizaries woulde haue the ayle aboare againe.

These Ianizaries are ſouldiers there vnder the great Turke, and their power is aboue the Kings. And ſo the ſaide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterſide, and called for a boate to come a boorde, and hee brought with him the foreſaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquiſitiue to know what man that was, Sonnings anſwered, that he was his countreyman, a paſſenger: I pray God ſaue the companie, that wee come not into trouble by this man. Then ſaid Sonnings angerly, what haue you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwiſe then well, I muſt anſwere for all.

The beginning of their troubles, and occaſion of all their miſerie.

Now the Turke vnto whome this Patrone Norado was indebted, miſſing him, (ſuppoſed him to bee aboorde of our ſhippe,) preſently went vnto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboorde of the Engliſh ſhippe, whereupon the King preſently ſent a boate aboorde of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the ſaid Sonnings to come a ſhoare, and not ſpeaking any thing at all touching the man, hee ſaide that hee would come preſently in his owne boate, but alſoone as they were gone, he willed vs to warpe forth the

shippe, and said that he would see the knaues hanged before hee would goe a shoare. And when the king saw that hee came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next vnto vs, to shoote three shooters without ball. Then we came all to the saide Sonnings, and asked of him what the matter was that we were shot at, he saide that it was the Ianizaries who would haue the oyle a shoare againe, and willed vs to make haste away, and after that hee had discharged three shottes without ball, hee commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indeuoure to sinke vs, but the Turkish gunners could not once strike vs, wherefore the king sent presently to the Bania: (this Bania is the prison whereas all the captiues lay at night) and promised if that there were any that could either sinke vs, or els cause vs to come in againe, he should haue a hundred crownes and his libertie. With that came

A Spanish captiue shot at vs, and made the ship to perish.

forth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an olde seruitour in Flanders, and hee said, that vpon the performance of that promise, hee would vndertake either to sinke vs, or to cause vs to come in againe, and thereto hee would gage his life, and at the first shotte hee split our rudder head in pieces, and the second shotte he strake vs vnder the water, and the third shotte he shotte vs through our foremaste with a Couering shotte, and thus hee hauing rent both our rudder and maste, and shotte vs vnder water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his libertie, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the saide king, but after his seruice done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that a Turke or infidel hath of his word, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our marchants seeing no remedie, they together with fiue of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting, they shotte vnto vs in the whole, nine and thirtie shoots, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the king commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be cheined foure and foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently aboue an hundred Turkes aboorde of vs, and they searched vs, and stripe our very clothes from our backes, and brake open our chests, and made a spoyle of all that we had: and the Christian captiues likewise that came a boorde of vs, made spoile of our goods, and vsed vs as ill as the Turkes did. And our masters mate hauing a Geneua Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I hauing the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that sith it was the will of God that wee should fall into their handes, yet that they should graunt vs to vse our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to vse theirs, and he graunted vs: then I tolde him that the master gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliuer vp the Bible againe, which he did: and within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe,

A Turke tooke a Geneua Bible for his share of the spoile.

and I shewed the Treasourer of it, and presently hee commaunded him to deliuer it againe: saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christiantie againe? for hee was a Renegado, which is one that first was a Christian, & afterwards becometh a Turke, and so hee deliuered me the Bible the second time. And then I hauing it in my hand, the gunner came to mee, and spake these words, saying, thou dogge, I wil haue the booke in despighe of thee, and tooke it from me, saying: If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will bee reuenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the third time vnto the kings Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus vnto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou shalt haue an hundred bastenadoes. And forthwith he deliuered mee the booke, saying, he had not the value of a pinne of the spoile of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall heare: for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a penniworth of our goods from vs, but perished both bodie and goods within seuenteene moneths following, as hereafter shall plainly appeare.

All that had share of the spoile (shortly after) by Gods iudgement died.

Then came the Guardian Basha which is the keeper of the kings captiues, to fetch vs all a shoare, and then I remembring the miserable estate of poore distressed captiues, in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a iarre of oyle, and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with mee, but before I came to the Bania, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliuer mee the iarre of oyle, and when thou comest to the Bania thou shalt haue it againe, but I neuer had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Bania, and saw our marchants and all the rest of our companie in chaines, and we all readie to receiue the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but would

would haue pitied our cauſe, hearing or ſeeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt vs: all this happened the firſt of May, 1584.

The Engliſhmen arraigned.

And the ſeconde day of the ſame moneth, the king with all his counſell ſate in iudgement vpon vs. The firſt that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Maſters, and the king aſked them wherefore they came not a ſhoare when he ſent for them. And Romaine Sonnings anſwered, that though hee were king on ſhoare, and maiſter commaunder there, ſo was he at his ſhippe that were vnder him: and therefore ſaid, if any offence be, the fault is wholy in my life, and none other. Then forthwith the king gaue iudgement, that the ſaid Roomine Sonnings ſhould be hanged ouer the Weſtcreeke Bulwarke, from whence he conueyed the ſaynamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Maſter Andrew Dier, and vſed ſome words to him, and ſo condemned him to be hanged ouer the walles of the Weſtcreeke bulwarke.

Then fell one other Factor (named Richard Skegs) vpon his knees before the king, and ſaide, I beſeech your highneſſe either to pardon our Maſter, or elſe ſuffer me to die for him, for hee is ignorant of this cauſe. And then the people of that countrey, ſauouring the ſaid Richard Skegs, beſought the king to pardon them both. So then the king ſpake theſe words: Behold, for thy ſake, I pardon the Maſter. Then preſently the Turkes ſhouted, and cried, ſaying: Away with the Maſter from the preſence of the king. And then he came into the Bania whereas we were, and told vs what had happened, and wee all reioyced at the good happe of maiſter Skegs, that hee was ſaued, and our Maſter for his ſake.

Maſter Dier condemned to be hanged ouer a bulwarke.

But afterward our ioy was turned to double ſorow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counſell had abuſed him, that vnleſſe the Maſter died alſo, by the lawe they could not confiſcate the ſhippe nor goods, neither captiue any of the men: whereupon the king ſent for our Maſter againe, and gaue him another iudgement after his pardon for one cauſe, which was that he ſhould bee hanged. Here all true Chriſtians may ſee what truſt a Chriſtian man may put in an infidels promiſe, who being a King, pardoned a man twice, as you haue heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the ſame cauſe before a whole multitude: and alſo promiſed our Factors their olles cuſtome free, and at their going away made them pay the vttermoſt penie for the cuſtome thereof.

A Frenchman turned Turke, to ſaue his life, and afterward was hanged.

And when that Romaine Sonnings ſaw no remedie but that he muſt die, he proceeded to turne Turke, hoping thereby to haue ſaued his life. Then ſaide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, ſpeake the words that thereunto belong: and he did ſo. Then ſaid they vnto him, Now thou ſhalt die in the faith of a Turke, and ſo hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing, hee then was condemned ſlaue perpetuall, except there were paiment made of the foreſaid ſumme of money.

Then the king condemned all vs, who were in number fiue and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you haue heard) and one died the firſt day we came on ſhoare, by the viſitation of Almighty God: and the other three and twentie he condemned ſlaues perpetually vnto the great Turke, and the ſhippe and goods were confiſcated to the vſe of the great Turke: and then wee all fell downe vpon our knees, giuing God thankes for this ſorowfull viſitation, and giuing our ſelues wholy to the Almighty power of God, vnto whome all ſecrets are known, that hee of his goodneſſe would vouchſafe to looke vpon vs.

Here may all true Chriſtian hearts ſee the wonderfull workes of God ſhewed vpon ſuch infidels, blaſphemers, whoremaſters, and runnagate Chriſtians, and ſo you ſhall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like vpon the vnfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the ſaid goods.

Euery ſlaue men allowed but three pence of bread a day.

But firſt to ſhewe our miſerable bondage and ſlauerie, and vnto what ſmall pittance and allowance wee were tied, for euery fiue men had allowance but fiue aſpers of bread in a day, which is but two pence Engliſh: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boords, with a very ſimple cape to couer vs, wee were alſo ſhauen very neerely and moſt vilderly ſhauen, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and fiue more of my fellowes together, hadde foure ſore Italians and Spaniards, were ſent ſoorth in a Galeat to take a Greekiſh Carmoſel, which came into Arabia to ſteale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis into that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but we were chained three and three to an oare, and was to wed naked about the girdle, and the Boteſwaine of the Galley walked about the maſte, and his Mate about the maſte, and eche of them a bulls pizzle in their handes, and when their fooliſh choller rose, they would ſtrike the Chriſtians for no cauſe: And they allowed vs but halfe a pounde of bread a man a day without any other kinde of ſuſtenance, water excepted. And when wee came to the place where as we ſhould take the Carmoſell, we were not ſuffered to haue any more victuals, bookes, knife,

or any other instrument about vs, nor at any other time in the night, vpon paine of one hundred stinadoes: we were then also cruelly manackled in such sorte, that we could not put our handes the length of one foot a sunder the one from the other, and euery night they searched our chaines their times, to see if they were fast rivetted: Wee continued fight with the Carmosalli three houres, and then we tooke it, & lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes fiue, and 14. were cruelly hurt, and they that were found, were presently made slaues, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then we were put to all maner of slauerie. I was put to hewe stones, and other to carie stones, and some to drawe the Cart with earth, and some to make morter, and some to drawe stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of slauerie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the bul bondmen of the countrey, rebelled against the king, because he would haue constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the souldiours of Tripolis marched fourth of the towne to haue burned bastell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the king sent with them foure pieces of ordinance, which were drawen by the captiues twentie miles into the countrey after them, and as the fight thereof the Moores fled, and then the captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians more, were sent twelue mile into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

The Turkes builded a church.

The Christians sent 3. times a weeke 30. miles to fetch wood.

Nowe the king had 18. captiues, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne, and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and we departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and vpon the way as wee rode vpon the camels, I demaunded of one of our companie, who did direct vs the way? hee saide, that there was a Moore in our companie which was our guide, and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other? and he said, East Northeast, and West Southwest. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding vpon my camel, I fell asleepe, and the guide and all the rest rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awooke, and finding my selfe alone, durst not call nor hallow, for feare least the wilde Moores should heare mee, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they doe God good seruice: and musing with my selfe what were best for me to doe, if I should goe fourth, and the wilde Moores should happe to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or companie, I should be most miserablie vsed therefore: of two euils, rather I had to goe fourth to the losing of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to bee vsed as before I had seene others: for vnderstanding by some of my companie before, how Tripolis and the said wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went fourth at aduenture, and as God would haue it, I came right to the place where they were, euen about an houre before day: there altogether we rested and gaue our camels prouender, and alloone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the sand, it caused me to maruell how so many camels should be loden in that place. The wood was Iuniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it vp by strength of hands rootes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a little at one place and so at another, & laded our camels, & came home about seuen of the clocke that night following: because I fell lame and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

Eighteene captiues run away from Tripolis.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seuenteene captiues more of his companie, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Iland called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, & very faire weather, one of their companie said, In dispetto de dio adesso venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say: In the despite of God I shall nowe fetche the shoare, and presently there arose a mightie storme, with thunder and raine, and the winde at North, their boate being very small, so that they were inforced to beare vp roome, & to sheare right afore the winde ouer against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and riuing vp and downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced though the want of food to come ashoare, thinking to haue stolne some sheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily (perceiuing their intent) gathered together a three score horsemen, and hid themselues behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past vp halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had before escaped: and presently the king commaunded that the foresaide Benedetto with one more of his companie should lose their eares, and the rest to be most cruelly beaten, which was

The iudgement of God vpon blasphemers.

presently

presently done. This king had a sonne which was a ruler in an Iland called Gerbi, whereunto arriued an English ship called the Greene Dragon, of the which was maister one M. Blonket, who hauing a very vnhappie boy in that shippe, and vnderstanding that wholesomer would turne Turke should be well entertained of the kings sonne, this boy did runne a shoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings sonne came to Tripolis to visit his father, and seeing our companie, he greatly fancied Richard Burges our purser, and Iames Smith: they were both yong men, therfore he was very desirous to haue them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his desire, saying, we are your fathers slaues, and as slaues wee will serue him. Then his father the king sent for them, and asked them if they would turne Turke? and they saide: If it please your highnes, Christians we were borne, and so we will remaine, & beseeched the king that they might not be inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his house, a sonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings sonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was Iohn Nelson: him the king caused to be brought to these yong men, and then said vnto them: will not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as he is? and they said, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings sonne went home to Gerbi againe, being fiue score miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foresaide yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and Iames Smith: and after their departure from vs, they sent vs a letter, signifying that there was no violence shewed vnto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently vsed, for that the kings sonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? then answered Richard Burges, a Christian I am, and so I will remaine. Then the kings sonne very angerly saide vnto him: by Mahomet thou shalt presently bee made Turke. Then called hee for his men, and commaunded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circumcised him, and would haue had him speake the wordes that thereunto belonged. But he answered them stoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet said he, a Christian I was borne, and so I will remaine, though you force mee to doe otherwise.

The kings sonne had a captiue that was sonne to one of the Queenes maiesties guard, that was forced to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commanded him to be made Turke perforce also: but hee was very strong, for it was so much as eight of the kings sonnes men could doe to holde him, so in the ende they circumcised him, and made him Turke. Now to passe ouer a litle, and to shewe the maner of our deliuerance out of that miserable captiuitie.

In May aforesaid, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into Englande vnto my father, dwelling in Eauistoke in Deuonshire, signifying vnto him the whole estate of our calamities: and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Embassadour, both which letters were faithfully deliuered. But when my father had receiued my letter, and vnderstood the trueth of our mishap, and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honorable the earle of Bedford therof, who in short space acquainted her highnes with the whole cause thereof, & her maiestie like a most mercifull princesse, tendring her subiects, presently tooke order for our deliuerance. Whereupon the right worshipful sir Edward Osburne knight, directed his letters with all speede to the English Embassadour in Constantinople, to procure our deliuerie: and he obteined the great Turkes commission, and sent it forthwith to Tripolis, by one maister Edward Barton, together with a Iustice of the great Turkes, and one souldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpreter, which could speake besides Greeke, Turkish, Italian, Spanish and English. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well intertained. And the first night they did lie in a raptaines house in the towne: all our companie that were in Tripolis, came that night for ioy to maister Barton and the other commissioners to see them. Then maister Barton said vnto vs, welcome my good countreymen, and louingly intertained vs, and at our departure from him, he gaue vs two shillings, and saide, serue God, for to morrowe I hope you shall be as free as euer you were. We all gaue him thankes and so departed.

The first motion for those Englishmens deliuerie.

The next day in the morning very early, the king hauing intelligence of their comming, sent worde to the keeper, that none of the Englishmen (meaning our companie) should goe to worke. Then hee sent for maister Barton and the other commissioners, and demaunded of the saide maister Barton his message: the Iustice answered, that the great Turke his Soueraigne had sent them vnto him, signifying that hee was informed that a certaine English shippe called the Iesus, was by him the said king confiscated, about twelue moneths since, and nowe my saide Soueraigne hath here sent his especiall commission by vs vnto you, for the deliuerance of the said ship and goods, and also the free liberte & deliuerance of the Englishmen of the same shippe, whome you haue taken and kept in captiuitie. And further the same Iustice saide, I am authorized by my saide Soueraigne the great Turke to see it done: And therefore I commaunde you by

vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premisses or the value thereof, and so did the Justices deliuer vnto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaide, which commission the King with all obedience receiued: and after the perusing of the same, hee forthwith commaunded all the English captiues to bee brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our irons, which done, the King saide, You Englishmen, for that you did offende the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefore some of your companie were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to be perpetuall captiues during your liues: notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my soueraigne lorde the great Turke to pardon your saide offences, and to giue you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make deliuery of you to this English Gentleman: so hee deliuered vs all that were there, being thirteene in number, to master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliuer them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ship and goods, the king saide, that he had solde her, but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came vnto his handes, and so the King arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Iewe to goe with master Barton and the other commissioners, to shewe them their lodging, which was a house prouided and appointed them by the saide king. And because I had the Italian and Spanish tongues, by which their most traffique in that countrey is, Master Barton made mee his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his companie, and deliuered mee money needefull for the same. Thus were we set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The Englishmen released.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almightie God at his will and pleasure sendeth vpon men in the sight of the worlde, and likewise of the plagues that befell his children and others aforesaid. First when we were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the King had 300. captiues, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our companie, of whome two were hanged, and one died the same day that we were made bondslaues, that present moneth there died 9. more of our companie of the plague, & other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed: and on the 4. day of June next following, the king lost 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wild Moores: and on the 28. day of the said moneth of June, one Geffrey Maltees, a renegado of Malta, ran away to his countrey, & stole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Christians withal, & caried with him 12. Christians more which were the kings captiues. Afterward about the 10. day of July next following, the king road forth vpon the greatest & fairest mare that might be seen, as white as any swan: he had not ridden 40. paces frō his house, but on a suddein the same mare fell downe vnder him starke dead, & I with 6. more were commanded to burie her skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliuerie, Master Barton, with all the residue of his companie, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arriuall at Zante, wee remained 15. daies there, aboord our vessell, before wee could haue Platego (that is, leaue to come a shoare) because the plague was in that place, from whence we came: and about three daies after, we came a shoare, thether came another Settea of Marsills bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shippe themselues as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of vs that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, shipt our selues in a shippe of the said Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the souldiers of Tripolie killed the said king. And then the kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender vp all his fathers treasure, goods, captiues, and concubines, vnto the Great Turke, and tooke with him our said Purser, Richard Burges, and Iames Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforesaid. And they the said Englishmen, finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captiues, which were going with them vnto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboord of the Galley, and priuily the said Englishmen conueied vnto the said Christian captiues, weapons for that purpose. And when they came into the maine sea, toward Constantinople (vpon the faithfull promise of the said Christian captiues) these foure Englishmen kept suddenly into the Crosia, that is, into the middest of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their swords drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the saide Christian captiues, who falsly brake their promises, the said Master Blonkets boy was killed, and the saide Iames Smith, and our Purser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arriuall in Constantinople: and at the Lopes will was, about two daies after, passing

The plagues and punishments that happened to the king and his people.

The king lost 150. Camels, taken by the wild Moores.

Two Englishmen shipped to Constantinople with M. Barton.

The souldiers of Tripolie kill the king.

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miſſion to the effect aforeſaide,
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eſore him, and then willed the
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with him. Then the king ar-
were turned Turkes: and tou-
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King aroſe and went to dinner,
commiſſioners, to the we them
the ſaide king. And becauſe I
that countrey is, Maſter Bar-
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Aprill, 1585.
Almightie God at his will and
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paſſing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Iſland called Cephalonia, they met with 2. of ye Duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings ſonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number, 150. and they ſaued the Chriſtian captiues, and would haue killed the two Engliſhmen, becauſe they were circumciſed, and become Turkes, had not the other Chriſtian captiues excuſed them, ſaying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings ſonne, & ſhewed the Venetians alſo, how they did enterpriſe at ſea to fight againſt all the Turkes, and that their two fellowes were ſlaine in that fight. Then the Venetians ſaued them, and they, with all the reſidue of the ſaid captiues, had their libertie, which were in number, 150. of whereabouts, and the ſaid Gallie, and all the Turkes treaſure, was confiſcated to the vſe of the ſtate of Venice, and from thence our two Engliſhmen trauelled homeward by land, and in this meane time, wee had one more of our companie, which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight ſhipped themſelues at Zante, in a ſhippe of the ſaide Marcus Segoorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arriued the Aſſention, and the George Bonauenture of London, in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogoſtoria, whoſe marchantes agreed with the marchants of our ſhippe, and ſo laded all the marchandiſe of our ſhippe into the ſaid ſhips of London, who tooke vs eight alſo in as paſſengers, and ſo we came home, and within two moneths after our arriuall at London, our ſaid Purſer Richard Burges, and his fellow, came home alſo, for the which we are bound to praiſe Almightie God, during our liues, & as dutie bindeth vs, to pray for the preſeruation of our moſt gratious Queene, for the great care her Maieſtie had ouer vs, her poore ſubiects, in ſeeking and procuring of our deliuerance aforeſaid: and alſo for her honorable priuie Councell, and eſpeciall for the proſperitie and good eſtate of the houſe of the late deceaſed, the right honorable the Earle of Bedford, whoſe honor I muſt confeſſe, moſt diligently at the ſuite of my father now departed, trauelled herein: for the which I reſt continually bounden to his, whoſe ſoule I doubt not, but is already in the heauens in ioy, with the Almightie, vnto which place he vouchſafe to bring vs all, that for our ſinnes ſuffered moſt vile and ſhamefull death vpon the Croſſe, there to liue perpetually world without end, Amen.

Two gallies of Venice tooke the king of Tripolie his galley, and killed the kings ſonne, and all the Turkes in it, and releaſed all the Chriſtians being in number 150.

The Queenes letters to the Turke, 1584. for the reſtitution of *the ſhippe, called the Ieſus, and the Engliſh captiues detained in Tripo-* lie in Barbarie, and for certaine other priſoners in Argiers.

ELizabetha, Dei ter maximi & vnici cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Chriſtianæ contra omnes omnium inter Chriſtianos degentium, Chriſtique nomen falsò profitentium idololatrias, inuictiſſima & potentiſsima defenſatrix auguſtiſsimo, inuictiſsimoque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Muſulmanici regni dominatori potentiſsimo, imperijque Orientis Monarchæ, ſupra omnes ſoli & ſupremo ſalutem, & multos cum ſummâ rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices & fortunatos annos.

Auguſtiſsime & potentiſsime Imperator, biennio iam peracto, ad Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatē ſcripſimus, vt dilectus noſter famulus Gulielmus Harebronus, vir ornatiſsimus pro legato noſtro Conſtantinopoli, alijſque Muſulmanici imperij dynonibus, ſublimi veſtra auctoritate recipereтur: ſimul etiam Angli ſubditi noſtri commercium & mercaturam, in omnibus illis prouinciis exerceant, non minus liberè, quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti, Germani, cæteríque veſtri confœderati, qui varias Orientis partes peragrant, operam nauantes, vt mutuis commerciis coniungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Quę priuilegia, cum noſtris ſubditis Anglis inuictiſsima veſtra Maieſtas literis & diplomate ſuo liberaliſsimè indulſerit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noſter capere poſſet gratias, eo nomine ageremus: ſperantes fore, vt hæc inſtituta commerciorum ratio maximas vtilitates, & commoda vtrinque, tam in imperij veſtri ditiones, quàm regni noſtri prouincias ſecum adferat.

Id vt planè fiat, cum nuper ſubditi noſtri nonnulli Tripoli in Barberia & Argellæ ab eius loci incolis voluntatem veſtram forte neſcientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter diuexati, Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem benevolè rogamus, vt per Legatum noſtrum eorum cauſam cognoſcas, & poſtremò, earum prouinciarum præfectis imperes, vt noſtri liberè in illis locis, ſine vi aut iniuria deinceps verſari, & negotia gerere poſsint.

Et nos omni opera vicisſim ſtudebimus ea omnia præſtare, quæ Imperatoriæ veſtræ Maieſtati vllo pacto grata fore intelligamus: quam Deus vnicus mundi conditor optimis maximis diuiſiſsimè incolumem & florentem ſeruet. Datæ in palatio noſtro Londini, quinto die

Menſis

Mensis Septembris: anno Iesu Christi Seruatoris nostri, 1584. Regni verò nostri vicessimo sexto.

¶ *The same in English.*

ELizabeth, by the grace of the most high God, and onely maker of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, and of the Christian faith, against all the Idolaters and false professors of the name of Christ dwelling among the Christians, most inuincible and puissant defender: to the most valiant and inuincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most mightie Ruler of the kingdome of Musulman, and of the East Empire the onely and highest Monarch aboue all, health, and many happie and fortunate yeeres, with great aboundance of the best things.

Most noble and puissant Emperour, about two yeeres now passed, we wrote vnto your Imperiall Maiestie, that our welbeloued seruant, William Harebrowne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be receaued vnder your high authoritie, for our Ambassadour in Constantinople, and other places, vnder the obedience of your Empire of Musulman: And also that the Englishmen, being our subiects, might exercise entercourse and marchandize in all those Prouinces, no lesse freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which trauell through diuerse of the East parts: endeuouring that by mutuall traffike, the East may be ioyned and knit to the West.

Which priuiledges, when as your most puissant Maiestie, by your letters and vnder your dispensation most liberally and fauourably granted to our subiects of England, we could no lesse doe, but in that respect giue you as great thankes, as our heart could conceaue, trusting that it will come to passe, that this order of traffike, so well ordained, will bring with it selfe most great profits and commodities to both sides, as well to the parties subiect to your Empire, as to the Prouinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall manner, whereas some of our subiects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of those places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleasure) euill intreated and grieuously vexed, we doe friendly and louingly desire your Imperiall Maiestie, that you will vnderstand their causes by our Ambassadour, and afterward giue commandement to the Lieutenants and Presidents of those prouinces, that our people may hencefoorth freely, without any violence, or iniurie, trauel, and doe their busines in those places.

And we againe with all endeuour, shall studie to performe all those things, which we shall in any wise vnderstand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Maiestie, which God, the onely maker of the world, most best and most great, long keepe in health, and flourishing. Giuen in our pallaice at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of Iesus Christ our sauiour, 1584, and of our raigne, the 26.

The commandement obtained of the Grand Signior by her *Maiesties Ambassadour, for the quiet passing of her subiects to, & from* his dominions, sent in Anno 1584. to the Viceroys of Argier, Tunes, and Tripolis in Barbarie.

TO our Beglerbege of Argier. We certifie thee, by this our commandement, that the right honorable, William Harebrowne, Ambassadour to the Queenes Maiestie of England, hath signified vnto vs, that the shippes of that Countrey, in their comming, and returning to and from our Empire, one the one part of the seas haue the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians, and Malteses, on the other part our Countries, committed to your charge, which abouesayd Christians, will not quietly suffer their egresse and regresse into, and out of our dominions, but doe take, and make the men captiues, and forfeit the ships, and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that ende, doe continually lie in waight for them, to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defense, at any suchtimes as they might meete with them: wherefore considering by this meanes they must stand vpon their gard, when they shall see any galley a farre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies, and not knowing them, in their defense they doe shoote at them, and yet after, when they do certainely knowe them, doe not shoote any more, but require to passe peaceably on their voyage, which you woulde deuie, saying, the peace is broken, for that you haue shotte at vs, and so doe make prise of them, contrarye to our priuiledges, and agaynst reason: for the preuenting of

of which inconuenience, the sayd Ambassadour hath required this our commandement. We therefore command thee, that vpon sight hereof, thou doe not permit any such matter in no sort whatsoeuer, but suffer the said English men to passe in peace, according to the tenor of our commandement giuen, without any disturbance, or let, by any meanes vpon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them a farre off, they taking them for enemies, should shoote at them, yet shall you not suffer them to hurt them therefore, but quietly to passe. Wherefore looke thou, that they may haue right, according to our priuiledge giuen them, and finding any that absenteth himselfe, and will not obey this our commaundement, presently certifie vs to our porch, that we may giue order for his punishment: and with reuerence giue faithfull credite to this our commandement, which hauing read, thou shalt againe returne it vnto them that present it. From our pallace in Constantinople, the prime of June, 1584.

The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the restitution of an English shippe, called the Iesus, with the men, and goods, sent from Constantinople, by Mahomet Beg, a Iustice of the Great Turkes, and an English Gentleman, called Master Edward Barton. Anno 1584.

HOnorable, and worthy Passa Romadan Beglerbeg, most wise and prudent iudge of the West Tripolis, we wish the ende of all thy enterprises happie, and prosperous. By these our Highnes letters, we certifie thee, that the right Honorable, William Harebrowne, Ambassadour in our most famous porche, for the most excellent Queenes Maiestie of England, in person, and by letters hath certified our Highnes, that a certaine shippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thousand duckets, arriuing in the port of Tripolis, and discharged of her lading, and marchandize, paid our custome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their shippe with oile, which by constraint they were inforced to buy of you, and hauing answered in like manner the custome for the same, determined to depart: a Frenchman assistant to the Marchant, vnknowen to the Englishmen, caried away with him another Frenchman, indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force caused the Englishmen, and shippe to depart: who neither suspecting fraude, nor deceite, hoised sailes. In the meane time, this man, whose debter the Frenchman had stollen away, went to the Passa with the supplication, by whose meanes, and force of the Castle, the Englishmen were constrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the euill, with the Master of the shippe an Englishman, innocent of the crime, were hanged, and sixe and twentie Englishmen cast into prison, of whom thorough famine, thirst, and stinke of the prison, eleuen died, and the rest like to die. Further, it was signified to our Maiestie also, that the marchandise and other goods, with the shippe, were worth 7600. duckets: which things if they be so, this is our commandement, which was granted and giuen by our Maiestie, that the English shippe, and all the marchandize, and whatsoeuer els taken away, be wholy restored, and that the Englishmen be let goe free, and suffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commandement shall come vnto thee, we straightly command, that the foresaid busines be diligently looked vnto, and discharged. And if it be so, that a Frenchman, and no Englishman, hath done this craft, and wickednes vnknowen to the Englishmen, and as author of the wickednes is punished, and that the Englishmen committed nothing against the peace and league, or their articles: also if they paid custome according to order, it is against law, custome of Countries, and their priuiledge, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their shippe, marchandize, and all their goods taken, should be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the English shippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be restored to the Englishmen: also that the men be let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: doe not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and howe this busines is dispatched, certifie vs at our most famous porche. Dated in the Citie of Constantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October, and the yeere of Iesus, 1584.

A

A letter of Maister William Harebrowne, the Englishe Ambassadour, Ligier in Constantinople to the Bassa Romadan, the Begler-beg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the restoring of an English shippe, called the Iesus, with the goods, and men, detained as slaues, 1585.

MOlto magnifico Signor,

Noi bassaua significato per diuerse lettere di quanto ha passato circa di vna nostra chiamata Iesus, sopra il quale in agimo di Ricciardo Skegs, uno de gli nostri mercanti di esso gia morto, venne un certo Francese per sopra cargo chiamato Romatio Soning, il quale per non esser ben portato secondo che douea, volendo importar seco in altri Francese debitore a certi vostri sensa pagarne, per giustitia era appiccato col patron Inglese Andre Dier, che come semplice credendosi del detto Francese senza alcuna detenzione de la sua mala vita non ritornaua, quando da vostra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto triste Francese approuiamo come cosa ben fatta. Ma al contrario, dove lei ha confiscato la detta naue e mercantia en essa, & fatto schiani li marinari, como cosa molto contraria a li priuilegy dal Gran Signor quattro anni passati concessi, & da noi confirmati di parte de la Serenissima Maiesta d'Ingilterra nostra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto Gran Signor, il quale essendo dal sopra detto a pieno informato, noi a concedunto il suo regale mandamento di restitutione, la qual mandiamo a vostra magnifica Signoria col presente portator Edoardo Barto, vostro Secretario, & Mahumed Beg, drogomano di sua porta en cossa, con altre lettere del excellentissimo Vizir, & nobilissimo capitan de mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del Gran Signor, quanto di sua Serenissima Maiesta di V.S.M. che gli huomini, ogli, naue col fornimento, danari, & tutti altri beni qualconque da lei, & per vestro ordine da gli nostri tolti siano resi a questo nostro Secretario liberamente senza scapo ho alcuno, como il Gran Signor da sua gratia noi ha concesso, specialmente per esser detti ogli comprati per ordine di sua Serenissima Maiesta, per prouision della Corte sua. Il qual non facendo, protestiamo per questa nostra al incontra di esso tutti suoi danni che possa succedere per questa cagione, come violatori di quelli, contrario a la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei, patroni nostri, como per li priuilegy che lei medesimo tra il vostro confirmato: per obseruatione de gli quali noi siamo di fermo en questa excelsa Porta. Et vostra sprendarete nel altro mondo al solo Iddio, & quà al Gran Signor questo insieme con tutto il peccato confessato da lei al incontra di tanti poueracchi, che per questa crudelta sono in parte morti, en parte vetenuti da esser en dura cattiuerio. Al contrario, piacendo lei usar questo incommodo & restarcene en gratia del Signor Iddio, & li nostri patroni, amichevolmente (come conuen a per vostro di nostra si prudente gouernatore, & fidel seruitor al patrone) adimpirete questa nostra giustissima domanda, piu poter resultarui a grand honore & commodo per la tratta di mercantia, che faremo a Ladunstre li nostri in quella vostra prouincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri, che ne lmar riscontrarete, siano, secondo che manda il Grand Signor, da vostra Signoria magnifica, quelli humanamente accolti & ricenuti. Et noi non mancheremo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occorrenza a vostra piacendo lei amicitia nostra, como desideramo. Il Signor Iddio li conceda (adimpiendo questa nostra giusta richiesta, per causar noi di piu future fatica in questo negocio, & lei di gratia) ogni vera felicita & supremo honore. Data in palazzo nostro che fu da Capamas appresso Pera di 15. di Genaro, 1585.

Edoardo Barton & Mahumed Beg.

Il Ambassiatore de la Magesta Serenissima d'Ingilterra, amico de vostra Signoria magnifica, piacendo lei.

¶ The same in English.

RIght honorable Lord, it hath bene signified unto us by diuerse letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine shippe of ours, called the Iesus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skegs, one of our marchants in the same, now deceased, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman, called Romane Sonnings, which for his ill behauiour, according to his deserts, seeking to carry away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditors, was hanged by sentence of iustice, together with Andrew Dier, the Master of the said ship, who simply, and without fraude, giuing credite to the saide Frenchman, without any knowledge of his euill fact, did not returne when he was commanded, by your honorable Lordshippe. The death of the saide lewde Frenchman, wee approoue as a thing well done, but contrariwise, whereas your Lordeshippe hath confiscated, the sayde shippe, with the goods therein, and hath made slaues of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrarie to the priuiledges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres since, and confirmed by vs on the behalfe of

of the moſt excellent, the Queenes Maieſtie of England, our Miſtres, and altogether contrarie to the league of the ſaide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the ſoreſayd cauſe, hath graunted vnto vs his royall commandement of reſtitution, which wee ſende vnto your honorable Lordſhippe, by the preſent bearer Edward Barton, our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Iuſtices of his ſtately Court, with other letters of the moſt excellent Admirall, and moſt valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honorable Lordſhip, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie my Miſtres, that the men, oiles, ſhippe, furniture, money, and all other goods whatſoeuer, by your Lordſhippe, and your order taken from our men, be reſtored vnto this my Secretarie freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodnes hath granted vnto vs, eſpecially in regard that the ſame oiles were bought by the commandement of our Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, for the prouiſion of her Court. Which if you performe not, we proteſt by theſe our letters againſt you, that you are the cauſe of all the inconueniences which may enſue vpon this occaſion, as the author thereof, contrary to the holy league ſworne by both our Princes, as by the priuiledges, which this our ſeruant will ſhewe you, may appeare. For the keeping of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this ſtately Court. And by this meanes you ſhal anſwere in another worlde, vnto God alone, and in this worlde vnto the Grand Signior, for this hainous ſinne committed by you againſt ſo many poore ſoules, which by this your crueltie are in part dead, and in part detained by you in moſt miſerable captiuitie. Contrarywiſe, if it ſhall pleaſe you to auoide this miſchiefe, and to remaine in the fauour of Almightie God, and of our Princes, you ſhall friendly fulfill this our iuſt demand (as it behoueth you to ſhewe your ſelfe a prudent Gouernour, and faithful ſeruant vnto your Lord,) & the ſame may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may vſe in that gouernment of yours: which generally, as well thoſe poore men, as all others, which you ſhall meete at the ſea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and receiued of your honorable Lordſhip, and we will not faile in the duties of a ſpeciall friend, whenſoeuer you ſhall haue occaſion to vſe vs, as we deſire. Almightie God grant vnto your Lordſhip, (in the fulfilling of this our iuſt requeſt, whereby we may be deliuered from further trouble in this matter, and your ſelfe from further diſpleaſure) all true felicitie, and increaſe of honour. Giuen in our Pallace from Capamar in Pera, the 15. of Ianuarie, 1585.

A briefe extract ſpecifying the certaine daily paiments, anſwered quarterly in time of peace, by the Grand Signior, out of his treaſurie, to the officers of his Seraglio, or Court, ſucceſsiuely in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall ſumme, as followeth.

FOr his owne diet euery day, one thouſand and one aſpers, according to a former cuſtome reteined from his anncſtors: notwithſtanding, that otherwiſe his diurnall expence is very much, and not certainly knowen, which ſumme maketh ſterling monie by the yeere, 2. thouſand, one hundred, 92. pound, three ſhillings, eight pence.

The 45. thouſand Ianiſſaries, reparted into ſundry places of his dominions, at ſixe aſpers the day, amounteth by the yeere, fiue hundreth, foure ſcore and eleuen thouſand, and three hundreth pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre ſurmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Chriſtians, from whome betweene the yeeres of ſixe and twelue, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I ſuppoſe thoſe in ſeruice may be equall in number with the Ianiſſaries aboue ſette, at three aſpers a day, one with another, which is two hundred, foure ſcore and fifteene thouſand, ſixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Baſhas, whereof the Viceroy is ſuppreme, at one thouſand aſpers the day, beſides their yeerely reuenues, amounteth ſterling by the yeere, ten thouſand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Beglerbegs, chiefe Preſidents of Greece, Hungarie, and Sclauonia, being in Europe, in Anatolia, and Carmania of Aſia, at one thouſand aſpers the day: as alſo to eighteene other gouernours of Prouinces, at fiue hundred aſpers the day, amounteth by the yeere, thirtie thouſand, ſixe hundred, and three ſcore pounds.

The Baſſa, Admirall of the Sea, one thouſand aſpers the day, two thouſand, one hundred, foure ſcore and ten thouſand pounds.

The Aga of the Ianiſſaries, Generall of the footemen, fiue hundred aſpers the day, and maketh by the yeere in ſterling monie, one thouſand, foure ſcore and fifteene pounds.

The

The Imbrahur Bassa, Master of his horse, one hundred and fiftie aspers the day, is sterling mo-nie, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Esquire vnder him, one hundred and fiftie aspers, is three hundred and eight and twentie pounds.

The Agaas of the Spahi, Capitaines of the horsemen, fiue, at one hundred and fiftie aspers to either of them, maketh sterling, one thousand, nine hundred, three score and eleuen pounds.

The Capagi Bassas hed porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aspers to each, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, one thousand, three hundred, and foureteene pounds.

The Sisinghir Bassa, Controuler of the household, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Chiaus Bassa, Captaine of the Pensioners, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and amounteth to by the yeere, in sterling money, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Capigilar Caiasi, Captaine of his barge, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, three score and two pounds, 16. shillings.

The Solach Basi, Captaine of his garde, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Giebrigi Basi, Master of the armourie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Topagi Basi, Master of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Echim Basi, Philition to his person, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

To fortie Philitions vnder him, to each fortie aspers, is three thousand, eight hundred, three score and sixe pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Mustafaracas speare men, attending on his person, in number fiue hundred, to either three score aspers, and maketh sterling, three score and fiue thousand, and seuen hundred pounds.

The Cisingeri, gentlemen, attending vpon his diet, fortie, at fortie aspers each of them, and a-mounteth to sterling by the yeere, three thousand, fiue hundred and foure pounds.

The Chiausi Pensioners, foure hundred and fortie, at thirtie aspers, twentie eight thousand, nine hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and Citie, foure hundred, at eight aspers, and maketh ster-ling money by the yeere, seuen thousand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his garde, three hundreth and twentie, at nine aspers, and commeth vn-to in English monie, the summe of sixe thousand, three hundred and sixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the Citie, ten thousand, at twentie fiue aspers, and maketh of English money, fiue hundred, fortie and seuen thousand, and fiue hundred pounds.

The Ianissaries sixteene thousand, at six aspers, is two hundred and ten thousand, and two hun-dred and fortie pounds.

The Giebegi furbushers of armour, one thousand, fiue hundred, at sixe aspers, and amounteth to sterling money, nineteene thousand, seuen hundred, and foure score pounds.

The Seiesir, seruitors in his Esquier or stable, fiue hundred, at two aspers, and maketh sterling money, two thousand, one hundred, foure score and ten pounds.

The Saesi, Sadlers and bit makers, fiue hundred, at seuen aspers, seuen thousand, sixe hundred, three score and fiue pounds.

The Catergi, Cariers vpon Mules, two hundred, at fiue aspers, two thousand, one hundred, foure score and ten pounds.

The Ginegi, Cariers vpon Camels, one thousand, fiue hundred, at eight aspers, and amount-eth in sterling money, to twentie sixe thousand, two hundred, and foure score pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aspers, and amounteth in English money by the yeere, the summe of sixe thousand, fiue hundred, three score and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Master of the said Gallies, three hundred, at seuen aspers, foure thousand, fiue hundred, foure score and nineteene pounds.

The Getti, Boatswaines thereof, three hundred, at sixe aspers, is three thousand, nine hun-dred, fortie and two pounds.

The Oda Basi, Pursers, three hundred, at fiue aspers, maketh three thousand, two hundred, and foure score pounds.

The

The Azappi ſouldiers two thouſand ſix hundred at foure Aſpers, whereof the ſixe hundred doe continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thouſand, ſeuen hundred ſome ſcore and ſixpound.

The Mariers Baſſi maſters ouer the ſhipwrights and kalkers of the munie, nine, at 20. Aſpers the peece, amounteth to three thouſand foure ſcore and foure pound, foure ſhillings.

The Maſter Daſſi ſhipwrights and kalkers, one thouſand at fourteen Aſpers, and amounteth to by the yeere, thirtie thouſand, ſixe hundred three ſcore pound.

Summa totalis of daily paiments, amounteth by the yeere ſterling, one million, nine hundreth threeſcore eight thouſand, ſeuen hundred thirtie fiue pounds, nineteene ſhillings eight pence, anſwered quarterly without default, with the ſumme of foure hundred foure ſcore twelue thouſand, one hundred foure ſcore and foure pounds foure ſhillings eleuen pence, and is for euery day fiue thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and thirteene pounds, fifteene ſhillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands neuer improoued fiue times more in value *then their ſummes mentioned, giuen by the ſayd Grand* Signior, as followeth.

TO the Uiceroy for his Timar or annuitie, 60. thouſand gold ducats.
To the ſecond Baſſa for his annuitie, 50. thouſand ducats.
To the third Baſſa for his annuitie, 40. thouſand ducats.
To the fourth Baſſa for his annuitie, 30. thouſand ducats.
To the fifth Baſſa for his annuitie, 20. thouſand ducats.
To the captaine of the Ianiſſaries, 20. thouſand ducats.
To the Ieu Merhorbaſſi maſter of his horſe, 15. thouſand ducats.
To the captaine of the penſioners, 10. thouſand ducats.
To the Captaine of his guard, 5. thouſand ducats.

Summa totalis, 90. thouſand li. ſterling.

Beſide theſe aboue ſpecified, be ſundrie other annuities giuen to diuers others of his aforeſayd officers, as alſo to certaine called Sahims, diminiſhing from three thouſand to two hundreth ducats, eſteemed treble to ſurmount the annuitie aboueſayd.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

THe Uiceroy is high Treaſurer, notwithſtanding that vnder him be three Subtreaſurers called Teſtaders, which be accountable to him of the receits out of Europe, Aſia and Affrica, ſaue their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The lord Chancellor is called Niſſangi Baſſa, who ſealeth with a certaine proper character ſuch licences, ſafe conducts, paſſeportes, eſpeciall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithſtanding all letters to forren princes ſo firmed, be after incloſed in a bagge, and ſealed by the Grand Signior, with a ſignet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to haue bene of ancient appertaining to king Salomon the wiſe.

The Admiral giueth his voyce in the election of all Begies, captaines of Iſlands, to whom hee giueth their charge, as alſo appointeth the Subbaſſas, Bailies or Conſtables ouer cities & townes vpon the Sea coaſtes about Conſtantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof he reapeth great profite.

The Subbaſſi of Pera paieth him yeerely fifteene thouſand ducats, and ſo likewiſe either of the others according as they are placed.

The Reſſiſtop ſerueth in office to the Uiceroy and Chancellor, as Secretarie, and ſo likewiſe both the Cogy 9. of the Rolls, before which two, paſſe all writings preſented to, or granted by the ſaid Uiceroy and Chancellor, offices of eſpeciall credite and like profite, moreouer rewarded with annuities of lands.

There be alſo two chiefe iudges named Ladies Liſguire, the one ouer Europe, and the other ouer Aſia and Affrica, which in court do ſit on the bench at the left hand of the Baſſas. Theſe ſell all offices to the vnder iudges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in euery citie or towne, before whom all matters in controuerſie are by iudgement decided, as alſo penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed vpon the offenders by the Subbaſſi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending vpon the Begler-begs the Gouernours of Prouinces and Sangiacks, and their petie Captains maintained of these Prouinces.

The Beglerbegs of
- Græcia, foztie thousand.
- Buda, fifteene thousand.
- Sclauonia, fifteene thousand.
- Anatolia, fifteene thousand.
- Caramania, fifteenethousand.
- Armenia, eighteene thousand.
- Persia, twentie thousand.
- Vsdrum, fifteene thousand.
- Chirusta, fifteene thousand.
- Caraemiti, thirtie thousand.
- Giersul, two and thirtie thousand.

persons.

The Beglerbegs of
- Bagdat, fiue and twentie thousand.
- Bassara, two and twentie thousand.
- Lassaija, seuenteene thousand.
- Aleppo, fiue and twentie thousand.
- Damasco, seuenteene thousand.
- Cairo, twelue thousand.
- Abes, twelue thousand.
- Meca, eight thousand.
- Cyprus, eighteene thousand.
- Tunes in Barbarie, eight thousand.
- Tripolis in Syria, eight thousand.
- Algier, foztie thousand.

persons.

Whose Sangiacks and petie captaines bee three hundred sixtie eight, euery of which retaining continually in pay from fiue hundreth, to two hundreth souldiers, may be one with another at the least, three hundreth thousand persons.

Chiefe officers in his *Serraglio* about his persons, be these.

- Capiaga, High porter.
- Alnader Bassi, Thesurer.
- Oda Bassi, Chamberlaine.
- Killergi Bassi, Steward.
- Saraiaga, Comptroller.
- Peskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
- Edostoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
- Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
- Choataraga, he that carieth his riding cloke.
- Ebietaraga, Groome of the stoole.

There be many other meaner officers, which I esteeme superfluous to write.

The Turkes yeerely reuenue.

The Grand Signiors annual reuenue is said to be 14. millions and an halfe of golden duats, which is sterling fiue millions, eight score thousand pounds.

The tribute paid by the Chistians his subiects, is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of euery head, which may amount vnto not so little as one million of golden ducats, which is sterling three hundred three score thousand pound.

Moreouer, in time of warre he exacteth manifold summes for maintenance of his armie and nauie of the sayd Chistians.

The Emperor paieth him yeerely tribute for Hungarie, three score thousand dollers, which is sterling 13. thousand pound, besides presents to the Viceroy and Bassas, which are said to surmount twentie thousand dollers.

Ambas-

Ambassadors allowances.

The ambassadour of the Emperor is allowed one thousand Aspers the day.

The ambassadour of the French king heretofore enioied the like: but of late yeeres by means of displeasure conceiued by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to sixe crownes the day, besides the prouision of his Esquier of stable.

The ambassadour of Poland, and for the state of Venice are not Lidgers as these two aboue said. The said Polack is allowed twelue French crownes the day, during his abode, which may be for a moneth. Very seldome doe the state of Venice send any ambassadour otherwise, then enforced of vrgent necessitie: but in stead thereof keepe there their Agent, president ouer their merchants, of thē termed a Bailie, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port & state is in maner as magnificall as ẏ other aforesaid ambassadors. The Spanish ambassadour was equall with others in Ianissaries: but for so much as he would not according to custome follow the list of other ambassadors in making present to the Grand Signor, he had none allowance. His abode there was 3. yeeres, at the end wherof hauing concluded a truce for 6. yeeres, taking place from his first comming in Nouember last past, 158. he was neuer admitted to ẏ presence of the Grand signior.

A letter written from the Queenes maiestie, to *Yeladin el Kubar* king of Cambaia, by Iohn Newberie. In February. An. 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, &c. To the most inuincible, and most mightie prince, lord Yeladin el Kubar king of Cambaya. Inuincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our subiects haue, to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of merchandize of all nations whatsoeuer they can, by which meanes the mutuall and friendly traffique of merchandize on both sides may come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newberie, iointly with those that bee in his company, with a curteous and honest boldnes, doe repaire to the borders and countries of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperiall maiestie through your roiall grace, will fauourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make vs greatly beholding to your maiestie. We should more earnestly, & with more words require it if we did thinke it needfull. But by the singular report that is of your imperiall maiesties humanitie in these vttermost partes of the world, we are greatly easied of that burden, and therefore we vse the fewer & lesse wordes: onely we request that because they are our subiects, they may be honestly intreated and receiued. And that in respect of the hard iourney which they haue vndertaken to places so far distant, it would please your maiestie with some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratifie it, with such priuiledges as to you shall seeme good: which curtesie if your imperiall maiestie shall to our subiects at our requests performe, we, according to our roiall honour will recompence the same with as many deserts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperiall maiestie to farewell.

A letter written by her maiestie to the king of China, in Febr. 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England. Most Imperiall and inuincible prince, our honest subiect Iohn Newberie the bringer hereof, who with our fauor hath taken in hand the voiage which now he pursueth to the partes & countries of your empire, not trusting vpon any other ground then vpon the fauor of your imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is mooued to vndertake a thing of so much difficultie, being perswaded that he hauing entred into so many perils, your maiestie wil not dislike the same, especially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable vnto your roiall maiestie, & that to your people it wil bring some profit: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing mind hath prepared himselfe for his destinated voiage vnto vs wel liked of. For by this means we perceiue, that ẏ profit which by ẏ mutual trade on both sides, all the princes our neighbors in the West do receiue, your imperial maiestie and those that be subiect vnder your dominion, to their great ioy & benefit shal haue the same, which consisteth in the transporting outward of such things wherof we haue plentie, and in bringing in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot otherwise be, but that seeing we are borne and made to haue neede one of another, & that we are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial maiestie wil wel like of it, & by your subiects with like indeuor wil be accepted. For the increase whereof, if your imperiall maiestie shall adde the securitie of passage, with other priuiledges most necessary to vse the trade with your men, your maiestie shal do that which belongeth to a most honorable & liberal prince, and deserue so much of vs, as by no continuance or length of time shall be forgotten. Which request of ours, we do most instantly desire to be taken in good part of your maiestie, and so great a benefit towards vs and our men, we shall endeuor by diligence to requite when time shall serue thereunto. The God almightie long preserue your imperiall maiestie.

A Letter of M. Iohn Newberie, written from Aleppo, to M. Richard Hakluit of Oxford, the 28. of May, An. 1583.

RIght welbeloued, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me vnto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Grauesende, which was the 13. day of February last, we remained vpon our coast vntill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and neuer ankered till we arriued in the road of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where we stayed 14. dayes: and the 20. of this present we came hither to Aleppo, and with Gods helpe, within fiue or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I haue made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no means can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsàra, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I will send it you from thence. The letter which you deliuered me for to copy out, that came from master Thomas Steuens in Goa, as also the note you gaue me of Francis Fernandes the Portingall, I brought thence with me among other writings vnawares, the which I haue sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassha of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassha of Tripolis, and the Bassha of Damasco, but they haue not all with them aboue 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes iourney from Trapezunde, where they shall meete with diuers Capitains and souldiours that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there euery yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very few of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my heartie commendations to M. Peter Guillame, and M. Philip Iones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath him heartily commended vnto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who blesse and keepe you, and send vs a ioyfull meeting. From Aleppo, the 28. of May, 1583.

Abilfada Ismael his Cosmographie.

Your louing friend to command
in all that I may,
Iohn Newberie.

Another letter of the sayd M. Newbery, written to Master Leonard Poore of London, from Aleppo.

RIght welbeloued, my very heartie commendations vnto you, and the rest of my friends remembred. My last I sent you was of the 25. of February last, from Deele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes me remained vpon our owne coast, vntill the 11. day of March, and then wee set saile from Falmouth, and the 13. day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued 8. dayes, and in this great storme we had some of our goods wet, but God be thanked no great hurt done. After which time we sailed with a faire wind within the Streicts, and so remained at sea, and ankered at no place vntill our comming into the road of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill. This was a very good passage, God make vs thankfull for it. The 14. day of this present we came from Tripolis, and the 20. day arriued here in Aleppo, and with the helpe of God to morow or next day, we begin our voiage towards Babylon and Balsàra, and so into India. Our good friend master Barret hath him commended to you, who hath sent you in the Emanuell a ball of nutmegs for the small trifles you sent him, which I hope long since you haue receiued. Also he hath by his letter certified you in what order hee sold those things, whereof I can say nothing, because I haue not seene the accompt thereof, neither haue demanded it: for euer since our comming hither he hath bene still busie about the dispatch of the ship, and our voiage, and I likewise in buying of things here to cary to Balsàra, and the Indies. We haue bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for 400. ducats, and some sope and broken glasse, with all other small trifles, all which things I hope will serue very well for those places that we shall goe vnto. All the rest of the account of the Barke Reinolds, was sent home in the Emanuell, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For master Stapers rated it but at 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, so that our part is 200. pound.

March, 11.

The last of Aprill.

Currall.
Amber greese.
Sope.
Broken glasse.

Besides

Besides such profit as it shall please God to send thereof wherefore you shall doe very wel to speake to master Stapers for the accounte. And if you would content your selfe to trauell for three or foure yeers, I would wish you to come hither or go to Cair, if any go thither. For we doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure monethe, you would like so well of the place, that I thinke you would not desire to returne againe in 3. or 4. yeeres. And, if it should be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would choose this before all other that I know. My reason is, the place is healthfull and pleasant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit wil be hereafter better, things being vsed in good order: for there should come in euery ship the fourth part of her Cargason in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Also to haue two very good ships to come together, would doe very well: for in so doing, the danger of the voyage might be accounted as little as from London to Antwerpe. Master Giles Porter and master Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a small barke to Iaffa, the same day that we came from thence, which was the 14. day of this present, so that no doubt but long since they are in Jerusalem: God send them and vs safe returne. At this instant I haue receiued the account of W. Barret, and the rest of the rings, with two & twentie ducats, two medins in ready monie. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Bostocke I left certaine small trifles, which I pray you demaund. And so once againe with my heartie commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preserue vs. From Aleppo the 29. of May, 1583.

Yours assured. Iohn Newbery.

Another letter of M. Newberie to the aforesayd M. Poore, written from Babylon.

MY last I sent you, was the 29. of May last past from Aleppo, by George Gill the purser of the Tiger, which the last day of the same moneth came from thence, and arriued at Feluge the 19. day of June, which Feluge is one dayes iourney from hence. Notwithstanding some of our company came not hither till the last day of the last moneth, which was for want of Camels to carry our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reason of the great heate that is here, Camels are very hard to be gotten. And since our comming hither wee haue found very small sales, but diuers say that in the Winter our commodities will be very well sold, I pray God their words may proone true. I thinke cloth, kersies and tinne, haue neuer bene here at so lowe prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I had here so much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balsara, and so by Gods helpe there will be reasonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money and halfe commoditie, may be bought here the best sort of spices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, & without money there is here at this instant small [illegible] to be done. With Gods helpe two daies hence, I mind to go from hence to Balsara, & from thence of force I must goe to Ormuz for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nastaranies, and one of them hath bene twise in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewd felow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The best sort of spices at Babylon. Balsara. Ormuz.

Here follow the prices of Wares as they are woorth here at this instant.

The prices of spices at Babylon.

Cloues and Maces, the bateman, 5. ducats.
Cynamom 6. ducats, and few to be gotten.
Nutmegs, the bateman, 45. medins, and 40. medins maketh a ducat.
Ginger, 40. medins.
Pepper, 75. medins.
Turbetta, the bateman, 50. medins.
Steel the charle, 70. ducats, and a charle is 27. rottils and a halfe of Aleppo.
Silke, much better then that which commeth from Persia, 11. ducats and a halfe the bateman, and euery bateman here maketh 7. pound and 5. ounces English waight. From Babylon the 20. day of July, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newbery.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormuz, to Iohn Eldred and William Shals at Balsara.

RIght welbeloued and my assured good friends, I hartely commend me vnto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed fro you, time will not permit but the 4. of this present we arriued here, and the tenth day I with the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Capitaine will send vs all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Anthonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the only cause, vpon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be delt withall in Goa, and therefore if you can procure our masters to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe vs great good: for they cannot with iustice put vs to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe vs long in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had bene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall doe well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Balsara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it coll 30. or 40. crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shall be the better able to profite this againe which is now like to be lost: I pray you make my heartie commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21. of September, 1583.

His second Letter to the foresaid Iohn Eldred, and William Shals.

THe barke of the Iewes is arriued here two dayes past, by whom I knowe you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great curtesie, wherefore I pray you shew him what fauour you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke wee shall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speed as possibly you may. I can say no more, but doe for me as you would I should doe for you in the like cause, and so with my very heartie commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24. day of September, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newberie.

His third letter to Master Leonard Poore, written from Goa.

MY last I sent you was from Ormuz, whereby I certified you what had happened there vnto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arriuall there, wee were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Capitaine neuer examined, onely he maunded what countreyman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accused vs, had informed the Capitaine of him. The first day wee arriued there, this Stropene accused vs that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides diuers other lies: notwithstanding if we had bene of any other countrey then of England, wee might freely haue traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Mastaranies, Turkes and Moores, Iewes and Gentiles, Persians, Moscouites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all iustice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid vs. But now I haue as great libertie as any other nation, except it be to goe out of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to goe from hence, that they will not denie me licence. Before wemight be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in sureties for 2000. pardoas, not to depart from hence without licence of the Viceroye otherwise except this, we haue as much libertie as any other nation, for I haue our goods again, and haue taken an house in the chiefest streete in the towne, called the Rue dretre, where we sell our goods.

Michael Stropene an Italian accused vs to be spies.

There

There were two causes which moued the capteine of Ormuz to imprison vs, & afterwards to send vs hither. The first was, because Michael Stropene had accused vs of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, caused two pieces of his ordinance to be shot at a gallion of the kinges of Portingall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormuz: and in the shippe that we were sent in came the chiefest iustice of Ormuz, who was called Aueador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, so that now his time was expired: which Aueador is a great friend to the capteine in Ormuz, who, certeine dayes after our comming from thence, sent for me into his chamber, and there began to demand of me many thinges, to the which I answered: and amongst the rest, he said, that M. Drake was sent out of England with many shippes, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloues, and finding a gallion there of the kinges of Portingall, he caused two pieces of his greatest ordinance to be shot at the same: and so perceiuing that this did greatlie grieue them, I asked, if they would be reuenged of me for that which M. Drake had done? to the which he answered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary. Two causes of our mens imprisonment at Ormuz.

He said moreouer, that the cause why the capteine of Ormuz did send me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would vnderstand of me, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the best that I was sent hither, the which I trust in God will so fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleased God to put into the mindes of the archbishop and other two Padres or Iesuits of S. Pauls college to stand our friends, we might have rotted in prison. The archbishop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his seruants, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Bogers: and the other was borne at Enchulen, whose name is Iohn Lenscot, who did vs great pleasure: for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of vs. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who trauelled very much for vs, the one of the is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, & the other was borne in Wiltshire in England, and is called ‖ Padre Thomas Stevens.

‖ This is he whole letters to his father from Goa are before put downe, and he was sometimes of New college in Oxford.

Also I chanced to finde heere a yong man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the most part of his bringing vp hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who also hath done me great pleasure heere.

In the prison at Ormuz we remained many dayes, also we lay a long time at sea comming hither, and forthwith at our arriuall heere were caried to prison, and the next day after were sent for before the Aueador, who is the chiefest iustice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he presently sent vs backe againe to prison.

And after our being heere in prison thirteene dayes, James Storie went into the monasterie of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the companie, which life he liketh very well. James Storie their painter.

And vpon S. Thomas day (which was two and twentie dayes after our arriuall here) I came out of prison, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets. They arrived at Goa the 20 of November 1583.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had beene in possibilitie to haue made as good a voyage as euer any man made with so much money. Many of our things I haue solde very well, both heere and at Ormuz in prison, notwithstanding the capteine willed me (if I would) to sell what I could before we imbarked: and so with officers I went diuers times out of the castle in the morning, and solde things, and at night returned againe to the prison, and all thinges that I solde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the capteine gaue order that I should deliuer all my mony with the goods into the hands of the scriuano, or purser of the ship, which I did, and the scriuano made a remembrance, which he left there with the capteine, that my selfe and the rest with money & goods he should deliuer into the hands of the Aueador generall of India: but at our arriuall heere, the Aueador would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not proue any thing against vs: wherefore the goods remained in the ship nine or ten dayes after our arriual, and then, for that the ship was to saile from hence, the scriuano sent the goods on shore, and heere they remained a day and a night, and no body to receiue them. In the end they suffered this bringer to receiue them, who came with me from Ormuz, and put them into an house which he had hyred for me, where they remained foure or fiue dayes. But afterward when they should deliuer the money, it was concluded by the iustice, that both the money and goods should be deliuered into the possessors hands, where they remained foureteene dayes after my comming out of prison. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of siluer and gilt, fiue knines, fiue spoones, and one forke trimmed with coyall for fiue and twentie chekins, which the capteine of Ormuz did take, and payed for the same twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or heere one hundred chekins. Also he had fiue emeraudes set in golde, which were worth fiue hundred or fiue hundred crownes, and payed for

for the same an hundred pardas. Also he had nineteene & a halfe pikes of cloth, which cost in London twentie shillings the pike, and was worth nine or tenne crownes the pike, and he payed for the same twelue larines a pike. Also he had two pieces of greene Kersies, which were worth foure and twentie pardas the piece, and payed for them sixteene pardas a piece: besides diuers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and some for nothing at all. But the cause of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormuz not worth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thousand crownes, and he grieueth that any other stranger should trade thither but himselfe. But that shall not stull, for I trust in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freelie as he or any other. Heere is verie great good to be done in diuers of our commodities, and in like maner there is great profit to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that haue passed since my parting from you. But for all the troubles that haue chanced since mine arriuall in Ormuz, this bringer is able to certifie you. I minde to stay heere: wherefore if you will write vnto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbone, and from thence by the shippes they may be conueyed hither. Let the direction of your letters be either in Portiguise or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Januarie. 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Ralph Fitch to M. Leonard *Poore abouesaid.*

LOuing friend Maister Pooze, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo. I haue not written vnto you any letters, by reason that at Babylon I was sicke of the flixe, and being sicke, I went from thence for Ballara, which was twelue dayes iourney downe the riuer Tygris, where we had extreame hotte weather, which was good for my disease, ill fare, and worsse lodging, by reason our boate was pestered with people. In eight dayes, that which I did eate was very small, so that if we had stayed two dayes longer vpon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Ballara, presently I mended, I thanke God. There we stayed foureteene dayes, and then we imbarked our selues for Ormuz, where we arriued the fifth of September, and were
October 11. put in prison the ninth of the same moneth, where we continued vntill the eleuenth of October, and then were shipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines shippe, with an hundred and foureteene horses, and about two hundred men: and passing by Diu and Chaul, where we went on land to winter the twentith of Nouember, we arriued at Goa the nine and twentith of the said moneth, where
Diu. Chaul. for our better intertainment we were presently put into a fayre strong prison, where we continued vntill the two & twentith of December. It was the will of God that we found there two Padres, the one an Englishman, the other a Flemming. The English mans name is Padre Thomas Steuens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. These did sue for vs vnto the Viceroy and other officers, and stood vs in as much stead, as our liues and goods were worth: for if they had not stucke to vs, if we had escaped with our liues, yet we had had long imprisonment.

After foureteene dayes imprisonment they offered vs, if we could put in surties for two thousand duckets, we should goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the said Padres found sureties for vs, that we should not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy.
The Italians our great enemies for the trade in the East. It doth spite the Italians to see vs abroad: and many maruell at our deliuery. The painter is in the cloister of Saint Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there verie well. While we were in prison, both at Ormuz and heere, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and lost, and we haue beene at great charges in giftes and otherwise, so that a great deale of our goodes is consumed. There is much of our thinges which will sell very well, and some we shall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they say, to winne a castle of the Poozes, whose returne is thought will be about Easter, then we shall get our libertie, and our surties discharged. Then I thinke it will be our best way, either one or both to returne, because our troubles haue beene so great, and so much of our goods spoyled, and lost. But if it please God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a braue and pleasant countrey, and very fruitfull. The Summer is almost all the yeere long, but the chiefest at Christmas.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and maruellous great store of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victualles are heere plen-

tie

tie and good cheape. And here I will passe ouer to certifie you of strange things, vntill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who euer preserue you and vs all. From Goa in the East Indies the 25 of Ianuarie 1584.

Yours to command
RALPH FITCH.

The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies, *with the customes, &c. written from Aleppo in Syria, Anno* 1584: *by* William Barret.

BABYLON:

The weight, measure, and money currant there, and the customes of merchandize.

A Mana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manaes & three seuenth parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manaes is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and so much is the said quintall: but the merchants accord is by so much the mana, & in the said place they bate the tare in all sorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The measure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in ꝯ 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, so that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very little lesse.

The currant mony of Babylō are Sayes, which Say is 5 medines as in Aleppo, & 40 medines being 8 sayes maketh a ducket currant, and 47 medines palleth in value as the ducket of golde of Venice, and the dollers of the best sort are worth 33 medines. The rials of plate are sold by the 100 drams at pyse, according as they be in request: but among the merchants they bargen by the 100 merrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 single rials of plate: but in the mint or castle, they take them by the hundred drams, which is 90 rials of plate, & those of the mint giue 5 medines lesse in ech 100 drāmes then they are worth to be solde among the merchants, and make payment at the the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The custome in Babylon as well inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100. Coral, and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100. Venice cloth, English cloth, Kersies, Mokayres, Chamblets, Silkes, Veluets, Damasks, Sattins, & such like at 5 per 100: and they rate the goods without reason as they lust themselues. The Toaho, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay presently in readie mony, according to the custome and vse of the Emperor.

To the Ermit of the mint the ordinarie vse is to giue 30 Sayes in curtesie, other wise he would by authoritie of his office come aboord, and for despight make such search in the barke, that he would turne all things topsie turuie.

BALSARA:

The weight, measure, and money in the citie of Balsara.

A Mana of Balsara answereth 5 roues 2 okes & a halfe of Aleppo weight, and 19 manaes & one fourth part of Balsara answereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 roues, 8 ounces English, & 20 manaes is the quintall of Balsara, which is 104 Aleppine, and of London 514 li. 8 okes, and so much is the sayd quintall, but the merchants bargen at so much the mana or woollene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in euery mana, as the sort of spice is, and the order taken therfore in that place.

The measure of Balsara is called a pike, which is iust as the measure of Babylon, to say, 100 pikes of Balsara maketh of Aleppo 101 pikes, vt supra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balsara is as followeth. There is a sort of shulles of copper called Eskiut, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the said mamedine is of siluer, hauing the Mozesco stampe on both sides, and two of these make a dauine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The said dauine is of siluer, hauing the Turkesco stampe on both sides, and 2 & a halfe of these make a say, which is iust in value as the say of Aleppo.

The said say is of the same value and stampe of Aleppo, being (as appeereth) 60 Eskiues. Also one say and 20 eskiues make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The said larine is a strange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Christianitie,

Christianitie, but is a small rod of siluer of the greatnesse of the penne of a goose fether, wherwith we vse to write, and in length about one eighe part thereof, which is wreathed, so that the two endes meet at the iust halfe part, and in the head thereof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these larines make a ducket, which is 40 medines or eight sayes of Aleppo.

The ducket of golde is worth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 43 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 drams of Aleppo, vt supra.

The rials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, and albeit among the merchants they sell by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or castle, they sell by the 100 drams, hauing there lesse then the worth 5 medines in ech hundred drams, and haue their paiment made in 40 dayes, made them in sayes or larines.

The custome of the said places, aswell inward as outward, are alike of all sorts of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Toafo, Boabo, & seriuan medines 6 by the bale inward and outward, to say, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who so leaueth his goods in the custome house payeth nothing, where otherwise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to passe when the customers esteeme the goods too high. For in such a case they may be driuen to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in mony, for such is the order from the Grand Signior.

Hauing paid the custome, it behoueth to haue a quittance or cocket sealed and firmed with the customers hand, in confirmation of the dispatch and cleering, and before departure thence, to cause the said customer to cause search to be made, to the end that at the voyages returne there be no cauillation made, as it often times happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Ballara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, vt supra.

The fraight of the barks from Ormuz to Ballara, I would say from Ballara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, those of 15 cares 270 larines, those of 20 cares 360 larines, those of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a cara is 4 quintals of Ballara. They pay also to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one chare, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares fraight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the aboue said duties and fraighes, they are at no charges of victualles with them, but it is requisite that the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotilo more then the fraighe, vnder paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the fraight of that which they haue laden.

And in this accord, it behoueth to deale warilie, and in the presence of the Ermin or some other honest man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in execution, to the end the barks may not be ouerladen, because they are to passe many sands betwixt Ballara and Ormuz.

ORMVZ:

The weight, measure, and money currant in the kingdome of Ormuz.

SPices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of euery sort of goods the weight is different. To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rotiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, aswell great as little, is 20 fraseli, and euery fraseli is 10 manaes, and euery mana 23 chiansi, and euery chiansi 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that euerie quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and euery roue 32 rotiloes, & euery rotilo 16 ounces, and euery ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rotiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. English weight. And contrariwise the quintall of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiloes 8 ounces English) maketh 477 rotiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiloes and a halfe.

What a rotilo is.

Note that there are bars of diuers weights, vt supra, of which they bargen simplie, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargen of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rotiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargen in merchandize at so many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Asarie, and maketh larines 190 & a halfe, which maketh pardaes 38, & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One asarie is sadines 10, and euery sadine is 100 danarie.

The larine is worth 5 sadines and one fourth part, so that the sadine is worth of Aleppo money

1 medine

1 medine & 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Ballara worth of Aleppo money 6 medines & a halfe.

The pardao is 5 larines of Ballara.

There is also stamped in Ormuz a seraphine of golde, which is litle and round, and is worth 24 larenes, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian mony is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100: meticals, and the rials are worth larines 86 lesse one saedine, which is euery thousand meticals, 382 asures: but those that will not sell them, vse to melt them, and make them so many larines in the king of Ormus his mint, whereby they cleere 2 per 100, and somewhat more: and this they do because neuther Venetian money nor rials runne as currant in Ormuz, per aduise.

The measure of Ormuz is of 2 sorts, the one called Codo which increaseth vpon the measure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be be 103 Codes. Also these measures of Ormuz increase vpon those of Ballara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Ballara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other measure is called a bare, which was sent from the king of Portingall to the India, by which they sell things of small value, which measure is of 5 palmes or spannes, and is one code and two third parts, so that buying 100 codes of any measurable wares, and returning to measure it by the said bare, there is found but 60 bares, contrariwise 100 bares maketh 166 codes & 2 third parts.

Note that all such ships as lade horses in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 horses or vpwares, in what places soeuer the said horses be taken a shore in the India, the merchandize which is to be discharged out of that shippe wherein the said horses come, are bound to pay no custome at all, but if they lade one horse lesse then tenne, then the goods are bound to pay the whole custome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portingall, but it is to be diligentlie foreseene, whether all those horses laden be bound to pay the king his custome: for many times by the king of Portingall his commandement there is fauor shewed to the king of Cochin his brother of Armes, so that his horses that come in the same shippe, are not to answere custome: as for example, If there were foure horses laden in one shippe, all which were to pay custome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any custome, the same causeth all the merchandize of that shippe to be subiect to pay custome, per aduise. But if they lade ten horses vpon purpose to pay the king his custome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them should die in that case, if they bring the taile of the dead horse to the custome in Goa, then the merchandize is free from all custome, because they were laden in Ormuz to pay custome in Goa. Moreouer if the horses should die before the middest of the voyage, they pay no custome at all, and if they die in the mids of the voyage, then they pay halfe custome, but if any horse die after the mid voyage, they pay custome no lesse then if they arriue safe. Notwithstanding, the merchandize (whether the said horses die before in the mid voyage or after the mid voyage) are free from all custome.

The custome of Ormuz is a leuen in the 100, to say, 10 for the king, and one for the arming of the foists: but for small wares as glasses, and looking glasses of all sorts, and such like, made for apparell, pay no custome. But cloth of Wooll, Karlies, Mokayres, Chamlets, and all sortes of Silke, Saffron, and such like, pay custome, being esteemed reasonable.

There is also another custome, which they call caida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormus, with purpose to send the same further into India, the same is bound to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this custome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Iewes: for the Portingalles and Venetians pay nothing therof.

Note that in Ormuz they abate tare of all sorts of commodities, by an order obserued of custome.

The fraight from Ormuz to Chaull, Goa, and Cochin, as followeth: Mokayres larines 6 per table of 60 pikes, Aquariola 8 larines by ordinarie chist, reasings 10 larines by chist, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruuia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glasses larines 8 per chist, of 4 foot & a halfe, glasses in great chist 14 & 15 larines by chist. Small wares larines 12 by chist of 5 foote. Tamari for Malchat sadines 2 and a halfe, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaull 4 sadines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugges and things which come from Persia, pay according to the greatnesse of the bales.

The fraight mentioned they pay as appereth, whē they ship ꝑ said goods in ships where horses go: otherwise, not hauing horses, they pay somewhat lesse, because of the custome which they are to pay.

The vse of the India shippes is, that the patrons therof are not at any charge neither with any passenger nor yet with any mariner in the shippe, but that euery one at the beginning of the voyage do furnish to mainteine his owne table (if he will eat) & for drinke they haue a great iarre of water, which is garded with great custodie.

GOA:

GOA:

The weight, measure, and money currant in Goa.

The quintall of Goa is 5 manaes, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotiloes, so that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and euery rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Uenice weight 1 li. and a halfe, so that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. sotile Uenice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. English, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the merchandize, spices and drugs, are solde by this quintall, except some drugs, as lignū de China, Galanga, & others, whereof they bargen at so much per candill, aduertising that there be two sorts of candill, one of 16 manaes, the other of 20 manaes, that of 16 manaes commeth to be iust 3 quintals, and that of 20 manaes, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz.

Note that 4 roues make a quintall.

There is also another weight, which they call Marco, which is 8 ounces or one halfe a rotilo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Uenice sotile: with this they weigh amber, [illegible]l, muske, ambracan, cinet, and other fine wares.

There is also another sort of weight called Mangiallino, which is 5 graines of Uenice weight, & therewith they weigh diamonds, and other iewels.

Note that in Goa they vse not to abate any tare of any goods, except of sacks or wraps, & therefore it requireth great aduisement in buying of the goods, especially in the muske of Tartaria which commeth by way of China, in bladders, and so weigh it without any tare rebating.

Muske of Tartaria by the way of China.

The measure of Goa is called a code, which increaseth vpon the measure of Babylon & Balsara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, so that bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is also the vare in Goa, which is iust as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they measure onely things that are of small value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kinde of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and stamped on the one side with the spheare or map of the world, and on the other side two arrowes, & 5 rounds: and this kinde of mony is called Basaruchi, and 15 of these make a vinten of naughtie mony, and 5 vintens make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of base mony: so that the tanga of base mony is 60 basaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 basaruchs, and 5 tangaes make a seraphine of golde, which in merchandize is worth 5 tangaes good mony: but if one would change them into basaruchies, he may haue 5 tangaes, and 16 basaruchies, which ouerplus they call cerafagio, & when they bargen of the pardap of golde, euery pardap is ment to be 6 tangaes good mony, but in merchandize they vse not to demand pardapes of golde in Goa, except it be for iewels and horses, for all the rest they take of seraphins of siluer peraduiso.

The rials of plate, I say the riall of 8 is worth per custome and commandement of the king of Portingall, 400 reyes, and euery rey is one baralusce and one fourth part, which makes tangaes 6, and 53 baraluchies as their iust value, but for that the said rials are excellent siluer and current in diuers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacha, when the ships are to depart at their due times (called Monsons) euery one to haue the said rials pay more then they are worth, and the ouerplus, as is aboue said they call cerafagio. And first they giue the iust value of the 100 rials, of 8 at 5 tangaes 50 basaruchies a piece, which done, they giue seraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, vntill 22 by the 100, according as they are in request.

The duccket of golde is worth 9 tangaes and a halfe good money, and yet not stable in price, for that when the ships depart from Goa to Cochin they pay them at 9 tangaes and 3 fourth parts, and 10 tangaes, and that is the most that they are worth.

The larines are worth by iust value basaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a seraphine of siluer, which is 5 tangaes of good money, and these also haue serafagion of 6, 7, 8, 10, vntill 16, by the 100, for when the shippes depart for the North, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Bassani, all carry of the same, because it is money more currant then any other.

There is also a sort of seraphins of golde of the stampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but few in Goa, but being there, they are worth 5 larines & somewhat more, according as they are in request.

There is also another litle sort of money, round, hauing on the one side a crosse, and on the other side a crowne, which is worth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the same stampe lesse then that which they call Imitiuo de buona moneda, which is worth 18 basaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargaine in marchandize, it behoueth to demaunde tangaes of good money for

by nominating tangaes onely, is vnderstoode to be base money of 60. basaruches, which maketh of the good money vt supra.

The custome of Goa is 8. in the 100. inward, and as much outwarde, and the goods are esteemed iustly rather to the marchanes aduantage then the kings. The custome they pape in this order. Comming with a shippe from Ormuz to Goa without horses, they pay 8. in the 100. whether they sell part or all, but if they would carie of the saide marchandise to any other place, they pay nont other custome, except others buy it and carie it fourth of the countrey, and then they pay 8. in the 100. And if one hauing payd the custome should sell to another with composition to passe it both as for his proper account to saue the custome, this may not be, because the seller is vnto his othe, whether he sende the goods for his owne accompt, or for the accompt of any others, that haue bought the same, and being found to the contrary, they pay custome as aboue saide. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horses, they are not subiect to pay any custome inward, notwithstanding if they send all or any part therof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the custome outward, although they could not sell.

They vse also in Goa amongst the cõmon sort, to bargaine for coales, wood, lime & such like, as so many braganines, accounting 24. basaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no such money stamped. The custome of the Portingals, is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what cõdition or state soeuer he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe set a seale vpon the arme, hauing therein the armes of Portingal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they haue the said licence or no.

COCHIN.

The waight, measure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandise which they sell or buy within the said citie, they bargaine for it at so many serafines per quintal, which is 128. rotilos of iust waighe with the quintal & Rotilo of Goa, and Ormuz: aduertising þ there are diuers sorts of barres according to the sorts of cõmodities, and in traffiquing they reason at so much the barre. Note that there are barres of 3. quintals & 3. quintals and a halfe, and 4. quintals. They abate a xiij. tare of all marchandise, according to the sort of goods, and order taken for the same.

The measure of Goa, and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the same sorts which are currant in Goa, but the ducat of golde valeu is 10. tanges of good money.

The custome of Cochin as well inward, as outward for all strangers, is 8. in the hundred, but those that haue bene married 4. yeere in the countrey pay but 4. in the hundred per aduiso.

MALACHA.

The waight, measure, and money of Malaca.

FOr the marchandise bought and solde in the citie, they reason at so much the barre, which barre is of diuers sorts, great and small, according to the ancient custome of the said citie, and diuersitie of the goods. But for the cloues they bargaine at so much the barre, which barre is 3. quintals 2. roues, and 10. rotilos. As I haue aboue said, all kind of drugs haue their sorts of barres limitted. Note that euery quintal is 4. roues, and euery roue 32. rotilos, which is 128. rotilos the quintal, the which answereth to Aleppo 95. rotilos, and to London 472. li. per quintal.

The measures of Malaca are as the measures of Goa. In Malaca they abate tare according to their distinction and agreement, for that there is no iust tare limitted.

For the money of Malaca, the least money currant is of tinne stamped with the armes of Portingall, and 12. of these make a Chazza.

The Chazza is also of tinne with the said armes, and 2. of these make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the said armes, and 40. of these make a Tanga of Goa good money, but not stamped in Malaca.

There is also a sort of siluer money which they call Patachynes, and is worth 6. tanges of good money, which is 360. reyes, and is stamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one side, and the armes of Portingall on the other side.

There is also a kinde of money called cruzados stamped with the armes of Portingal, and is worth 6. tanges good money, the larines are euery 9. of them worth 2. cruzados, which is 12. tanges good money, and these larines be of those which are stamped in Balsara, and Ormuz.

The reals of 8. they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7. tanges of good money.

The custome of Malaca is 10. in the 100. as well inwarde as outwarde, and those which pay the custome inwards, if in case they send the same goods for any other place within terme of a yere and a day, pay no custome for the same.

A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as followeth.

‖ Or, by the camels burden.

For camels from Aleppo to Birrha,	Medines 60. per ‖ somme.
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med. 45. per somme.
For custome at Birrha,	med. 10. per somme.
For Auania of the Cady at Birrha,	med. 200.
For 4. dishes reasons, and 20. pounds sope,	med. 35.
For present to the Ermine the somme of	med. 400.
For a barke of 30. or 35. sommes. Duc. 60. is	med. 2400. per barke.
For meate for the men the summe of	med. 200.
For custome at Racca the summe of	med. 5. per somme.
For 3. platters, reasings, and 15. pounds of sope,	med. 25.
For custome to king Aborissei, Duc. 20. is	med. 800.
For custome at Dea the summe of	med. 230. per barke.
For 4. dishes reasings, and 20. pounds of sope.	med. 35.
For custome at Bosara, the summe of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2. dishes reasings, and 10. pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Anna, in 10. per summe,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4. dishes of reasings, and 20. pound of sope,	med. 35.
For custome in Adite, medines 10. per barke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2. dishes reasings, and 10. pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome at Gweke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2. dishes reasings, and 20. pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Ist,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4. platters reasings, and 20. pound of sope,	med. 35.
Charges of presents at Felugia,	med. 20.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med. 30. per somme.
For custome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth.	
For barke from Babylon to Balsara,	med. 900.
For custome of small wares, at Corno,	med. 20. per somme.
For custome of clothes at Corno, the summe of	med. per somme.
For 3. dishes reasings, and 20. pound of sope,	med. 26.

For fraight from Balsara to Ormuz, according to the greatnesse, as in this booke appeareth.
For custome in Ormuz, as is abouesaid in this booke.
For fraight from Ormuz to Goa, as is in this booke shewed.
For custome in Goa, as is abouesaid.

A declaration of the places whence the goods subscribed doe come.

Cloues, from Malucho, Tarenate Ambona, by way of Iaua.
Nutmeggs, from Banda.
Maces from Banda, Iaua, and Malacha.
Pepper Gawne, from Cochin.
Pepper common, from Mallauar.
Sinnamon, from Seilan.
Tinne, from Malacha.
Sandals wilde, from Cochin.
Sandales domesticke, from Malaca.
Uerzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.
Spicknard, from Zindi, and Laor.
Quicksiluer, from China.
Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Istria & Siria.
Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
Ginger Belledin, from the countrie within Cambaia.
Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
Ginger Mordassi, frō Mordas within Cambaia
Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
Hirabolans of all sorts, from Cambaia.
White sucket from Zindi, Cambaia, and China.
Corcunia, from diuers places of India.
Cypolle of Leuant, from Mallauer.
Chomin, from Balsara.
Requitria, from Arabia Felix.
Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
Sal Armoniake, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Zedoari, from diuers places of India.
Cubeb, from China.

Amonio,

Amomum, from China.
Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
Costo dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Laor.
Asa fetida, from Laor.
Mace, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Persia.
Cassia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes to say, from Adena, and Canemane within Caramania.
Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
Tutia, from Persia.
Cagiers, from Mallauer, and Maldiua.
Ruuia to die withal, from Chalangi.
Lumme di Rocca, from China, and Constantinople.
Chopra, from Cochin and Mallauar.
Oppopanax, from Persia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malaca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galange, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Ballagate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Allemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Persia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum small, from Barcellona.
Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Ballara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Par.
Rubarbe, from Ballara, and Persia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Persia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Fruits of India, from Goa, and other parts of India.
Nux vomica, from Mallauar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
Armoniago, from Persia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Ballagate.
Perske from Tartarie, by map of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malaca.
Laton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayre.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
Castorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the read sea.
Mastik, from Scio.
Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.
Calacius Aromaticus, from Constantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Persia.
Lapis Zudassi, from Zaffetto.
Lapis Spongij, is found in sponges.
Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.
Manna, from Persia.
Auripigmentū, from many places of Turkie.
Pilatro, from Barbaria.
Pistachos, from Doria.
Wlome-seede, from Persia.
Sumack, from Cyprus.
Sebesten, from Cyprus.
Galbanum, from Persia.
Dente d'Abolio, from Melinde, & Mosambique.
Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
Diasprum viride, from Cambaia.
Petra Bezzuar, from Tartaria.
Sarcacolla, from Persia.
Melleghete, from the West parts.
Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.
Chochenilo, from the West Indians.
Rubarbe, from Persia, and China.

The times or seasonable windes called monsons, where-in the ships depart from place to place in the East Indies.

NOte that the citie of Goa, is the principall place of all the Oriental India, & the winter there beginneth the 15. of May with very great raine, & so continueth till the 1. of August, so that during that space, no ship can passe ouer þ bar of Goa, because through the cōtinual shoures of raine all the sands ioyne together neere vnto a mountaine called Oghane, & all these sands being ioyned together, runne into the shoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can haue no other issue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore is shut vp vntil the first of August, but at the 10. of August it openeth by reason of the raine which ceaseth, and the sea doeth then scoure the sands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Bassani, and other places.

The shippes depart betwixt the tenth and 24. of August, for the Northwarde places aboue saide, and to these places they may saile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times aboue saide.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.

The shippes depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwardes for Goa, betwixt the 8. and 15. of Januarie, and come to Goa about the ende of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15. of Januarie, and returne from the Straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25. and first of September, and returne from the Straights to Diu, the 1. and 15. of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormuz.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormuz: albeit Secutra is an Islande and but few ships, which depart as aboue said.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the 15. of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balgatte, Lezanegar, as also from Sudalcao, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10. and 15. day of Nouember. Note that by going to the North is ment the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Bassani, Ghassain, and other places vnto Zindi, and by the South is vnderstoode, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coast vnto Cape Comorin.

The first monson from Goa for Ormuz.

The shippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormuz, sailing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormuz.

The ships depart about the 20. of Januarie sailing by the like navigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called of the Portingals and Indians Entremonson.

The 3. monson from Goa to Ormuz.

The ships depart betwixt the 25. of March, and 6. of April, having Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they finde Westerly windes, and therefore they set their course ouer for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rasalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monson is most troublesome of all: for they make 2. navigations in the height of Seylan, which is 6. degrees and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormuz for Chaul and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormuz for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North, and Northeast windes.

The second monson from Ormuz for Chaul, and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the 25. and last of December, with like windes as the former monson.

The 3. monson from Ormuz for Chaul, and Goa.

The 3. monson the ships depart from Ormuz, for Chaul, and Goa, betwixt the 1. and 15. of April, & they saile with Southeast winds, East & Northeast windes, coasting vpon the Arabia side from Cape Mosandon vnto Cape Rasalgate, and hauing full sight of Cape Rasalgate, they haue Westerly windes, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart not before the 25. of April, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormuz because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormuz for Zindi.

The ships depart for Ormuz betwixt the 15. and 20. of April.

The 2. monson from Ormuz for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10. and 20. of October for Zindi from Ormuz.

The monson from Ormuz for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the 1. and last of Januarie.

The

Hithero I haue noted the monsons of the ships departing from Goa to the Northward: Now folowe the monsons wherein the ships depart from Goa to the Southward.

¶The monson from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coast.

The ships depart from those places betwixt the 1. and 15. of August, and there they finde it nauigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aboue said, from the 15. of May, till the 10. of August. In like maner the ships come from these places for Goa at euery time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the best time is to come in November, December and Januarie. Note.

The first monson from Goa, for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa betwixt the 15. and 20. of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5. of August, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The 2. monson from Goa for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa, betwixt the 8. and 24. of August, going straight for Pegu, and if they passe the 24. of August, they cannot passe that monson, neither is there any more monsons til May, as is aforesaid. Note that the chiefest trade is, to take money of S. Thomas rials, and pardechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, wherof there is great quantitie made in Chara Mandel, and brought thither, and other marchandize are not good for that place except some dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, siluer, and Rubies, there is sufficient store in Pegu. Marchandize good for Pegu.

The monson from Pegu for the Indies.

The ships depart from Pegu betwixt the 15. & 25. of Januarie, and come to Goa about the 25. of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it passe the 10. of May before the saide ships be arriued in Goa, they can not come thither that monson, and if they haue not then sene the coast of India, they shall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The first monson from Goa, for Malaca.

The ships depart betwixt the 15. and last of September, and arriue in Malaca about the ende of October.

The second monson from Goa to Malaca.

The ships depart about the 5. of May from Goa, and arriue in Malaca about the 15. of June.

The first monson from Malaca to Goa.

The ships depart about the 10. of September, and come to Goa about the ende of October.

The second monson from Malaca to Goa.

The ships depart from Malaca about the 10. of Februarie, and come to Goa about the ende of March. But if the said ships should stay till the 10. of May, they can not enter into Goa, and if at that time also they should not be arriued at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malaca, because the winter and contrary windes then come vpon them.

The monson from Goa, for China.

The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The monson from China for Goa.

The ships depart to be the 10. of May in Goa, and being not then arriued, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malaca.

The monson from Goa to the Molluccaes.

The ships depart about the 10. or 15. of May, which time being past, the shippes can not passe out the bay of Goa for the cause aboue said.

The monson of the ships of the Molluccaes arriuall in Goa.

The ships which come from Molluccaes arriue vpon the barre of Goa about the 15. of April.

The monsons of the Portingall ships for the Indies.

The ships which come frō Portingall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the 10. & 15. of March, running the straight way during the moneth of July to the coast of Melinde, and Mosambique, and from thence goe straight for Goa, and if in the moneth of July they should not be at the coast of Melinde, they ran in no wise that yeere forthe Melinde, but returne to the Ile of S. Helena, and so are not able that time being past to forthe the coast of India, and to come straight for Goa. Therefore (as is aboue said) they returne to the Ilande of S. Helena, and if they cannot make the saide Iland, then they runne as last vpon the coast of Guinea: but if the saide shippes bee arriued in time vpon the coast of Melinde, they set forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteene of Note,

September they can not fetche Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they see they can not fetche Cochin, they returne to Mosambique to winter there vpon the saide coast. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580. there arriued the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull long sea beaten, the 8. of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene seene before.

Note.

The monson from India for Portingall.

The shippes depart from Cochin betweene the 15. and last of January, going on til they haue sight of Capo de buona speranza, and the Isle of S. Helena, which Islande is about the midway, being in 16. degrees to the South. And it is a litle Island being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great store of fruite: and this Islande is a great succour to the shipping which returne for Portingall. And not long since, the said Island was founde by the Portingals, and was discouered by a shippe that came from the Indies in a great storme, in which they founde such abundance of wilde beastes, and boares, and all sort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore shippe, which had bene 4. moneths at sea, refreshed themselues both with water and meate very well, and this Island they called S. Helens, because it was discouered vpon S. Helens day. And no doubtedly this Island is a great succour, and so great an ayde to the ships of Portingall, that many would surely perish if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portingal caused a Church to be made there for deuotion of S. Helena: where there are onely resident Eremites, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the shippes may be the more sufficiently furnished with victuals, because the ships which come from India come but slenderly victualled, because there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ships which come from Portingal to the Indies touch not in the saide Island, because they set out being sufficiently furnished with bread, and water from Portingal for 8. moneths voyage. Any other people then the 2. Eremites aboue saide, can not inhabite this Island, except some sicke man that may be set there a shoare to remaine in the Eremites compasse, for his helpe and recouerie.

Note.

The monson from Goa to Mosambique.

The ships depart betwixt the 10. and 15. of Januarie.

The monson from Mosambique to Goa.

The ships depart betweene the 8. and last of August, and arriue in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15. of Nouember.

The monson from Ormuz to Bengala.

The ships depart betwixt the 15. and 20. of June, and goe to winter at Teue and depart thence about the 15. of August for Bengala.

The voyage passed by sea into Egypt, by Iohn Euesham Gentleman. *Anno* 1586.

THe 5. of December 1586. we departed from Grauesend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Master vnder God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night wee came to the Isle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, so that on the 27. day wee came in sight of the rocke of Lisbone, and so sayling along we came in sight of the South Cape, the 29. of the same, and on the morrowe with a Westerly winde wee entred the Straights: and the 2. of Januarie we being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier. And the 4. day we arriued at the port of Argier aboue said, where we stayed till the first of March. At which time we set saile towardes a place called Tunis, to the Eastwarde of Argier 100. leagues, where we arriued the 8. of the same. This Tunis is a small citie vp 12. miles from the sea, and at the port or rode where shipping doe ride, is a castle or fort called the Goleta, sometimes in the handes of the Christians, but now in the Turkes: at which place we remained till the thirde of Aprill: at which time we set saile towardes Alexandria, and hauing sometime faire windes, sometime contrary, wee passed on the 12. day betweene Sicilia and Malta, (where neere aboyning hath bene the fort and holde of the Knights of the Rhodes) and so the 19. day we fell with the Isle of Candie, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arriued the 27. of Aprill, and there continued till the 5. of October.

The description of Alexandria.

The said citie of Alexandria is an olde ching decayed or ruinated, hauing bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vaults vnderneath for prouision of fresh water, which

water commeth thither but once euery yeere, out of one of the foure riuers of paradiſe (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September ſwelleth neere eighteene foote aboue his accuſtomed manner, and ſo the bankes being cut, as it were a ſluce, about thirtie miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rocetto, it doth ſo come to the ſaide Citie, with ſuch aboundance, that bankes of twelue cunne doe come vpon the ſame water, which water doth fill all the values, ſiſternes, and wels in the ſaid Citie, with very good water, and doth ſo continue good, till the next yeere follo wing: for they haue there very little raine, or none at all, yet haue they exceeding great dewes. Alſo they haue very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Country is very hot, eſpecially in the moneths of Auguſt, September, and October. Alſo, within the ſaide Citie, there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharoes needle, and it is foure ſquare, euery ſquare is twelue foote, and it is in heigth 90. foote. Alſo, there is without the wals of the ſaid Citie, about twentie ſcore paces, another marble pillar, being rounde, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar ſtandeth vpon a great ſquare ſtone, euery ſquare is fifteene foote, and the ſame ſtone is fifteene foote high, and the compaſſe of the pillar is 27. foote, and the heigth of it is 101. feete, which is a wonder to thinke how euer it was poſſible to ſet the ſaid pillar vpon the ſaid ſquare ſtone. The part of the ſaid Citie is ſtrongly fortified with two ſtrong Caſtles, and one other Caſtle within the Citie, being all very well plawed with munition: and there is to the Eaſtward of this Citie, about three daies iourney the Citie of Grand Cayro, otherwiſe called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the regiſters bookes, which we did ſee, to the number of 2400. Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one daies iourney about the wals, which was iourneied by one of our Marriners, for triall thereof. Alſo, neere to the ſaid Citie, there is a place called the Pyrammides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, ſeuen ſeuerall places of flint and marble ſtone, foure ſquare, the wals thereof are ſeuen yardes thicke in thoſe places that we did ſee: the ſquarenes is in length about twentie ſcore euery ſquare, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and ſmall or narrow at the toppe: the heigth of them, to our iudgement, doth ſurmount twiſe the heigth of Paules ſteeple: within the ſaide Pyrammides, no man doth know what there is, for that they haue no entrance, but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and ſo we went in there, hauing torch light with vs, for that it hath no light to it, and within the ſame, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a coſtly tombe, which tombe they ſay, was made for King Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red ſea: alſo there are certaine values, or dungeons, which goe downe very deepe vnder thoſe Pyrammides, with faire ſtaires, but no man dare venter to go down into them, by reaſon that they can carry no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red ſea is but three daies iourney from this place, and Ieruſalem about ſeuen daies iourney from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Caſtle, wherein is the houſe that Pharoes wiues were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof, ſtandeth 55. marble pillars, in ſuch order, as our Exchange ſtandeth in London: the ſaide pillars are in heigth 60. foote, and in compaſſe 14. foote: alſo in the ſayd Citie, is the Caſtle where Ioſeph was in priſon, where to this day they put in rich men, when the King would haue any ſumme of money of them: there are ſeuen gates to the ſayd priſon, and it goeth neere 50. yardes downe right: alſo, the water that ſerueth this Caſtle, commeth out of the foreſaid riuer of Nilus, vpon a wal made with arches, fiue miles long, and it is twelue foote chicke. Alſo there are in old Cayro two Monaſteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the houſe of King Pharao. In this Citie is great ſtore of marchandize, eſperially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the Eaſt India: and it is very plentifull of all manner of victuals, eſpecially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eaſt wards of Cayro, there is a Well, fiue miles of, called Matria, and as they ſay, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Aegypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to ſuſtaine them, by the prouidence of God, an Angel came from heauen, and ſtrake the ground with his wings, where preſently iſſued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open, where the Iſraelites did hide themſelues, which fountaine or well, is walled foure ſquare, to this day. Alſo we were at an olde Citie, all ruinated and deſtroied, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage, where Hannibal, and Queene Dido dwelt: this citie was but narrowe, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee ſeene, one ſtreete three mile long, to which Citie freſh water was brought vpon arches (as afore) about 25. miles, of which arches, ſome are ſtanding to this day. Alſo we were at diuers other places, on the coaſt, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities, we ſaw but ſmall. The towne of Argier, which was our firſt & laſt port, within the ſtreights, ſtandeth vpon the ſide of an hill, cloſe vpon the ſea ſhoare: it is very ſtrong both by ſea, and land, and it is very well victualled with all manner of fruites,

Cayro.

Carthage.

Argier.

bread

bread, and fishe, good store, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes, and so are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Christian captiues, whereof there are of Englishmen onely 15. from which port we set saile towards England, the seuenth of Ianuarie, Anno 1587. and the 30. day of the said moneth, we arriued at Dartmouth, on the coast of England.

The second voyage of Master Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities *of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno* 1586.

I Embarked my selfe at Bristoll, in the Hercules, a good ship of London, and set saile the 21. day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, hauing a merry wind: but the 23. day, there arose a very great storme, and in the mids of it we descried a small boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Master made towards them, and tooke them into our shippe, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepstow, to runne a drift. The same night, about midnight, arose another great storme, but the wind was large with vs, vntill the 27. of the same moneth, which then grew somewhat contrary: yet notwithstanding, we held on our course, and the tenth day of March, we descried a saile about Cape Sprat, which is a little on this side the streight of Gibraltare, but we spake not with her. The next day we descried twelue saile more, with whome we thought to haue spoken, to haue learned what they were, but they made very fast away, and we gaue them ouer.

Thursday the 16. of March, we had sight of the streights, and of the coast of Barbarie. The 18. day we passed them, and sailed towards Petras. Vpon the 23. of March, we met with the Centurion of London, which came from Genoa, by whome we sent letters to England, and the foure men also which we tooke in, vpon the coast of England, before mentioned.

Goleta. The 29. of March, we came to Goleta, a small Iland, and had sight of two shippes, which we iudged to be of England.

Malta. Tuesday the fourth of April, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Master caused the two shippe boates to be had out, and they towed the shippe, till we were out of sight of the Castle of Malta.

Zante. The 9. day of April, we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, seruant to Master Thomas Cordall of London, came aboord vs, with whome our Master, and 12. more of our companie, thought to haue gone on shoare, but they could not be permitted: so we all came aboord againe, and went to Petras, where we arriued vpon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainement, at the English house, where was the Consul Master Grims, Ralfe Ashley, & Iohn Doddington, who very kindly went with vs, and shewed vs the pleasures of the towne.

Petrassi.

They brought vs to the house of the Cady, who was made then to vnderstand of the 20. Turks that we had aboord, which were to go to Constantinople, being redeemed out of captiuitie, by sir Francis Drake, in the west Indias, and brought with him into England, & by order of the Queens Maiestie, sent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commanded them to be brought before him, that he might see them: and when he had talked with them, and vnderstoode how strangely they were deliuered, he maruailed much, and admired the Queenes Maiestie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithstanding of such power and renowme amongst all the princes of Christendome, with many other honorable words of commending her Maiestie. So he tooke the names of those 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memorie. After this, our foresaid countrey men brought me to the Chappell of S. Andrew, where his tombe or sepulchre is, and the boord vpon which he was beheaded, which boord is now so rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought some of it away with me. Vpon Tuesday in Easter weeke, we set out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April, with much adoe, we were all permitted to come on shoare, and I was caried to the English house in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante, are currans, and oile: the situation of the towne is vnder a very great high hill, vppon which standeth a very strong Castle, which commandeth the towne. At Zante we tooke in a captaine, and 16. souldiers, with other passengers. We departed from Zante, vpon Tuesday ye 15. of April, & the next day we ankred at a smal Island, called Striualia, which is desolate of people, sauing a few religious men, who entertained vs wel, wout taking any mouie: but of curtesie we bestowed somwhat vpō them

Striualia.

for

for their maintenance, and then they gaue vs a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried aboord.

The laſt day of Aprill, we arriued at Candie, at a Caſtle, called Sowdaye, where we ſette the Captaine, ſouldiers, and marriners aſhoare, which we tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage. Candie.

The ſecond day of May we ſet ſaile againe, and the fourth day came to the Iſlands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very curteous, and tooke in ſuch neceſſaries as we wanted. The Iſlands are in my iudgement a hundred in number, and all within the compaſſe of a hundred miles. 1 May. The Iſlands of Milo in old time called Spozades.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greateſt man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water ſide, which they ſaid one of our ſhippe had done, and imputed it to me, becauſe I was ſeene goe into it three daies before, came to vs, and made much a doe, ſo that we were faine to come out of our ſhippe armed, but by three peeces of golde the brabling was ended, and we came to our ſhippe. This day we alſo ſet ſaile, and the next day paſſed by the Caſtle of Serpeto, which is an olde ruinated thing, and ſtandeth vnder a hils ſide.

The 13. day, we paſſed by the Iſland of Paris, and the Iſland of the bankes of Helicon, and the Iſland called Ditter, where are many Boares, and the women be Witches. The ſame day alſo we paſſed by the Caſtle of Tino, ſtanding vpon a very high mountaine, and neere vnto it is the Iſland of Diana.

The 15. of May, we came to Sio, where I ſtaied 33. daies. In it is a very proper towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are ciuill: and while we were here, there came in three gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admirall, had a Prince of the Moores priſoner, whome they tooke about Alexandria, and they ment to preſent him to the Turke. The towne ſtandeth in a valley, and along the water ſide pleaſantly. There are about 26. windmils about it, and the commodities of it, are cotton wooll, cotton parne, maſtike, and ſome other drugs. Sio.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controuerſie betweene the marriners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boies cried out, Viue el Re Philippi: whereupon our men beate the boies, and they threw ſtones, and ſo a broile began, and ſome of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houſes, and manacled together with yrons, and threatned to the gallies: about foztie of them were ſent to the priſon, and what became of them, when wee were gone, we know not, for we went thence within 2. daies after, which was the nineteenth of June.

The 20. day we paſſed by the Iſland of Singonina, an Iſland riſen by the caſting of ſtones in that place: the ſubſtance of the ground there is brimſtone, and burneth ſometimes ſo much, that it bloweth vp the rockes. Singonina.

The 24. of June, we came to Cyprus, and had ſight in the way of the aforeſaide ſixe gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came vnto vs, and required a preſent for himſelfe, and for two of the other gallies, which we for quietnes ſake gaue them.

The 27. of June, we came to Tripolis, where I ſtaied till the firſt of July, and then tooke paſſage in a ſmall barke, called a Caramaſate, which was a paſſage boate, and was bound for Bickbere, thirteene miles on this ſide Alexandria, which boate was freighted with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes.

The 20. day of July, this barke which I paſſed in, ranne vpon a rocke, and was in very great danger, ſo that we all began, ſome to be ready to ſwimme, ſome to leape into the ſhippe boate, but it pleaſed God to ſet vs quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

The 28. of July, I came to Bickbere, where I was well entertained of a Iewe, which was the Cuſtomer there, giuing me Muſkadine, and drinking water himſelfe: hauing broken my faſt with him, he prouided me a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for me to ride vpon, and a Moore to runne by me to the Citie of Alexandria, who had charge to ſee me ſafe in the Engliſh houſe, whether I came, but found no Engliſh men there: but then my gude brought me aboord a ſhippe of Alderman Martyns, called the Tyger of London, where I was well receaued of the Maſter of the ſaid ſhippe, whoſe name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the companie. Bickbere. The Engliſh houſe in Alexandria.

The ſaid Maſter hauing made me good cheere, and made me alſo to drinke of the water of Nilus, hauing the keies of the Engliſh houſe, went thither with me himſelfe, and appointed me a faire Chamber, and left a man with me, to prouide me all things that I needed, and euery day came himſelfe to me, and caried me into the Citie, and ſhewed me the monuments thereof, which be theſe.

He brought me firſt to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing, of gray marble, and all of one The monuments of Alexandria.

one stone, in heigth by estimation, aboue 52. paces, and the compasse about fiue fadome.

The Citie hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the third of Rosetto.

He brought me to a stone in a streete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Catherine died, hauing there hid her selfe, because she would not marrie: also to the Bath of S. Catherine.

I sawe there also, Pharoes needle, which is a thing in heigth almost equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compasse fiue fadom, and a halfe, and all of one stone.

I was brought also to a most braue and daintie Bath, where we washed our selues: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workemanship.

The Citie standeth vpon great arches, or bawnes, like vnto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde vp the foundation: which arches are built to receaue the water of the riuer of Nilus, which is for the vse of the Citie. It hath three Castles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is destroied of it, is fiue times more then that part which standeth.

Rosetto. The last day of July, I departed from Alexandria, towards Cayro, in a passage boate, wherein first I went to Rosetto, standing by the riuer side, hauing thirteene or foureteene great Churches in it, their building there is of stone & bricke, but as for lodging, there is little, except we bring it with vs.

From Rosetto, we passed along the riuer of Nilus, which is so famous in the world, twise as broad as the Thames at London: on both sides growe Date trees, in great aboundance. The people be rude, insomuch that a man can not trauell without a Ianissar, to conduct him.

The Turkes Lent. The time that I staied in Aegypte, was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their Churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent moureth 40. daies, and they haue three Lents in the yeere: during which time, they neither eate nor drinke in the day time, but all the night they doe nothing els.

Betwixt Rosetto, and Cayro, there are along the water side three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not aboue three hundred miles.

Egypte. To this famous Citie of Cayro, I came the 15. day of August, where I found Master William Alday, and William Cæsar, who intertained me in very good sorte. Master Cæsar brought me to see the Pyrammides, which are three in number, one whereof King Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it selfe is almost in the top of it: the monumentes be high, and in forme 4. square, and euery of the squares is as long, as a man may shoot a roving arrowe, and as high as a church. I sawe also the ruines of the Citie of Memphis, hard by those Pyrammides.

The house of Ioseph is yet standing in Cayro, which is a sumptuous thing, hauing a place to walke in of 56. mightie pillars, all gilt with gold, but I sawe it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of August, the land was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the riuer of Nilus, which was done with great ioy, and triumph.

The 12. of August, I set from Cayro, towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of August. The 26. day, there was kept a great feast of the Turkes, and Moores, which lasted two daies, and for a day they neuer ceased shooting off of great Ordinance.

The English Consul at Argier. From Alexandria I sailed to Argier, where I lay with Master Typton, Consul of the English nation, who vsed me most kindly, and at his owne charge. He brought me to the kings Court, and into the presence of the King, to see him, and the maners of the Court: the King doth onely beare the name of a King, but the greatest gouernment is in the hands of the souldiers.

The King of Potanca is prisoner in Argier, who comming to Constantinople, to acknowledge a dutie to the great Turke, was betraied by his owne Nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that he went onely as a spie, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of seuen gallies that were at that time cast away, at a towne called Formentera, three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Christians.

We found here also thirteene English men, which were by force of weather put into the Bay of Tunes, where they were verie ill vsed by the Moores, who forced them to leaue their barke: whereupon they went to the Counsell of Argier, to require a redresse and remedie for the iniury. They were all belonging to the shippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Master Birde is owner. The Master was Stephen Haselwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The third day of December, the pinnesse called the Moone shine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke vpon the coast of Spaine, laden with sugar, hides, and ginger: the pinnesse also belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made sale both of shippe and goods, where we left them at our comming away, which was the seuenth day of Ianuarie:

and

and the firſt day of Februarie I landed at Dartmouth, and the ſeuenth day came to London, with humble thankes to Almightie God, for my ſafe arriuall.

A true report of a worthie fight, performed in the voyage from *Turkie, by fiue ſhippes of London, againſt eleuen gallies, and two frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586.* Written by Philip Iones.

THe Marchants of London, being of the incorporation for the Turkie trade, hauing receaued intelligences, and aduertiſements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the proſperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arreſted all Engliſh ſhippes, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but alſo maligning the quiet traffike which they vſed to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had giuen order to the Captaines of his gallies, in the Leuant, to hinder the paſſage of all Engliſh ſhippes, and to endeuour by their beſt meanes, to intercept, take, and ſpoile them, their perſons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their beſt courſe to ſette out their fleete for Turkie, in ſuch ſtrength and abilitie for their defenſe, that the purpoſe of their Spaniſh enemie, might the better be preuented, and the voyage accompliſhed with greater ſecuritie to the men and ſhippes. For which cauſe, fiue tall, and ſtoute ſhippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were prouided and furniſhed with all things belonging to the ſeas, the names whereof were theſe.

1. The Marchant Royall, a very braue and goodly ſhippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonauenture.
4. The William, and Iohn.
5. The Suſan.

Theſe fiue departing from the coaſt of England, in the moneth of Nouember, 1585. kept together as one fleete, till they came as high as the Ile of Sicilie, within the Leuant. And there according to the order and direction of the voyage, each ſhippe began to take leaue of the reſt, and to ſeparate himſelfe, ſetting his courſe for the particular porte, whereunto he was bound: one for Tripolis in Syria, another for Conſtantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, ſituated vpon the coaſt of Romania, called of olde Thracia, and the reſt to thoſe places, whereunto they were priuatly appointed. But before they deuided themſelues, they altogether conſulted, of and about a certaine and ſpeciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their ſeuerall portes. And in concluſion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Illande neere to the maine continent of the Weſt part of Morea, well knowen of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fitteſt place for their Rendeuous. Concerning which meeting, it was alſo couenanted on eche ſide, and promiſed, that whatſoeuer ſhip of theſe 5. ſhould firſt arriue at Zante, ſhould there ſtay and expect the comming of the reſt of the fleete, for the ſpace of 20. dayes. This being done, eche man made his beſt haſt according as winde and wether would ſerue him to fulfill his courſe, and to diſpatch his buſineſſe; and no neede was there to admoniſh or incourage any man, ſeeing no time was ill ſpent, nor opportunitie omitted on any ſide, in the performance of eche mans duetie, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Conſtantinople had made ſuch good ſpeede, and gotten ſuch good weather, that ſhe firſt of all the reſt came backe to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former concluſion, did there caſt anere, attending the arriuall of the reſt of the fleete, which accordingly (their buſines firſt performed) failed not to keepe promiſe. The firſt next after the Tobie was ye Royal marchant, which together with the William & Iohn came from Tripolis in Syria, and arriued at Zante within the compaſſe of the foreſaide time limitted. Theſe ſhips in token of the ioy on al parts conceiued for their happy meeting, ſpared not ye diſcharging of their ordinance, the ſounding of drummes and trumpets, the ſpreading of Enſignes, with other warlike and ioyfull behauiours, expreſſing by theſe outward ſignes, the inwarde gladneſſe of their mindes, being all as readie to ioyne together in mutuall conſent to reſiſt the cruel enemie, as mowe in ſporting manner they made myrthe and paſtime among themſelues. Theſe three had not bene long in the hauen, but the Edward Bonauenture alſo, together with the Suſan her conſort, were come from Venice with their lading, the ſight of whom increaſed the ioy of the reſt, and they no leſſe glad of the preſence of the others, ſalued them in moſt friendly and kinde ſort, according to the maner of the ſeas: and whereas ſome of theſe ſhips ſtoode at that inſtant in ſome wante

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of victuals, they were all content to stay in the porte, till the necessities of each shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this porte of Zante, the newes was fresh and currant, of two seuerall armies, and fleetes, preuided by the King of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessarie thing wanted: and this fleete houered about the Streights of Gibraltare. The other armie had in it 20. Gallies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the Iland of Malta, vnder the charge and gouernment of Iohn Andreas Dorea, a Captaine of name, seruing the King of Spaine. These two diuers and strong fleetes, waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt, made their accompt and sure reckoning, that not a shippe should escape their furie. And the opinion also of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Zante, was, that in respect of the number of gallies in both these armies, hauing receaued such streight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and litle, in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that we should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of dutie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing els, that could daunt, or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselues vpon the goodnes of their cause, & the promise of God, to be deliuered from such as without reason, sought their destruction, caried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to aduenture thorough the seas, and to finish their nauigation, maugre the beardes of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too careles, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie, vpon Gods prouidence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their hands, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselues, and to deliberate aduisedly for their best defense. And in the end, with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the Fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmirall, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and each shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoeuer extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious, and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante, and the Castle of Greçia, and committed themselues againe to the seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage, in quietnes, without sight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Iland so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Affrike: into sight whereof, they came the 13. day of July, 1586. And the same day in the morning, about 7. of the clocke, they descried 13. sailes in number, which were of the gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English shippes had spied them, they by and by, according to a common order, made themselues ready for a fight, laied out their Ordnance, showed, charged, and primed them, displaied their ensignes, and left nothing vndone to arme themselues thoroughly. In the meane time, the gallies more and more approched the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Iles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the seruice and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the gallies, sent from each of them a frigat, to the Admiral of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were: they answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the said frigat expostulated with them, & asked, why they delaied to send or come with their captaines and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiua, their Generall, to acknowledge their dutie, & obedience to him, in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas? our men replied, & said, that they owed no such dutie nor obedience to him, & therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigat to depart with that answer, & not to stay longer a brabling, vpon her perill. With that away she went, & vp comes toward them the other frigat of Malta, & she in like sort hailed the Admiral, & would needes know whence they were, & where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admiral, not disdaining an answere, solue them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, & were now returning home: & to be requited in this case, they also demanded of the frigat whence she, & the rest of the gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malta, & for mine owne part, my name is Caualero. These gallies are in seruice, & pay to the king of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiua, a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King, with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shal therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him, to know his pleasure, he is a noble man of good behauiour & curtesie, & meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admiral, whose name was Master Edward Wilkinson now one of the 6. masters of her Maiesties royal nauie, replied, & said, we purpose not at this time

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to make triall of Don Pedro his curtesie, whereof we are suspitious and doubtfull, and not without good cause: vsing withall good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboord him, promising securitie and good vsage, that thereby he might the better know the Spanyards minde: whereupon he in deed left his frigat, and came aboord him, whom he interteined in friendly sort, and caused a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and began, with his cappe in his hand, and with reuerend termes, to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honorablie of her Maiestie, and giuing good speeches of the curteous vsage, and intertainement that he himselfe had receiued in London, at the time that the Duke of Alenson, brother to the late French King was last in England: and after he had well drunke, he tooke his leaue, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especiallie of the Merchant Royall, which he confessed to haue seene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiua, the Spanish generall, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the generall was this, that either their capteines, masters, and pursers should come to him with speed, or els he would set vpon them, and either take them or sinke them. The replie was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him: and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish branado that should make them yeeld a iot to their hindrance, but they were as readie to make resistance, as he to offer an iniurie. Whereupon Cauallero the messenger left bragging, and began to perswade them in quiet sort, and with many words, but all his labor was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing mooue them, to doe that which he required. At the last he intreated to haue the merchant of the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the generall, that he might be satisfied, and assured of their mindes by one of their owne companie. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the merchant himselfe seemed willing to be imployed in that message, and labored by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to grant it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discreet answeres to satisfie the generall, and therby to saue the effusion of Christian bloud, if it should grow to a battell. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Cauallero were, that he would (as he was a true knight and a souldior) deliuer him backe againe in safetie to his companie. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had receiued sufficient triall of Spanish inconstancie and periurie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spanyards oth. But at last, vpon much intreatie, he yeelded to let him goe to the generall, thinking in deed that good speeches, and answeres of reason would haue contented him, whereas otherwise, refusall to doe so, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more discontentment.

Maister Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish generall, the rest of the gallies hauing espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeeld them to fight, and therefore came flocking about ꝑ frigat, euery man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, Haue these English men yeelded? the frigat answered, Not so, they neither haue, nor purpose to yeeld, onely they haue sent a man of their companie to speake with our generall: and being come to the gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowit in his armor, his gard of souldiors attending vpon him in armor also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleet, why stand ye aloofe off, know ye not your dutie to the Catholike king, whose person I here represent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, passports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose? Let all these things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further displeasure & the spoile of you all? These words of the Spanish generall were not so outragiously pronounced, as they were mildly answered by maister Rowit, who, tolde him that they were all merchant men, vsing traffike in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not vrged further then reason: as for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his soueraigne the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe about to offer any such iniurie to English merchants, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes of any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforesaid, for the acknowledging of dutie in such particular sort, he tolde him, that where there was no dutie owing, there none should be performed, assuring him that their whole companie, and shippes in generall, stood resolutely vpon the negatiue, and would not yeeld to any such vnreasonable demand, ioyned with such imperious and absolute maner of commanding. Why then said he, if they will neither come to yeeld, nor shew obedience to me in the name of my king, I will either sinke them or bring them

to harbor, and so tell them from me. With that the frigot came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboord the English Admirall againe, according to promise: who was no sooner entred in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides, the Spanyards hewed off the noses of the gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the shot, and the English on the other side couragiously prepared themselues to the combat, euery man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a cannon was discharged from out the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admirall with a culuering: so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: ech English shippe matched it selfe in good order against two Spanish gallies, besides the inequallitie of the frigats on the Spanyards side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valure, according to their strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewith would often times pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to almighty God the reuenger of all euils, and the giuer of victories, that it would please him to assist them in ẏ good quarell of theirs, in defending thẽselues against so proud a tyrant, to teach their hands to war, & their fingers to fight, that ẏ glory of the victory might redound to his name, and to the honor of true religion, which the insolent enemy sought so much to ouerthrow. Contrarily, the foolish Spanyards they cryed out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying, O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady giue vs the victory, and the honor therof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes and prayers on both sides, the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtfull a long time to which part the victory would incline: till at the last the Admirall of the gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, & to holde vp her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom all the sort of them inclosed, laboring by all their meanes to keepe them aboue water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had receiued, to perish in the seas: and what slaughter was done among the Spanyards themselues, the English were vncertaine, but by a probable coniecture apparant a far off, they supposed their losse was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonor, after fiue houres spent in the battell, they withdrew themselues: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes, with the losse onely of two men slaine, amongst them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinson with his good words, & friuely promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honor of the victory, and the shamefull repulse of the enemy.

A fight of fiue houres.

Thus with duetifull thanks to the mercy of God for his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in theirs nauigation, & comming as high as Algier, a port towne vpon the coast of Barbarie, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselues after their wearinesse, & to take in such supplie of fresh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king therof sent a messenger to the ships to know what they were, with which messenger the chiefe maister of ech ship repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships, in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish gallies, reporting euery particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the said king shewed himselfe maruellous glad, interteining them in the best sort, and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the citie vpon paine of death, that no man of what degree or state soeuer he were, should presume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of iniury in body or goods. By vertue wherof they dispatched all things in excellent good sort, with all fauor and peaceablenesse: onely such prisoners & captiues of the Spanyards as were in the citie, seeing the good vsage which they receiued, & hearing also what seruice they had performed against the foresaid gallies, grudged exceedingly against them, & sought as much as they could to practise some mischiefe against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certeine lane of the citie, came vpon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wound, but that it was easily recouered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly sent both for the party that had receiued the wound, and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slaue euen to death, which was performed to the end that no man should presume to commit the like part, or to do any thing in contempt of his royall cõmandement.

The English hauing receiued this good iustice at the kings hands, & all other thinges that they wanted, or could craue for the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leaue of him, and of the rest of their friends, that were resident in Alger, and put out to sea, looking to meet with the second armie of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the mouth of the streight of Gibraltar,

which

which they were of necessitie to passe. But comming neere to the said streight, it pleased God to cast at that instant, a very darke and misty fogge so that one shippe could not discerne another, if it were 40 paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Easterne windes that then blew most fiers for their course, they passed with great speed through the streight, and might haue passed with that good gale, had there beene 500 gallies to withstand them, and the ayre neuer so cleere for euery shippe to be seene. But yet the Spanish gallies had a sight of them when they were come within three English miles of the towne, & made after them in all possible haste, and although they saw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine furie & foolish pride, they shot off their ordinance, and made a stir in the sea as if they had beene in the midst of them, which vanity of theirs ministred to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadowes, and to take so great paines to so small purpose.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish king, which he had prouided of purpose to distresse the English, who notwithstanding, passed through both his armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall name, the honor of our prince and country, and the iust commendation of euery mans seruice, performed in that voyage.

The voyage of M. Iohn Eldred to Tripolis in Syria by sea, and *from thence by land and riuer to Babylon and Balsara.* 1583.

I Departed out of London in the ship called the Tyger in the companie of M. John Newberie, M. Ralph Fitch, and sixe or seuen other honest merchants vpon Whitsun munday 1583, and arriued in Tripolis of Syria the first of May next insuing: at our landing we went on maying vpon S. Georges Iland, a place where Christians dying aboord the shippes are woont to be buried. In this citie our English marchants haue a consul, & our nation abide together in one house with him called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of stone, square, in maner like a cloister, and euery man his seuerall chamber, as it is the vse of all other Christians of seuerall nations. This towne standeth vnder a part of the mountaine of Libanus two English miles distant from the port: on the side of which port, trending in forme of an halfe moone, stand fiue blockehouses or smal forts, wherein is some very good artillerie, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Ianissaries. Right before this towne from the seaward, is a banke of mouing sand, which gathereth and increaseth with the Westerne windes, in such sort, that, according to an olde prophecie among them, this banke is like to swallow vp and ouerwhelme the towne: for euery yeere it increaseth and eateth vp many gardens, although they vse all pollicie to diminish the same, and to make it firme ground. The citie is about the bignesse of Bristow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe strength of the place is in a citadell, which standeth on the South side within the walles, and ouerlooketh the whole towne, and is strongly kept with 200 Ianissaries and good artillerie. A riuer passeth through the middest of the citie, wherewith they water their gardens and mulberie trees, on which there grow abundance of silke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white silke, which is the chiefest naturall commoditie to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Christian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marsillians, Sicilians, Raguses, and lately with Englishmen, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a caruan, passing three dayes ouer the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arriued in a citie called Hammah, which standeth on a goodly plaine replenished with corne & cotton wooll. On these mountaines which we passed, grow great quantity of gall trees, which are somewhat like our okes, but lesser & more crooked: on the best tree a man shall not finde aboue a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen, and falleth more & more to decay, and at this day there is scarce one halfe of the wall standing, which hath beene very strong and faire: but because it cost many mens liues to win it, the Turke will not haue it repayred, and hath written in the Arabian tongue ouer the castle gate, which standeth in the midst of the towne, these words: Cursed be the father & the sonne that shall lay their hands to the repairing heerof. Refreshing our selues one day here, we passed forward with camels three dayes more vntill we came to Alleppo, where we arriued the 21 of May. This is the greatest place of traffike for a dry towne that is in all those parts: for hither resort Iewes, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, & many sorts of Christians, & inioy freedome of their consciences, & bring thither many kindes of rich merchandizes. In the midst of this towne also standeth a goodly castle raised on hie with a garison of 4 or 5 hundred Ianissaries. Within foure

The description of Tripolis in Syria.

Stone of white silke.

The citie of Hammah. Cotten wooll. Gall trees.

Alleppo.

miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyardes and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere vnto the riuers side, which is but small, the walles are about three English miles in compasse, but the suburbs are almost as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence

Birrah. with our camels the last of May with M. Iohn Newberie and his companie, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a small towne situated vpon the riuer Euphrates, where it beginneth first to take his name, being heere gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifolde branches, and is therefore called by the people of the countrey by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Heere is plentie of victualles whereof we all furnished our selues for our long iourney downe the aforesaid riuer. And according to the manner of those that trauell downe by water, we prepared a small barke for the conueyance of our selues and of our goods. These boats

Euphrates shallow. are flatte bottomed, because the riuer is shallow in many places: and when men trauell in the moneth of Iulie, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are constrained to carie with them a spare boate or two to lighten their owne boates, if they chance to fall on the

Eight & twentie dayes iourney by riuer. shoalues. We were eight and twentie dayes vpon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we disembarked our selues and our goodes. Euery night after the Sunne setteth, we tie our barke to a stake, goe on land to gather stickes, and set on our pot with rice or hulled wheat, and hauing supped, the merchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners vpon the shores side as neere as

Arabians vpon the riuer of Euphrates. they can vnto the same. In many places vpon the riuers side we meete with troopes of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambes, and gaue them in barter, (for they care not for money) glasses, combes, coxall, amber, to hang about their armes and neckes, and for churned milke we gaue them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they vse to tanne their goats skinnes which they churne withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to those vagabond

The Arabian women weare golde rings in their nostrels. Egyptians, which heretofore haue gone about in England. Their women all without exception, weare a great round ring in one of their nostrels, of golde, siluer, or yron, according to their ability, and about their armes & smalles of their legs they haue hoopes of golde, siluer or yron. All of them

Euphrates described. aswell women and children, as men, are very great swimmers, and often times swimming they brought vs milke to our barke in vessels, vpon their heads. These people are very theeuish, which I prooued to my cost: for they stole a casket of mine, with thinges of good value in the same, from vnder my mans head as he was asleepe: and therefore trauellers keepe good watch as they passe downe the riuer. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in some places narrower, in some broader: it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast as the riuers of Trent: it hath diuers sorts of fish in it, but all are scaled, some as bigge as salmons, like barbils.

Felugia. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentith of June, where we made our abode seuen dayes, for lacke of camels to carie our goods to Babylon: the heate at that time of the yeere is such in those parts, that men are loath to let out their camels to trauell. This Felugia is a village of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the riuer: the inhabitants are Arrabians. Not finding camels here, we were constrained to vnlade our goods, and hired an hundred asses to carie our English merchandizes onely to New Babylon, ouer a short desert, in trolling whereof we spent eighteene houres trauelling by night, and part of the morning, to auoid the great heat.

The ruines of olde Babylon. In this place which we crossed ouer, stood the olde mightie citie of Babylon, many olde ruines whereof are easilie to be seene by day light, which I Iohn Eldred haue often beheld, at my good leasure, hauing made three voyages betweene the New citie of Babylon and Aleppo ouer this desert. Heere also are yet standing the ruines of the olde tower of Babell, which being vpon a plaine ground seemeth a farre off very great, but the neerer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeereth: sundry times I haue gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing aboue a quarter of a mile in compasse, and almost as high as the stone worke of Paules steeple in London, but it is much bigger. The brickes remaining in this most auncient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene euery course of brickes there lieth a course of mattes made of canes, which remaine sounde and not perished, as

New Babylon. though they had beene layed within one yeere. The citie of New Babylon ioyneth vpon the

The riuer Tygris. foresaid small desert where the Olde citie was, and the riuer of Tygris runneth close vnder the wall, and they may if they will open a sluce, and let the water of the same runne round about the towne. It is aboue two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speake three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish tongues: the people are of the Spanyards complexion: and the women generallie weare in one of the gristles of their noses a ring like a wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein: and this they doe be they neuer so poore.

This

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thoroughfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furnished with victuals which come downe the riuer of Tygris from Mosul which was called Ninive in olde time. They bring these victuals and diuers sortes of merchandises vpon rafts borne vpon goates skins blowen vp ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they haue discharged their goods, they sell the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goates skins, and carry them home againe vpon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the riuer. The building here is most of bricke dried in the sunne, and very litle or no stone is to bee found: their houses are all flat roofed and lowe. They haue no raine for eight moneths together, nay almost any cloudes in the skie, night nor day. Their Winter is in November, December, Ianuarie and Februarie, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at seuerall times in this citie of Babylon, hath bene at the least the space of two yeeres. As we come to the citie, we passe ouer the riuer of Tygris on a great bridge made with boates chained together with two mightie chaines of iron. From thence wee departed in flat bottomd barkes more strong and greater then those of Euphrates, and were eight and twentie dayes also in passing downe this riuer to Balsara, but we might haue done it in eighteene or lesse, if the water had bene higher. Vpon the waters side by the way stand diuers townes resembling much the names of the old prophets: the first towne they call Ozeah, and another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balsara by one dayes iourney, the two riuers of Tygris and Euphrates meete, and there standeth a Castle called Curna kept by the Turkes, where all merchants pay a small custome. Here the two riuers ioined together, begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here also it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water ouerflowing maketh the country all about very fertile of wine, rice, pulse, and dates. The towne of Balsara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, castle and wals, are made of bricke dried in the sunne. The Turke hath here fiue hundred Ianissaries, besides other souldiours continually in garison and pay, but his chiefe strength is of gallies which are about fiue and twentie or thirtie very faire and furnished with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balsara come monethly diuers ships from Ormuz, laden with all sortes of Indian merchandise, as spices, drugs, Indico, and Calecut cloth. These ships are vsually from sixtie to three score tunnes, hauing their plankes sowed together with coyre made of the barke of Dat-trees, and in stead of Ocam they vse the shiuerings of the barke of the said trees, and of the same they also make their tackling. They haue no kind of iron worke belonging to these vessels, saue onely their ankers. From this place fiue dayes sayling downe the Gulfe, they goe to a place called Baharem in the midway to Ormuz. There they fish for pearles foure moneths in the yeere, to wit, in June, July, August, and September. My abode in Balsara was iust sixe moneths, during which time I receiued diuers letters from master Iohn Newberie from Ormuz, who as he passed that way with her maiesties letters to Yeladin el Kubar, that is, Yeladin the great, king of Cambaia, and vnto the mightie Emperor of China, was traiterously there arrested, and all his company by the Portingals, and afterward sent prisoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell imprisonment, he and his companions were deliuered vpon sureties, not to depart the towne without leaue, at the sute of one father Thomas Steuens, an English religious man which they found there, but what became afterward of three of them, is not knowen vnto this day. The fourth which was a painter called Iohn Stozie, became religious in the Colledge of S. Paul in Goa, as we vnderstood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales hauing dispatched our businesse at Balsara imbarked our selues in company of seuentie barkes all laden with merchandise, hauing euery barke fourteene men to draw them, like our Westerne bargemen on the Thames, and we were fortie foure dayes comming vp against the streame to Babylon, where arriuing and paying our customs, we with all other sortes of merchants bought vs camels, hired vs men to lade and driue them, furnished our selues with rice, butter, bisket, honie made of Dates, Onions and Dates: and euery merchant bought a proportion of liue muttons, and hired certaine shepheards to driue them with vs: we also bought vs tentes to lie in, and to put our goods vnder, for in this our Caraun were foure thousand Camels laden with spices and other rich merchandises. These Camels will liue very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on Thistles, Woome-wood, Magdalene and other such weedes which they find vpon the way. The gouernment and deciding of all quarels and duties to be paied, the whole Caraun committeth to one speciall rich merchant of the company, of whose honestie they conceiue best. In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent fortie dayes, trauailing twentie and foure and twentie miles a day, resting our selues commonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, vntill three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our iourney. Eight dayes iourney from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere vnto a towne called Hite, as we crosse the riuer Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the towne there

Rafts borne vpon blabbers of goates skins.

Seldome raine.

Eight and twentie dayes iourney more by riuer, from Babylon to Balsara.

Curna castle.

Balsara.

Ships made without iron in the Persian Gulfe.

Yeladin el Kubar king of Cambaia.

They returneth from Balsara to Aleppo.

Their prouision of victuals.

A Caraun of foure thousand Camels.

Hite.

Springs of tarre.

is a valley wherein are many springs throwing out aboundantly at great mouthes, a kind of black substance like vnto tarre, which serueth all the countrey to make stanch their barkes and boates: euery one of these springs make a noise like vnto a Smithes forge in the blowing and puffing out of this matter, which neuer ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swalloweth vp all heauie things that come vpon it. The people of the country call it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to say, Hell doore. As we passed through these deserts, we saw certaine wild beasts, as wild asses all white, Roebucks, wolues, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise, the king of the wandring Arabians in these deserts, hath a dutie of fortie shillings sterling, vpon euery Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receiue of the Caruans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh vpon him to conduct the said Caruans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling theeues. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Caruan the eleuenth of June, 1584. where we were ioyfully receiued twentie miles distant from the towne by master William Barret our Consul, accompanied with his people and Ianissaries, who fell sicke immediatly and departed this life within eight dayes after, and elected before his death, M. Anthonie Bate Consul of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the said roume three yeeres. In which meane time I made two voiages more vnto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesaid, ouer the deserts of Arabia. And afterwards as one desirous to see other partes of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is distant thence 60. English miles, and from thence went down to Tripolis, where going aboord a small vessel, I arriued at Ioppe, and trauailed to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Ierusalem, Bethlem, to the riuer of Iordan, and the sea or lake of Sodome, and returned backe to Ioppe, and from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others haue published large discourses, I surcease to write. Within few dayes after imbarking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arriued (God be thanked) in safetie here in the riuer of Thames with diuers English merchants, the 26. of March, 1588. in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English merchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret. Consul in Aleppo. Anthonie Bate.

The Letters patents or priuiledges granted by her Maiestie to certaine Noble men and merchants of London, for a trade to Barbarie, in the yeere, 1585.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Eschequer, and to all Maiors, shirifs, constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our hauens and creekes, portes and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same, and to all our officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other wholoeuer to whom it shall or may appertaine, and to euery of them greeting. Whereas it is made euidently and apparantly knowen vnto vs, that of late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloued counsellors, Ambrose Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leicester, and also our louing and naturall subiects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Stapers, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washburne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, Iohn Cartwright, Henrie Paiton, Iohn Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion and Thomas Dodde, all of London, merchaunts now trading into the countrey of Barbarie, in the partes of Affrica, vnder the gouernment of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperor of Morocco, and king of Fesse and Sus, haue sustained great and grieuous losses, and are like to sustaine greater if it should not be preuented: In tender consideration whereof, and for that diuers merchandise of the same countries are very necessarie and conuenient for the vse and defence of this our realme of England, and for diuers other causes vs specially mouing, minding the releefe and benefite of our said subiects, and the quiet traffique and good gouernment to be had, and vsed among them in their said trade, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and graunt vnto the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon,

Auenon, Richard Stapers, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Garrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Waſhborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, Iohn Cartwright, Henrie Payton, Iohn Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Daſſel, Auguſtine Lane, Robert Lion & Thomas Dodde, that they and euery of them by themſelues, or by their factors or ſeruants, & none others, ſhall and may, for, and during the ſpace of twelue yeeres, haue and enioy the whole freedome and libertie in the ſayd traffique or trade, vnto or from the ſayd countrey of Barbarie, or to or from any part thereof, for the buing and ſelling of all maner of wares and merchandizes whatſoeuer, that now or accuſtomably heretofore haue bene bought or tranſported, frō, or to the ſaid countrey of Barbarie, or from or to any of the cities, townes, places, portes, roads, hauens, harbors or creekes of the ſaid countrey of Barbarie, any law, ſtatute, graunt, matter, cuſtomes or priuiledges, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And for the better eſtabliſhing, ordering and gouerning of the ſayd Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, &c. aboueſayd, their factors, ſeruaunts and aſſignes in the trade aforeſaid, we for vs our heires and ſucceſſors, doe by theſe preſents giue and graunt full licence to the ſayd Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and the reſt aforeſayd, and to euery of them from time to time, during the ſaid terme of twelue yeeres, at their pleaſures to aſſemble, and meete together in any place or places conuenient within our citie of London, or els where, to conſult of, and for the ſaid trade, and with the conſent of the ſaid Erle of Leiceſter, to make and eſtabliſh good and neceſſarie orders and ordinances, for, and touching the ſame, and all ſuch orders and ordinances ſo made, to put in vre and execute, and them or any of them with the conſent of the ſayd Erle of Leiceſter, to alter, change and make voyd, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the ſaid terme, they or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, ſhall find conuenient.

Prouided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnaunt to the lawes, ſtatutes or cuſtomes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the ſayd libertie of traffique is graunted by theſe our Letters patents, and none other our ſubiects whatſoeuer, without their ſpeciall conſent and licence before had, ſhould during the ſaid terme haue trade or traffique for any maner of merchandizes, to, or from the ſayd countrey of Barbarie, or to, or from any Citie, Towne, place, porte, harbour or creeke within the ſayd countrey of Barbarie, to, or out of our ſayd Realmes and dominions, wee doe by theſe preſents ſtraightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and euery our Subiects whatſoeuer, other then onely the ſayde Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie and the reſt aboueſayd, and euery of them by themſelues or by their factors or ſeruaunts during the ſayde terme, to trade or traffique for, or with any merchandize, to, or from the ſayde countrey of Barbarie, or to, or from any the dominions of the ſame, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyd our high diſpleaſure, and vpon paine of impriſonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleaſure, and of forfeiting all the merchandiſes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the ſayd terme, ſhall trade or traffique to or from the ſayd countrey of Barbarie, or to, or from the dominions of the ſame, contrary to this our priuiledge and prohibition, vnleſſe it be by and with the expreſſe licence, conſent, and agreement of the ſayd Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore, the elder, and all his ſonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Stapers, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Garrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Laurence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Waſhburne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and with the expreſſe licence and conſent of the moye part of them then liuing and trading, firſt had and obtained, ſo alwayes, that the ſayde Erle of Leiceſter bee one, if he be liuing.

And we further for vs our heires and ſucceſſors of our ſpeciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, doe graunt to the ſayde Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, and the reſt aboueſayd, and to euery of them, that nothing ſhall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the ſayd trade or traffique, or the exercise thereof, without or againſt the conſent of the ſayd Erles, Thomas Starkie (and the others before named) during the time of theſe our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforeſayd.

And for that the ſayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them aforeſayd ſhould not bee pre-

preuented or interrupted in this their sayd trade, we doe by these presents for vs, our heyres and successours, straightly prohibite and forbid all maner of person or persons, as well straungers of what nation or countrey soeuer, as our owne Subiects, other then onely the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them as aforesayd, that they nor any of them from henceforth during the sayd terme of 12. yeeres, doe or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of merchandizes whatsoeuer growing, or being made within the sayd countrey of Barbarie, or within any the dominions thereof, vnlesse it bee by and with the licence, consent and agreement of the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the consent and licence of the more part of them then liuing, first had and obtained, so alwayes the said Erle of Leicester (if he be liuing) be one, vnder the paine that euery one that shall offend or doe against this our present prohibition here last aboue mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all and singular the said merchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, contrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe prouided: the one moitie of all and euery which said forfeitures whatsoeuer mentioned or specified in these our present Letters patents, shall be to vs our heires and successors: And the other moitie of all and euery the sayd forfaitures, we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, cleerely and wholy for vs, our heires and successours, giue and grant vnto the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these our Letters patents vpon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant shall bee sufficient authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that shall haue to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance vnto the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moitie of all and singular the goods, merchandizes and things whatsoeuer mentioned in these our present Letters patents to be forfaited at any time or times during the sayd terme of twelue yeeres: which sayd allowance we doe straightly charge and commaund from time to time to bee made to the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkey, &c. and to euery of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or denall of any of our officers whatsoeuer, as they tender our fauour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And we doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular, Customers and Collectors of our customes & subsidies, and comptrollers of the same, of, and within our Citie and porte of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, that they ne any of them take or perceiue, or cause, or suffer to be taken, receiued or perceiued for vs & in our name, or to our vse, or to the vses of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer during the sayd terme of 12. yeeres, for, and in the name & liew or place of any custome, subsidie and other thing or duties to vs, our heires or successors due or to be due for the customs & subsidies of any merchandizes whatsoeuer growing, being made or comming out of the said country of Barbarie, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their bookes of customs and subsidies, nor make any agreement for the subsidies and customs, of, and for any the said merchants, saiuing onely with, and in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the most part of them, as they and euery of them will answer at their vttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better and more sure obseruation of this our graunt, we will, and graunt for vs our heires & successors by these presents, that the Treasurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment therof in the said court, at all and euery time and times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, at & vpon request made vnto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the attorneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shal and may make and direct vnder the seale of the said Exchequer, one or moe sufficient writ or writs, close or patents, vnto euery or any of our said customers, collectors or controllers of our heires and successors in all and euery, or to any porte or portes, creeke, hauen, or other places within this our realme of England, as the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the attorneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing & trading, shal at any time require, commanding and straighly charging them and euery of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or merchandizes whatsoeuer, growing, being made or comming out or from the said country of Barbarie or the dominions thereof, nor receiue or take any custome, subsidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, according to this our grant, and the true meaning thereof, & according to our said will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witnes whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the fift day of July in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The

The Ambassage of M. Henrie Roberts, one of the sworne *Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her highnesse to Mully* Hamet Emperour of Marocco, and king of Fes, and Sus, in the yere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the space of 3. yeere. Written briefly by himselfe.

Vpon an incorporation graunted to the companie of Barbarie Marchants resident in London, I Henrie Roberts one of her Maiesties sworne Esquires of her person, was appointed her highnesse messenger, and Agent vnto the aforesaid Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco, king of Fes and Sus. And after I had receiued my Commission, instructions, and her Maiesties letters, I departed from London the 14. of August in the yeere 1585. in a tall shippe called the Ascension, in companie of the Minion and Hopewel, and we all arriued in safetie at Asafi a port of Barbarie, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) receiued mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the custome of the countrey, lodging me in the chiefest house of the towne, from whence I dispatched a messenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to aduertise the Emperour of my arriuall: who immediatly gaue order, and sent certaine souldiers for my guard and conduct, and horses for my selfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Euans, Edward Saltcot, and other English marchants resident there in the countrey, with my traine of Moores and cariages, I came at length to the riuer of Ansift, which is within 4. miles of Marocco: and there by the water side I pitched my tents vnder the Oliue trees: where I mette with all the English marchants by themselues, and the French & Flemish, and diuers other Christians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, and spent out the heat of the day, about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone wee all set forwarde toward the citie of Marocco, where wee arriued the said day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire house in the Iudaria or Iurie, which is the place where the Iewes haue their abode, and is the fairest place, and quietest lodging in all the citie.

After I had reposed my selfe three dayes, I had accesse to the kings presence, deliuered my message and her Maiesties letters, and was receiued with all humanitie, and had fauourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which space I abode there in his Court, as her Maiesties Agent and Ligier: and whensoeuer I had occasion of busines, I was admitted either to his Maiestie himselfe, or to his viceRoy, whose name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wise and discreete person, & the chiefest about his Maiestie. The particulers of my seruice for diuers good and reasonable causes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leaue obteined, and an honourable reward bestowed by the Emperour vpon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of August 1588. towarde a garden of his, which is called Shoresbenares, where hee promised mee I should stay but one day for his letters: howbeit, vpon some occasion I was stayed vntill the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. shotte attending vpon me for my guard and safetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things necessarie to the port of Santa Cruz, being sixe dayes iourney from Marocco, and the place where our shippes doe commonly take in their lading, where I arriued the 21. of the same moneth. In this port I stayed 43. dayes, and at length the second of Nouember I embarqued my selfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour sent with mee vpon an Embassage to her Maiestie: and after much torment and foule weather at sea, on New yeeres day I came on lande at S. Iues in Cornewall, from whence passing by lande both together vp towards London, we were met without the citie with the chiefest marchants of the Barbarie companie, well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horse, and so the Embassadour and my selfe being both in Coche, entred the Citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of Januarie 1589.

¶ *Este es vn traslado bien y fielmente sacado da vna carta real del Rey* Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es este, que Segue.

Con el nombre de Dios piadoso y misericordioso, &c. El sieruo de Dios soberano el conquistador por su causa, el successor ensalçado por Dios Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Iariffe, haceni, el que perpetue su honra y ensalçe su estado. Se pone este nuestro real mandado en manos de los criados de nuestras altas puertas los mercaderes Ingleses; para que por el sepan todos los que la presente vieren,

como nuestro alto Consejo les ampara con el fauor de Dios de todo aquello, que les empeciere y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viaje, que fueren, ninguno les captiuarà en estos nuestros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos pertenescen: y que les cubre el amparo de nuestro podor de qualquiera fatiga; y ningun los impida con mano de enemistad, ni se darà causa, de que se agrauien en qualquiera manera con el fauor de Dios y de su amparo. Y mandamos à los Alcaydes de los nuestros puertos y fortalezas, y à los que en estos nuestros reynos tienen cargo, y à toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden, de que sean offendidos en ninguna manera; y esto serà necessariamente: Que es escrita en los medios dias de Rabel segundo anno de nueue çientos, y nouenta y seys.

Concorda el dia d'esta carta con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y siete, lo qual yo Abdel Ratiman el Catan interprete per su Magestad saquè, y romançe de verbo ad verbum, como en el se contiene, y en Fee dello firmo de my nombre fecho vt supra. Abdel Rahman el Catan.

This is a copie well and truely translated of an edict of Mully Hamet king of Fez and Emperour of Maruecos, whose tenor is as followeth, to wit, That no Englishmen should bee molested or made slaues in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforesaid M. Henrie Roberts.

The same in English.

IN the name of the pitiful & the merciful God, &c. The seruant of the supreame God the cõqueror in his cause, the successor aduanced by God to be Emperor of the Moores, the sonne of the Emperor of the Moores, the Iariffe, the Haçeny, whose honor God long increase & aduance his estate. This our princely commandement is deliuered into the hands of the English marchants, which remaine in the protection of our stately palaces: to the end that al men which shal see this present writing, may vnderstand that our princely counsaile wil defend them by the fauor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what sort soeuer they shalbe wronged: and that, which way soeuer they shal trauaile, no man shal take them captiues in these our kingdomes, ports, & places which belong vnto vs, which also may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any molestatiõ whatsoeuer: and that no man shal hinder them by laying violent hand vpõ them, & shall not giue occasion that they may be grieued in any sort by the fauor and assistance of God. And we charge & command our officers of our hauens & fortresses, and all such as beare any authoritie in these our dominions, and likewise al the common people, that in no wise they doe molest them, in such sort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement shall remaine inuiolable, being registred in the middest of the moneth of Rabel in the yecre of nine hundreth ninetie and sixe.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 26. of March 1587. which I Abdel Rahman el Catan interpretour for his Maiestie, haue translated and turned out of the Arabian into spanish word for word as is conteined therein: and in witnes thereof haue subscribed my name as aforesaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoso piadador.

Oracion de Dios sobre nuestro Sennor, y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados à el.

A letter of Mully Hamet to the Earle of Leicester.

EL sieruo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y ensalsado por la graçia de Dios, Myra Momanyn, hijo de Myra Momanyn, nieto de Mera Momanyn, el Iarif, el Hazeny, que Dios sustenga sus reynos, y enhalse sus mãdados, para el Señor muy affamado y muy illustre, muy estimado el Conde de Leycester, despues de dar las loores deuidas à Dios, y las oraçiones, y saludes deuidas à le Propheta Mahumet. Seruirà esta por os hazer saber que lligò a qui à nuestra real Corte vuestra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella se contiene. Y vuestro Ambaxador, que aqui està en nuestra corte me dio à entender la causa de la tardança de los rehenes hasta agora: el qual descuento reçebimos, y nos damos por satisfechos. Y quanto à lo que à nos escriueys por causa de Iuan Herman, y lo mesmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador sobre el, antes que llegasse vuestra carta, por la quexa del ambaxador, que se auia quexado del, ya auiamos mandado prender lo, y assi queda aora preso, y quedera, hasta que se le haga la justicia que mas se le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nuestro Señor os tenga en su guardia. Hecha en nuestra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios sostenga, el 28. dias del mes de Remodan anno 996.

In the name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The blessing of god light vpõ our lord & prophet Mahumet, & those that are obediẽt vnto him.

THe seruant of God both mightie in warre & mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the sonne of Myra momanyn, ỹ Iariff, ỹ Hazeni, whose kingdoms God mainteine & aduance

assurance his authoritie: Vnto the right famous, right noble, and right highly esteemed Earle of Leicester, after due praises giuen vnto God, & due blessings & salutations rendred vnto ỹ prophet Mahumet. These are to giue you to vnderstand, ỹ your letters arriued here in our royal Court, wherby we wel perceiue the cõtents therof. And your Embassador which remaineth here in our court told me the cause of the slownes of the gages or pledges vntil this time: which reckoning we accept of, & hold our selues as satisfied. And as touching the matter whereof you write vnto vs concerning Iohn Herman, & the selfe same complaint which your Embassador hath made of him, before the coming of your letter, we had already commaunded him to be taken vpon ỹ same complaint which your Embassador had made of him, whereupon he stil remaineth in hold, & shall so continue vntill further iustice be done vpon him according to his desert. And so our Lorde keepe you in his safegarde. Written at our royal court in Maruecos, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno 996. Which is vnto vs 1587.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

MVy alto, y muy poderoso Señor,

Amando entendido de parte de nuestro Agente la mucha aficion, y voluntad, que nos teneys, y quanta honra, y fauor le hazeys por amor nuestro, para dar nos tanto mayor testimonio de vuestra amistad, hemos recebido de lo vno, y de lo otro muy grande contento, y satisfacion: y assi no podemos dexar de agradesceroslo, como mereceys. Vuestras cartas hemos tambien recebido, y con ellas holgadonos infinitamente, por venir de parte de vn Principe, à quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nuestro Agẽte nos ha escripto sobre ciertas cosas, que desseays ser os embiadas de aqui: Y, aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente cõplazer, como pidiz, no sucedido, que las guerras en que hamos al presente occupadas, no nos lo consienten del todo: Hemos però mandado, que se os satisfaga en parte, y cõforme à lo que por agora la necessitad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declarara nuestro Agente: esperãdo, que lo recibereys en buena parte, y conforme al animo, con que os lo concedemos. Y porque nos ha sido referido, que aueys prometido de proceder contra vn Iuan Herman vassallo nuestro, (el qual nos ha grauemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, auemos dado orden à nuestro dicho Agente de deziros mas parcularmente lo que desseamos ser hecho a cerca deste negucio, rogando os, que lo mandeys assi complir: y que seays seruido de fauorescer siempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como hasta agora aueys hecho, sin permitir, que nadie os haga mudar de parecer a cerca de las calumnias, que le podran leuantar, ny dudar, que no complamos muy por entero todo lo que de nuestra parte os prometiere. Nuestro Senor guarde vestra muy alta y muy poderosa persona. Hecha en nuestra Corte Real de Greenwich a 20. de Iulio 1587.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

¶ The same in English.

RIghte high and mightie Prince, Hauing vnderstoode from our Agent the great affection & good will which you beare vs, and how great honour and fauor you shewe him for our sake, to the ende to giue vs more ample testimonie of your friendship, we haue receiued very great contentment & satisfaction, aswel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your desert. We haue also receiued your letters, and do not a little reioyce thereof, because they come from a prince vnto whome we are so much beholden. Our Agent hath written vnto vs concerning certaine things which you desire to be sent vnto you from hence. And albeit we wish that wee could particularly satisfie you, as you desire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherein at this present we be busied, will not suffer vs fully to doe the same: neuertheless, we haue commanded to satisfie you in part, and according as the present necessitie doeth permit vs, as our Agent will declare vnto you more particularly, hoping you will receiue it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith we graunt the same. And because it hath bene signified vnto vs that you haue promised to proceede in iustice against one Iohn Herman our subiect, which hath grieuously offended vs, in such sort as we haue sent word vnto you, we haue giuen order to our saide Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we desire to be done in this busines, praying you also to command the same to be put in execution: and that it would please you alwayes to fauour our said Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you haue done hitherto, not suffering your selfe to be changed in your opinion, for all ỹ false reports which they may raise against him, nor to doubt that we wil not accomplish at large all that he shal promise you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preserue your right high and mightie person. Written in our royal Court at Greenwich the 20. of July, 1587.

Iohn Herman an English rebel.

A Patent graunted to certaine marchants of Exceter, and *others of the VVest parts, and of London, for a trade to the riuer* of Senega and Gambia in Guinea, 1588.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admiral of England, our Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and euery our officers, ministers and subiects whatsoeuer, greeting. Whereas our welbeloued subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and Iohn Doricot of our Citie of Exeter marchants, Iohn Yong of Coliton in our Countie of Deuon marchant, Richard Doderidge of Barnestable in our saide Countie of Deuon Marchant, Antonie Dassell, and Nicolas Turner of our citie of London marchants, haue bene perswaded and earnestly moued by certaine Portingals resident within our Dominions, to vndertake and set forwarde a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea: videlicet, from the Northermost part of the Riuer commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega, and from and within that Riuer all along that coast vnto the Southermost part of another Riuer commonly called by the name of ‖ Gambia, and within that Riuer: which, as we are informed, they haue already one⁹ perfourmed accordingly: And for that we are credibly giuen to vnderstand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly traffique and trade of marchandise into those countreis, will not onely in time be very beneficial to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and relefe vnto the present distressed estate of those Portingals, who by our princely fauour liue and continue here vnder our protection: And considering that the aduenturing and enterprising of a newe trade can not be a matter of small charge and hazard to the aduenturers in the beginning: we haue therefore thought it conuenient, that our said louing subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better incouragement to proceede in their saide aduenture and trade in the saide countreis, shall haue the sole vse and exercise thereof for a certaine time. In consideration whereof, and for other waighbie reasons and considerations vs specially mouuing, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we haue giuen & graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe giue and graunt vnto the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassel and Nicholas Turner, and to euery of them, and to such other our subiects as they or the most part of them shall thinke conuenient to receiue into their companie and societie, to be the traders with them into the saide countreis, that they and euery of them by themselues or by their seruants or Factors and none others, shall and may for and during the full space and terme of tenne yeeres next ensuing the date of these presents, haue and enioy the free & whole traffique, trade and feate of marchandise, to & from the saide Northermost part of the said Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega: and from and within that Riuer all along the coast of Guinea, vnto the Southermost part of the said Riuer, cõmonly called by the name of the Riuer of ‖ Gambia, and within that Riuer also. And that they the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassel and Nicholas Turner, & euery of them, by themselues or by their seruants or Factors, & such as they or the most part of them shall receiue into their companie and societie, to be traders with them into the saide Countreis (as is afore said) and none others, shal and may, for, and during the said space and terme of 10. yeres, haue and enioy the sole & whole traffique or trade of marchandise into & from the saide places afore limitted and described, for the buying & selling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandises whatsoeuer, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places situated or being in the countreis, parts & coasts of Guinea before limitted, any law, statute, or graunt, matter, custome or priuiledges to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And for the better ordering, establishing, and gouerning of the said societie & companie in the said trade and traffique of marchandises, and the quiet, orderly and lawful exercise of the same, We for vs, our heires, and successors, doe by these presents giue and graunt full license and authoritie vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such others as they shall receiue into their said societie and company to be traders into the said countreis, as is afore said, and to euery of them, that they or the most part of them shall and may at all conuenient times at their pleasures, assemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient, as well within our citie

‖ Or, Gambia.

‖ Or, Gambia.

citie of Exeter, as elsewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the said terme of ten yeeres, to consult of, for, and concerning the saide trade and traffike of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and stablish good, necessarie, and reasonable orders, constitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the same trade. And all such orders, constitutions, and ordinances so to be made, to put in vre and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voide, and, if neede be, to make newe, as at any time, during the said terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the most part of them then trading, as is aforesaid, shall be thought necessary & conuenient. Unto all & euery which said orders, constitutions, & ordinances, they, & euery of them, & all other persons which shal hereafter be receaued into the said societie & company, shall submit themselues, & shal wel & duely obserue, performe, and obey the same, so long as they shall stand in force, or els shal pay and incurre such forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, & in such manner and forme, and to such vses and intents, as by the said orders, constitutions, and ordinances shall be assessed, limited, and appointed. So alwaies, as the same orders, constitutions, and ordinances, be not repugnant or contrarie to the lawes, statutes, and customes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reasonable forme of other penalties, assessed by the companie of our Marchants, named Aduenturers. And to the intent that they onely, to whome the said power and libertie of traffike and trade of marchandize is granted by these our letters patents aforesaid, and none others whatsoeuer, without their speciall consent and license before had, shall, during the said terme of ten yeeres, vse, or haue trade or traffike, with or for any manner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the said coastes or partes of Guinea, afore limited: We doe by these presents, by our royall and supreame authoritie, straighely charge, and command that no person, or persons whatsoeuer, by themselues, or by their factors, or seruants, during the said terme of ten yeeres, shall in any wise trade or traffike, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the said coastes and partes of Guinea, afore limited, other then the saide William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Antony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such as from time to time, they, or the most part of them, shall receaue into their societie and companie, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, as they tender our fauour, and will auoid our high displeasure, and vpon paine of imprisonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and to lose and forfeit the shippe or shippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them, shall, during the saide terme of tenne yeeres, trade, or traffike to or from the said Countreies, or any part thereof, according to the limitation aboue mentioned, contrarie to our expresse prohibition and restraint, in that behalfe. And further, we doe by these presents, giue and grant full power and authoritie, to the saide William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such other persons, as they shall receaue into their societie and companie, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, and the most part of them, for the time being: that they, and euery of them, by themselues, their factors, deputies, or assignes, shall and may, from time to time, during the said terme of ten yeeres, attach, arrest, take, and seaze all, and all manner of shippe, and shippes, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoeuer, which shall be brought from, or caried to the said coastes and parts of Guinea, afore limited, contrarie to our will and pleasure, and the true meaning of the same, declared and expressed in these our letters patents. Of all and euery which said forfeitures whatsoeuer, the one third part shall be vnto vs, our heires, and successors, and another third part thereof, we giue and grant by these presents, for and towards the relefe of the said Portingals, continuing here vnder our protection, as is aforesayd. And the other third part of all the same forfeitures, we doe by these presentes, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and grant clearely and wholy vnto the said William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receaue into their societie, and companie, as is aforesaid. And these our letters patents, or the inrolment or exemplification of the same, without any further or other warrant, shall from time to time, during the said tenne yeeres, be a sufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treasurer of England, for the time being, and to the Barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers whatsoeuer, to whome it shall or may appertaine, to allow, deliuer, and pay one third part of all the said forfeitures, to the vse of the saide Portingals, and one other third part of the same forfeitures, to the said William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receaue into their societie and companie, to be traders with them, as aforesaid, to their owne proper vse and behoofe: which saide allowances and paiments thereof, our will and pleasure is, and we doe straighely charge and command, to be

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from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denyall of any our officers aforesaid or any other our officers or ministers whatsoeuer. And we doe straightly charge and command, and by these presents prohibite, all and singular our customers, collectors, and farmers of our customes and subsidies, and controllers of the same, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, and all other our officers and ministers whatsoeuer, which haue or shall haue any dealing or intermedling, touching our said customes or subsidies, that they, ne any of them by themselues, their clarkes, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take or receaue, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or receaued for vs, or in our name, or to our vse, or for, or in the names or to the vses of our heires or successors, of any person, or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer, during the said terme of ten yeeres, for or in the name, lieu, or place of any custome, subsidie, or other thing or dutie, to vs, our heires, or successors, due, or to be due, for the customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be transported, caried, or brought to or from the priuiledged places, before in these presents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of subsidies or customes, nor make any agreement for the customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be sent to, or returned from any the priuiledged places, before in these presents mentioned, sauing onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the said William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, & Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they, or the most part of them, shall receaue into their societie and company, as aforesaid. Prouided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our selues, by our writing signed with our proper hand, or any fiue or more of our priuie Councell, for the time being, shall, by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the most part of them shall receaue into their companie and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuiledge, that our will and pleasure is, that the said trade and traffike shall cease, and be no longer continued into the said coasts and partes of Guinea, before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of sixe monethes next insuing, after such signification and notification so to be giuen to any of the saide companie and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuiledge, these our present letters patents, and our grant therein contained, shall be vtterly voide, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the third day of May, in the thirtieth yeere of our Raigne. 1588.

The ende of the first part.

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THE SECOND PART OF THE principall Nauigations, Voyages and Discoueries of the Englisſh nation, made to the North and Northeaſt quarters of the VVorld, with the directions, letters, priuiledges, diſcourſes & obſeruations incident to the ſame.

Certaine teſtimonies concerning king Arthur and his Conqueſts of the North Regions, taken out of the hiſtorie of the Kings of England, written by *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, and newly printed at Heidelberge, An. 1587.

Lib. 9. cap. 10.

ANno Chriſti, 517. Arthurus, ſecundo regni ſui anno, ſubiugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, claſſem ſuam direxit in Iſlandiam, eámque debellato populo ſubiugauit. Ex in diuulgato per cæteras inſulas rumore, quòd ei nulla Prouincia reſiſtere poterat, Doldauius Rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius Rex Orcadum vltrò venerunt, promiſſóq; vectigali ſubiectionem fecerunt. Emenſa deinde hyeme, reuerſus eſt in Britanniam, ſtatúmq; Regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

IN the yeere of Chriſt, 517. king Arthur in the ſeuenth yeere of his reigne, hauing ſubdued all parties of Ireland, ſayled with his fleete into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his ſubiection. The rumor after-wards being ſpred throughout all the other Iſlands, that no countrey was able to withſtand him, Doldauius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him and yelded him their obedience, promiſing to pay him tribute. The Winter being ſpent, he returned into England, and eſtabliſhing his kingdom in perfect peace, he continued there ſo the ſpace of 12. yeeres.

Lib. 9. cap. 12.

MIſſis deinde in diuerſa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs, quàm ex collateralibus Inſulis Oceani, qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulò poſt: Ex collateralibus autem Inſulis, Guillaumurius Rex Hyberniæ, Maluaſius Rex Iſlandiæ, Doldauius Rex Gotlandiæ, Gunnaſius Rex Orchadum, Lot Rex Noruegiæ, Aſchilius Rex Danorum.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

AFter that king Arthur ſending his meſſengers into diuers kingdoms, he ſummoned ſuch as were to come to his Court, as well out of France, as out of the adiacent Iſlands of the ſea, &c. and a little after. From thoſe adiacent Iſlands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Maluaſius king of Island, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnaſius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aſchilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9. cap. 19.

AT Reges cæterarum insularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem Equites habere, pedites quot quisque debebat promittunt, ita vt ex sex Insulis, videlicet, Hyberniæ, Islandiæ, Gotlandiæ, Orcadum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, sexies viginti millia essent annumerata.

¶ The same in English.

But the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed vp horses, promised the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely, of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had six score thousand souldiers sent him.

A testimonie out of the foresaid *Galfridus Monumetensis*, concerning the Conquests of Malgo, king of England.

Lib. 11. cap. 7.

VOrtiporio successit Malgo, omnium ferè Britanniæ pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulsor, robustus armis, largior cæteris, & vltra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Insulam obtinuit, & sex conprouinciales Oceani Insulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Islandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit dirissimis præliis potestati suæ.

¶ The same in English.

MAlgo succeeded Vortiporius which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expulsed many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also obtained the gouernment of the whole Iland of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the six Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely, Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmarke.

A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine, taken out of Master Lambard his *Archeion*, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclitissimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animosus, & miles illustris. Parum fuit ei regnum istud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britanniæ. Subiugauit igitur sibi strenuè Scantiam totam, quæ modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes insulas vltra Scantiam, scz. Islandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ sunt de appendicijs Norweiæ, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Cutlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & insulas Orientalis Oceani vsq; Russiam (in Lappa scilicet posuit Orientalem metam regni Britanniæ) & multas insulas vltra Scantiam, vsq; dum sub Septentrione, quæ sunt de appendicibus Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani occultè. Arthurus autem Christianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Christi semper inuiolatam custodire, & suscipere. Ceperunt vniuersi proceres Norweiæ vxores suas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegienses dicunt se exijsse de gente & sanguine regni huius. Impetrauit eius temporibus illis Arthurus Rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata sit Norweia, in perpetuum coronę Britannię in augmentum regni huius, vocauitq; illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britanniæ. Hac verò de causa dicunt Norwegienses, se debere in regno isto cohabitare & dicunt se esse de corpore regni huius, scilicet de coronâ Britanniæ. Maluerunt enim manere in regno isto, quam in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorũ arida est, & montuosa, & sterilis, & non sunt ibi segetes nisi per loca. Ista verò opulenta est, & fertilis, & crescunt hic segetes, & cætera vniuersa. Qua ex causa sæpius per vices gesta sunt bella atrocissima inter Anglos & Norwegienses, & interfecti sunt innumerabiles. Occupauerũt verò Norwegienses terras multas & insulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt vnquam postea penitus euelli. Tandem modò confederati sunt nobis fide, & sacramento, & per vxores suas, quas postea ceperunt de sanguine nostro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum constituit, & eis cõcessit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noster (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune consilium totius regni. Qua de causa possent, & debent prædicti de cætero nobiscum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, sicut coniurati fratres nostri.

The

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ARthur which was ſometimes the moſt renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warrior. This kingdome was too little for him, and his mind was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly ſubdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Iſlands beyond Norway, to wit Iſland and Greenland, which are appertaining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands and Iſlands of the Eaſt ſea euen vnto Ruſſia (in which Lapland he placed the Eaſterly bounds of his Britiſh Empire) and many other Iſlands beyond Norway, euen vnder the Northe pole, which are appertenances of Scantia, now called Norway. Theſe people were wild and ſauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbours, becauſe all euill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certaine Chriſtians liuing in ſecret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Chriſtian, and cauſed them to be baptized, and throughout all Norway to worſhip one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Chriſt onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norſes ſay, that they are deſcended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforeſayd king Arthur obteined alſo in thoſe dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway ſhould be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cauſe the Norſes ſay, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne native country, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certaine places. But this country of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things doe grow and increaſe: for which cauſe many cruell battels haue bene often times fought betwixt the Engliſhmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene ſlain, and the Norſes haue poſſeſſed many lands and Iſlands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe poſſeſſe, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and ſacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For ſo the good king Edward (who was a notable maintainer of peace) ordained and granted vnto them by the generall conſent of the whole kingdome, ſo that the people may, and ought from henceforth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing and ſworne brethren.

The nauigation of king Edgar, taken out of *M. Dee* his diſcourſe of the Britiſh Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

HAue oftentimes (ſaid he) and many waies looked into the ſtate of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to chriſtian men commonly) being a ſtudie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpoſe ſomewhat anſwerable to a perfect Coſmographer, to find himſelfe Coſmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one myſticall citie vniuerſall, and ſo conſequently to meditate of the Coſmopolicall gouernment thereof, vnder the king almightie, paſſing on very ſwiftly toward the moſt dreadfull and moſt comfortable terme preſixed.

And I find (ſaid he) that if this Britiſh Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, ere this, haue ſurpaſſed by iuſtice, and godly ſort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth ſince mans creation: and that to all ſuch purpoſes as to God are moſt acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, moſt honourable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (ſaid he) there is a little locke of Lady Occaſion, flickering in the aire, by our hondes to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be vtterly paſt, and for euer) diſcreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient and due appurtenances to this Imperial Britiſh monarchie, yet at the leaſt ſome ſuch notable portion thereof, as (all circumſtances duly and iuſtly appertaining to peace and amitie with forren princes being offred & vſed) this may become the moſt peaceable, moſt rich, moſt puiſſant, & moſt flouriſhing monarchie of all els (this day) in chriſtendome. Peaceable, I ſay, euen with the moſt part of the ſelfe ſame reſpects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by ſimply ſuch means, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and vre triumphantly, whereupon his ſirname was Pacificus, moſt aptly and iuſtly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about fiue hundred yeares paſt, the repreſentation of a great part of the ſelf ſame Idea, which from about early, & by no mans deuiſe hath ſtreamed downe into my imagination,

being as it becommeth a Subiect carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire vnder our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

Flores Hist. For, AEdgarus pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas cõgregauit naues, è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille ducẽtas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducẽtas in Septentrionali pelago cõstituit, vt ad defensionẽ regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorũ discrimina sustineret.

O wise borne imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, videlicet, prospicere, to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike praise of his kingdome, yea and also the peaceable inioying thereof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, seeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is hystorically mentioned to haue bin for the charges leuied: if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O maruellous politicall, and princely prudencie, in time of peace to foresee, and preuent, (and that most puissantly, and inuincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischiefe forraine. O most discrete liberalitie to such excellent vses, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthie subiects, of such an Imperiall and goblie Gouernour. O your true, and willing hearts, and bleſſed readie handes (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Nauies maintenance: so (I say) as neither death or famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intollerable want likely to ensue thereby, any prices of victuals complained of to be vnreasonably enhaunsed by you, finding for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

Charta Regia, Henrici secundi. Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & Decus AEdgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis. Anno vitæ 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Iulij obijt, & apud Glascon sepelitur.

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasurie of the carcasles of so famous, and so many persons (Quæ olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, ædificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) How lamentable is thy case nowe? howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation? though I omitte here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant British Arthur, & now this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by auncient Recordes may appeare) his Summer progresses, and yeerely chiefe pastimes were, the saylyng round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand nauie of 4000. saple at the least, parted into 4. equall parties of petie Nauies, each one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded.

Ranulphus Cestrensis. Idem quoque AEdgarus, 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem statuit, sic, ætate Insulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad sui exercitium, & ad hostium fecit terrorem.

Could, and would that peaceable and wise king Edgar, before nerd, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically, and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships, and that yeerely? and shal we being not assured of such neighbors friendship, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (sayd he) not iudge it some part of wisdome, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea prosperous pastimes these may be iustly counted, by which he also made euident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this Britishh Empire, so that he could and would roially, iustly, & triumphantly enioy the same, spite of the deuil, & maugre the force of any forren potentate. And all that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest prælates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) could best aduise & direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and ciuilly encourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first inuincible to fortifie the chiefe and vttermost walls of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forren encombrance possible.

Ius

And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne ouersight and iudgement, in yeerely viewing the same in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime imperiall, also in Summer time, to the end that afterward in all securitie, he might in Winter time (vacare) be at conuenient laisure on land, chiefliе to set forth Gods due honour, and secondly to vnderstand, and diligently to listen to the causes & complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Westmonasteriensis of him to his imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

Habebat autem præterea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias transire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum, à principibus obseruarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur, diligenter inuestigare solebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iusticię studens, & Reipub. regniq; vtilitati consulens in vtroque. Hinc hostibus circumquáq; timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat subditorum.

Thus we see how in oportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithfull subiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, safely and securely employ their wits and trauels for the maruelous enriching of this kingdome, and pleasuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our necessarie vses (and due store reserued) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessarie and not superfluous forren commodities, fet from farre or forren countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly prouidence, Reipub. Regniq; vtilitati consulens, &c. besides with great vtilitie and profite publique foreseene, and by his meanes enioyed, he himselfe vsed most gladly the aduantage of that securitie, in ministring of iustice, or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not squemishly, frowningly or skornefully shunning the ragged and tattered sleeue of any suppliant, holding vp to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contrived, or afraied at, and timerously hasting from the sickly pale face or feeble linyned suter, extreemely constrained so to speake for himselfe, nor parcially smoothering his owne conscience, to fauour or maintaine the foule fault and trespasse vnlawfull of any his subiects, how mightie or necessarie soeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique securitie fro forren foe abroad, and true loue of his owne subiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly spirite directing all his good purposes, cause iustice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obteined, he became not insolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as some princes in other countries haue made their liues Comicotragicall) but with all his foresaid inuincible Sea force, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with securitie and Iustice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and most zealoully bent to set forth the glory, laud and honour of the almightie Creator, the heauenly and euerlasting king, by such principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, doe of him vndoubtedly testifie: As this, for one.

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est rex Regum, Ego AEdgarus Anglorum Basileus omniúmq; Regum Insularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum, quæ iusta eam includuntur Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium sic ampliauit, & exaltauit super regnum patrum meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti sunt à tempore Athelstani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quæ Britanniam incolunt, sibi Armis subegit) nullus tamen eorum vltra eius fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, vsque Noruegiam, maximámq; partem Hyberniæ, cum sua nobilissima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subiugare? Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla subdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius seruitium amplificare deuotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, secundum quod disposui, effeci, &c.

Ex charta fundationis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorniæ.

And againe this in another Monument.

OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipsius nutu & gratia suffultus, Ego AEdgarus Basileus, dilectæ Insulæ Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, studiosus sollicitè de laudibus creatoris omniũ

Fundatio Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Eliensis.

occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, nostrisq; diebus (plus æquo) seruitus eius tepescere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Ego AEdgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis Thaumate confirmaui.

So that by all these rehersed Records, it is most euident ẏ the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose hands (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this British monarchie, might haue bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enioyed the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past haue either by intent gone about, or by wise and valiant exploit, haue meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reasonable meanes was vsed, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contriued, to all purposes sufficient, but only by our sea forces preuailing, and so by our inuincible enioying all within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political misterie attaining, no easier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the present and continuall seruice of threescore good and tall warlike shippes, with twentie smaller barkes, and those 80. ships (great and small) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for seruice both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order, as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occasion offred) may declare.

This grand nauie of peaceable king Edgar, of so many thousand shippes, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so inuincible, continually maintained, the order of the execution of their seruice, the godly and imperiall successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and prophetical incouragements to vs left, euen now to be as prouident for publique securitie as he was, to be as skilfull of our sea right and royall limits, and wisely to find our selues as able to recouer and enioy the same as he was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and yeerely sayling about this Brittish Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such full and peaceable possession, finde himself (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soueraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser Islands next adiacent: with memoriall whereof, as with one very precious ie well Imperiall, he adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembred.

Note the Queenes maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire.

Ego AEdgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniúmq; Regum, Insularum, Oceaníq; Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

The voyage of *Nicholas de Lynna*, a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent *Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions, situate vnder the* North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

The words of Gerardus Mercator, in the foote of his general Map, vpon the description of the North partes.

QVod ad descriptionem (partium Septentrionalium) attinet, eam nos accepimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis, qui quædam ex rebus gestis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ, An. dom. 1364. didicit. Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quẽdam Anglum Oxoniensem Mathematicum in eas insulas venisse, ipsisq; relictis ad vlteriora arte Magica profectum descripsisse omnia, & Astrolabio dimensum esse in hanc subiectam formam ferè, vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues semel ingressæ nullo vento retroagi possent, nequè verò vnquam tantum ibi ventũ esse, vt molæ frumentariæ circumagendæ sufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrensis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ, sic enim scribit. Non procul ab insulis Hebridibus, Islandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, est maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex condicto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in secreta naturæ penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in Abyssum vorantur. Si verò nauem hâc fortè transire

trahere conuigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam ſtatim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis abſorbeat.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppoſitis mundi partibus Philoſophi deſcribunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quàm & æolicos flatus cauſaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

TDurking the deſcription of the North parts I haue taken the ſame out of the voyage of James Cnopen of Hartzeuan Burke, which alleageth certaine conqueſts of Arthur king of Britaine: and the moſt part, and chiefeſt things among the reſt, he learned of a certaine prieſt in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This prieſt was deſcended from them which king Arthur had ſent to inhabite theſe illands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine Engliſh frier, a Franciſcan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into thoſe illandes, who leauing them, and paſſing further by his Magicall Arte, deſcribed all thoſe places that he ſaw, and tooke the height of them with his Aſtrolobe, according to the ſame that I (Gerard Mercator) haue ſet mine, in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforeſaid James Cnopen. He ſaid that thoſe foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlpoole, with ſo great a force, that the ſhippes which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in thoſe partes ſo much winde blowing, as might be ſufficient to driue a come mill.

Giraldus Cambrenſis (who floriſhed in the yeere 1210, vnder king John) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certeine words altogether alike with theſe, videlicet:

Not farre from theſe illands (namely the Hebrides, Iſland &c.) towardes the North there is a certaine wonderfull whirlpoole of the ſea, whereinto all the waues of the ſea from farre haue their courſe and recourſe, as it were without ſtoppe: which, there conueying themſelues into the ſecret receptacles of nature, are ſwallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomleſſe pit, and if it chance that any ſhippe to paſſe this way, it is pulled, and drawne with ſuch a violence of the waues, that eſtſoones without remedy, the force of the whirlpoole deuoureth the ſame. There is a mirabile whirlpoole on the coaſt of Norway, called Malſtrande, about the latitude of 68.

The Philoſophers deſcribe foure indraughts of this Ocean ſea, in the foure oppoſite quarters of the world, from whence many do coniecture that as well the flowing of the ſea, as the blaſts of the winde, haue their firſt originall.

A Teſtimonie of the learned Mathematician, maiſter *Iohn Dee*, touching the foreſaid voyage of Nicholas de Linna.

ANno 1360 (that is to wit, in the 34 yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Aſtronomer, went in companie with others to the moſt Northren illands of the world, and there leauing his company together, he trauelled alone, and purpoſely deſcribed all the Northern illands, with the indrawing ſeas: and the record therof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54 vſq; ad polum. Which frier for ſundry purpoſes after that, did ſaile times paſſe from England thither, and home againe. Inuentio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foreſaid Franciſcan frier tooke his name) to Iſland, it is not aboue a fourtnights ſayling with an ordinary winde, and hath beene of many yeeres a very common and vſuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fiſhermen of the towne of Blacknie in the ſaid countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary ſeruice, in reſpect of their trade to Iſland. An. 2. & 3. Edwardi tertij.

A

A declaration of the Indies and landes discouered, and subdued vnto the Emperour, and the king of Portingall: And also of other partes of the Indies and rich Countries to be discouered, which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne merchant of London (who dwelt long in the citie of Siuill in Spaine) exhorted king Henrie the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

EXperience prooueth that naturally all Princes be desirous to extend and inlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be marueiled, to see them euery day procure the same, not regarding any cost, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be marueiled, if there be any prince content to liue quiet with his owne dominions. For surely the people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and spirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the desires of Princes haue beene so feruent to obtaine their purpose, that they haue aduentured and prooued thinges to mans coniecture impossible, the which they haue made possible, and also thinges difficult haue made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpose, haue in maner turned vp and downe the whole world so many times, that the people inhabiting in the farthest regions of the Occident haue pursued with great distresse, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the farthest regions of the Orient: and in likewise those people of the said partes of the Orient, haue had no lesse labour and desire to enter and penetrate into the farthest land of the Occident, and so following their purchase haue not ceased vntill they could passe no further by reason of the great seas.

This naturall inclination is cause, that scarcely it may be said, there is any kingdome stable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other Princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath prouided to your Grace, and to your Gracious progenitours, this Realme of England, and set it in so fruitfull a place, and within such limits, that it should seeme to be a place quiet and apaired from all the foresaid desire. One speciall cause is, for that it is compassed with the Sea: by reason thereof it seemes, this notwithstanding, their desires and noble courages haue beene most commonly like vnto others: and with marueilous great labours, costes and perils, they haue trauelled and passed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kinges and dominions nigh neighbours, but also with them of farre countreys, and so haue woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great wealth and glory. And also now of late your Grace hauing like courage and desire, and not without iust cause, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demand your limits and tribute of the French king, which at that present he restrayned, your Grace in person passed with a great power into France, putting your Graces person to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriously you had conquered the said Realme of France, as ye began, if your aduersarie had not reconciled himselfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and so promised truely to pay the tribute then due, and fulfill your requests in all things, and also desired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuse.

Now I considering this your noble courage and desire, and alls perceiuing that your Grace may at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little cost, perill, or labour to your Grace or any of your subiects, amplifie and inrich this your said Realme, I know it is my bounden dutie to make offer this secret vnto your Grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath beene hid: which is, that with a small number of ships there may be discouered diuers new landes and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subiects infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to discouer, which is into the North: for that of the three parts of the world, it seemeth three parts are discouered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they haue discouered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and ouer Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: so that by this part of the Orient and Occident, they haue compassed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the course or way of the middest of the day, and so then was discouered a great part of the same Seas and coastes by the Spanyards. So that now rest to be discouered the said North partes, the which it seemeth to me, is onely your charge and duty. Because the situation of this your Realme is thereunto nerest and apest of all other: and also for that you haue ‖ already taken it in hande. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to

‖ Secret.

The discouery of the North.

‖ By Sebastill Cabot and sir Thomas Pert in the eight yeere of his reigne. And this is the voyage spoken of by Gonsalus Oniedo, that came to S. Domingo.

to leme so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so litle cost, labour, and danger, be followed and obteined: though heeretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, and found not the commoditie therby as you trusted, at this time it shall be no impediment. For there may be now prouided remedies for thinges, then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets removed, that then were cause your Graces desire tooke no full effect, which is, the course to be changed, and follow the afore said new course. And concerning the mariners, shippes, and prouision, an order may be deuised and taken meet & conuenient, much better then hitherto. By reason whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. Surely the cost therein will be nothing, in comparison to the great profit. The labour is much lesse, yea nothing at all, where so great honour and glory is hoped for: and considering well the course, truely the danger and way is shorter to vs, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by euident reasons appeareth.

Note.

And now to declare something of the commoditie and vtilitie of this Nauigation and discouerie, it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men say, without great danger, difficultie and perill, yea rather it is impossible to passe, that those same seas be nauigable and without any such danger, but that shippes may passe and haue in them perpetuall cleernesse of the day without any darkenesse of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the nauigants, to see at all times round about them, as well the safegardes as daungers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leese the most part of euery foure and twenty houres the said light, and goe in darkenesse groping their way, I thinke there is none so ignorant but perceiueth this more plainely, then it can be expressed. Yea what a vantage shall your Graces subiectes haue also by this light to discouer the strange landes, countries, and coastes? for if they that be discouered, to saile by them in darkenesse is with great danger, much more then the coastes not discouered be dangerous to trauell by night or in darkenesse. Yet these dangers of darkenesse hath not letted the Spaniards and Portingals and other, to discouer many vnknowen Realmes, to their great perill. Which considered (and that your Graces subiectes may haue the same light) it will seeme your Graces subiects to be without actiuitie or courage, in leauing to do this glorious and noble enterprise. For they being past this litle way whith they named so dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they passe the Pole) it is cleere that from thence forth the seas and landes are as temperate as in these parts, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners, to choose whether they will saile by the coastes that be colde, temperate or hot. For they being past the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they list.

Tartaria.

If they will goe toward the Orient, they shall inioy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may goe and proceed to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land most Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their nauigation, following the coasts that returne toward the Occident, they shall fall in with Malaca, and so with all the Indies which we call Orientall, and following that way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speranza: and thus they shall compasse the whole worlde. And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole, toward the Occident, they shall goe in the backe side of the new found land, which of late was discouered by your Graces subiectes, vntill they come to the backe side and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And so continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the streight of Magellan to this countrey, and so they compasse also the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be past the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the landes and Ilands situated betweene the Tropikes, and vnder the Equinoctiall, without doubt they shall finde there the richest landes and Ilands of the world of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other thinges that we here esteeme most: which come out of strange countreyes, and may returne the same way.

China.

New found land discouered by the English.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great aduauntage of the riches, but also your subiectes shall not trauell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as afore said.

The

The booke made by the right worshipfull M. Robert Thorne *in the yeere 1527, in Siuill, to Doctour Ley, Lord ambassadour for king* Henrie the eight, to Charles the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, discouered by him and the king of Portingall: and also of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.

RIght noble and reuerend in ge. I haue receiued your letters, and haue procured and sent to know of your seruant, who, your Lordshippe wrote, should be sicke in Merchena. I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and slipe. I cannot iudge but that of some contagious sickenesse he died, so that the owner of the house for dreading his house would bury him secretly, and not be knowne of it. For such things haue often times happened in this countrey.

Also to write vnto your Lordshippe of the new trade of Spicerie of the Emperour, there is no doubt but that the Ilands are fertile of Cloues, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamom: and that the said Ilandes, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamonds, Balaills, Granates, Iacincts, and other stones & pearles, as all other lands that are vnder and neere the Equinoctiall. For we see, where nature giueth anything, she is no nigard. For as with vs and other, that are aparted from the said Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Yron, so theirs be Golde, Siluer, and Copper. And as our fruites and graines be Apples, Nuts, and Corne, so theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloues, and other Spices. And as we haue Iet, Amber, Cristall, Iasper, and other like stones, so haue they Rubies, Diamonds, Ballaills, Saphyres, Iacincts, and other like. And though some say that of such precious mettals, graines, or kinde of spices, and precious stones, the abundance and quantitie is nothing so great, as our mettals, fruites or stones aboue rehearsed: yet if it be well considered, how the quantitie of the earth vnder the Equinoctiall to both the Tropicall lines, (in which space is found the said Golde, spices and precious stones) is as much in quantitie, as almost all the earth from the Tropickes to both the Poles: it can not be denied but there is more quantitie of the said mettals, fruites, spices, and precious stones, then there is of the other mettals and other things before rehearsed. And I see that the preciousnesse of these things is measured after the distance that is betweene vs, and the things that we haue appetite vnto. For in this nauigation of the Spicerie was discouered, that these Ilands nothing set by Golde, but set more by a knife and a naile of yron, then by his quantitie of Golde: and with reason, as the thing more necessarie for mans seruice. And I doubt not but to them should be as precious our corne and seeds, if they might haue them, as to vs their spices: and likewise the pieces of glasse that here we haue counterfeited, are as precious to them, as to vs their stones: which by experience is seene dayly by them that haue trade thither. This of the riches of those countries is sufficient.

Doctor Leys letters.

Touching that your Lordshippe wrote, whether it may be profitable to the Emperour or no, it may be without doubt of great profit: if as the king of Portingall doth, he would become a merchant, and prouide shippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of these Ilands for himselfe. But other greater businesse withholdeth him from this. But still, as now it is be gunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the shippes comming in safetie, there would thither many euery yeere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and iewels that come from thence the fift part for his custome cleare without any cost. And besides this he poureth in euery flote a certeine quantitie of money, of which he enioyeth of the gaines pound and pounde like as other aduenturers doe. In a flote of three shippes and a caruell that went from this citie armed by the merchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partener haue one thousand foure hundred duckets that we employed in the said fleete, principally for that two Englishmen, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same shippes, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduise that I desire to know especially. Being in these quarters are shippes, and mariners of that country, and cardes by which they saile, though much vnlike ours: that they should procure to haue the said cards, and learne how they vnderstand them, and especially to know what nauigation they haue for those Ilands Northwards, and Northeastward.

This was the fleet wherein Cabot discouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

Note.

For if from the said Ilandes the sea did extend, without interposition of land, to saile from the North point to the Northeast point one thousand seuen hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues,

leagues, they should come to the New founde ilandes that were discouered, and so we should be nerer to the said Spiceries by almost two thousand leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portingall are. And to aduise your Lordshippe whether of these Spiceries of the king of Portingall or the Emperours is nerer, and also of the tities that either of them hath, and how our New found landes are parted from it, (for that by writing without some demonstration, it were hard to giue any declaration of it) I haue caused that your Lordshippe shall receiue herewith a litle Mappe or Carde of the world: the which, I feare me, shall put your Lordshippe to more labour to understand, then me to make it, onely for that it is made in so litle roome that it cannot be but obscurely set out, that is desired to be seene in it, and also for that I am in this science litle expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficultie, it is necessary to declare to your Lordshippe my intent, with which I trust you shall perceiue in this Card part of your desire, if, for that I can not expresse mine intent, with my declaration I do not make it more obscure. The New found ilands discouered by the English. A Mappe of the world.

First, your Lordshippe knoweth that the Cosmographers haue diuided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, vnder the which is comprehended all the roundnesse of the earth: the latitude being diuided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to euery quarter, which they measure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South starres, being from the line Equinoctiall till they come right vnder the North starre the said ninetie degrees: and as much from the said line Equinoctiall to the South starre be other ninetie degrees. And as much more is also from either of the said starres againe to the Equinoctiall. Which imagined to be rolle, is soone perceiued thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be consumed in the said foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter, so that this latitude is the measure of the world from North to South, and from South to North. And the longitude, in which are also counted other 360, is counted from West to East, or from East to West, as in the Card is set.

The said latitude your Lordshippe may see marked and diuided in the end of this Card on the left hand: so that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coast standeth, take a compasse, and set the one foote of the same in the Equinoctiall line right against the said region, and apply the other foot of the compasse to the said region or coast, and then set the said compasse at the end of the Card, where the degrees are diuided. And the one foot of the compasse standing in the line Equinoctiall, the other will shew in the scale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the said region is in. Also the longitude of the world I haue set out in the nether part of the Card, conteining also 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptolome and other Cosmographers from an head land called Capo verde, which is ouer against a little crosse made in the part Occidentall, where the diuision of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the same Capo verde. To know the latitudes.

Now to know in what longitude any land is, your Lordshippe must take a ruler or a compasse, and set the one foot of the compasse vpon the land or coast whose longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compasse to the next part of one of the transuersall lines in the Orientall or Occidentall part: which done, set the one foot of the compasse in the said transuersall line at the end of the nether scale, the scale of longitude, and the other foot sheweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordshippe must vnderstand that this Card, though little, containeth the vniuersall whole world betwixt two Collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part descendeth perpendicular vpon the 175 degree, and the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree, whose distance measureth the scale of longitude. And that which is without the two said transuersall lines, is onely to shew how the Orientall part is ioyned with the Occident, and Occident with the Orient. For that that is set without the line in the Orientall part, is the same that is set within the other line in the Occidentall part: and that that is set without the line in the Occidentall part, is the same that is set within the line on the Orientall part, to shew that though this figure of the world in plaine or flatte seemeth to haue an end, yet one imagining that this said Carde were set vpon a round thing, where the endes should touche by the lines, it would plainelie appeare how the Orient part ioyneth with the Occident, as there without the lines it is described and figured. To know the longitudes.

And for more declaration of the said Card, your Lordshippe shall vnderstand, that beginning on the part Occidentall within the line, the first land that is set out, is the maine land and Iland of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coast goeth Northward, and finisheth in the land that we found, which is called here Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the said land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

The said coast from the said Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordshippe may see, commeth to a certeine straighte Sea, called Estrecho de todos Sanctos: by which straighte Sea the Spanyardes goe to the Spiceries, as I shall declare more at large: the which straighte Sea is right against the three hundred fifteene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the Now called the straight of Magellans.

the Equinoctiall three and fiue degrees. The first land from the said beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Ilandes of the Canaries, and Ilandes of Capo verde. But the first maine land wyt to the line Equinoctiall is the said Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the streight of this Sea of Italie. And so followeth Spaine, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the highest part toward the North. And ouer against Flanders are ecx Ilands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coastes within the streights I haue set out onely the Regions, diuiding them by lines of their limits, by which plainely I thinke your Lordship may see, in what situation euery region is, and of what bignesse, and with what regions it is ioyned. I do thinke few are leftout of all Europe. In the parts of Asia and Africa I could not so well make the said diuisions: for that the syde not so well knowen, nor need not so much. This I write because in the said Card be made the said lines and strikes, that your Lordship should vnderstand wherefore they doe serue. Also returning to the foresaid Capo verde, the coast goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona speranza: which is right ouer against the 60 & 65 degree of longitude. And by this Cape goe the Portingals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordship may see in the head land ouer against the 130 degree. From the said Cape of Buona speranza the coast returneth toward the line Equinoctial, and passing forth, entreth the red sea, & returning out, entreth againe into the gulfe of Perlia, & returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the head land, called Calicut aforesaid, and from thence the coast making a gulfe, where is the riuer of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a head land called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: and from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulfe, and after the coast goeth right toward the Orient, and ouer against this last gulfe and coast, be many Ilandes, which be Ilandes of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Upon which the Portingals and he be at variance.

Note. The said coast goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right against the 155 degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coast not yet plainely knowne, I may ioyne to the New found land found by vs, that I spake of before. So that I finish with this briefe declaration of the Card aforesaid. Well I know I should also haue declared how the coasts within the streights of the Sea of Italie runne. It is plaine that passing the streights on the North side of that Sea after the coast of Granado, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coast of that which France hath in Italie. And then followeth in one piece all Italie, which land hath an arme of the Sea, with a gulfe which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottome of this gulfe is the citie of Venice. And on the other part of the said gulfe is Sclauonia, and next Grecia, then the streights of Constantinople, and then the sea called Euxinus, which is within the said streights: and comming out of the said streights, foloweth Turcia maior (though now on both sides it is called Turcia.) And so the coast runneth Southward to Syria, and ouer against the said Turcia are the Ilands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And ouer against Italie are the Ilands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And ouer against Spaine is Maiorca and Minorca. In the end of the gulfe of Syria is Iudea. And from thence returneth the coast toward the Occident, till it commeth to the streights where we began, which all is the coast of Affrike or Barbarie. Also your Lordshippe shall vnderstand that the coastes of the Sea throughout all the world, I haue coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Iland: and all without the said line so coloured to be Sea: whereby it is easie and light to know it. Albeit in this little roome any other description would rather haue made it obscure then cleere. Also the said coasts of the Sea are all set iustly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the nauigation approoueth them throughout all the Card, saue only the coasts and Isles of the Spicerie of the Emperour which is from ouer against the 160 to the 215 degrees of longitude. For these coastes and situations of the Ilands, euery of the Cosmographers and pilots of Portingall and Spaine do set after their purpose. The Spanyards more towards the Orient, because they should appeare to appertaine to the Emperour: and the Portingals more toward the Occident, for that they should fall within their iurisdiction. So that the pilots and nauigants thither, which in such cases should declare the truth, by their industrie do set them falsly euery one to fauor his prince. And for this cause can be no certaine situation of that coast and Ilands, till this difference betwixt them be verified. Now to come to the purpose of your Lordships demand touching the difference betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, & vnderstand it better, I must declare the beginning of this discourse. Though peraduenture your Lordship may say that in that I haue written ought of purpose, I fall in the prouerbe, A gemino quo bellum: But your Lordship commanded me to be large, and I take licence to be prolixous, and shalbe peraduenture tedious, but your Lordship knoweth that Nihil ignorantia verbosius.

Doctor Leys demand.

In

In the yeere 1484. the king of Portingall minded to arme certaine Caruelles to diſcouer this Spiceria. Then inaſmuch as he feared that being diſcouered, euery other Prince would ſende and trade thither, ſo that the coſt and perill of diſcouering ſhoulde bee his, and the profite common: therefore firſt hee gaue knowledge of this his minde to all princes Chriſtened, ſaying that hee would ſeeke amongſt the infidels newe poſſeſſions of regions, and therefore woulde make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the coſt of the ſaid armie, hee ſhould enioy his part of the profite or honour that ſhould come of it. And as then this diſcouering was holden for a ſtrange thing and uncertaine. Howe they ſay, that all the Princes of Chriſtendome anſwered, that they would be no part of ſuch an armie, nor yet of the profite that might come of it. After the which he gaue knowledge to the Pope of his purpoſe, and of the anſwere of all the Princes, deſiring him that ſeeing that none would helpe in the coſtes, that hee would iudge all that ſhoulde bee founde and diſcouered to be of his iuriſdiction, and commaunde that none other Princes ſhould intermeddle therewith. The Pope ſaid not as Chriſt ſaith, Quis me conſtituit iudicem inter vos? he did not refuſe, but making himſelfe as Lord and Iudge of all, not onely graunted that all that ſhould be diſcouered from Orient to Occident, ſhould be the kings of Portingall, but alſo, that vpon great cenſures no other Prince ſhoulde diſcouer but hee. And if they did, all to bee the kings of Portingall. So he armed a fleete, and in the yeere 1497. were diſcouered the Iſlands of Calicut, from whence is brought all the ſpice he hath. The Pope refuſed or prepended.

After this in the yeere 1492. the king of Spaine willing to diſcouer lands toward the Occident without making any ſuch diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingall, armed certaine Caruels, and then diſcouered this India Occidentall, eſpecially two Iſlandes of the ſaide India, that in this Carde I ſet forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, hee ſent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to giue him the ſaid Iſlands. For that by the ſentence of the Pope all that ſhould be diſcouered was his, and that hee ſhoulde not proceede further in the diſcouerie without his licence. And at the ſame time it ſeemeth that out of Caſtill, into Portingall had gone infinite nomber of Iewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Chriſtians, and carried with them infinite nomber of golde and ſiluer. So that it ſeemeth that the king of Spaine anſwered, that it was reaſon that the king of Portingall aſked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, hee would giue him the ſayde Iſlands of the Indies. Howe for as much as it was decreed betwixt the ſaide kings, that none ſhould receiue the others ſubiectes fugitiues, nor their goods, therfore the king of Portingal ſhould pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Iewes had caried out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in ſo doing he would giue theſe Iſlands, and deſiſt from any more diſcouering. And not fulfilling this, hee would not onely not giue theſe Iſlands, but procure to diſcouer more where him thought beſt. It ſeemeth that the king of Portingal woulde not, or could not with his eaſe pay this money. And ſo not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to diſcouer: ſo that he enterpriſed not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spiceries. And conſented to the king of Spaine, that touching this diſcouering they ſhoulde deuide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that ſhould be diſcouered from Cape Verde, where this Carde beginneth to be counted the degrees of longitude, to 180. of the ſaide ſcale of longitude, which is halfe the world toward the Orient, & finiſheth in this Card right ouer againſt a litle croſſe made at the ſaid 180. degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the ſaid Croſſe toward the Occident, vntill it ioyneth with the other Croſſe in the Orient, which contayneth the other hundreth and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So that from the land ouer againſt the ſaid hundreth & eightie degrees vntill it finiſh in the three hundred and ſixtie on both the ends of the Card, is the iuriſdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they deuided the world betweene them.

Now for that theſe Iſlands of Spiceria fall neere the terme and limits betweene theſe Princes (for as by the ſaid Card you may ſee they beginne from one hundred and ſixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215.) it ſeemeth all that falleth from 160. to 180. degrees, ſhould be of Portingall: and all the reſt of Spaine. And for that their Coſmographers and Pilots couldo not agree in the ſituation of the ſayde Iſlandes (for the Portingals ſet them all within their 180. degrees, and the Spaniards ſet them all without): and for that in meaſuring, all the Coſmographers of both partes, or what other that euer haue bene cannot giue certaine order to meaſure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude: for that there is no ſtarre fixed from Eaſt to Weſt, as are the ſtarres of the Poles from North to South, but all mooueth with the mouing diuine: no maner can bee founde howe certainely it may bee meaſured, but The longitudes part to be found out.

but by coniectures, as the Nauigants haue esteemed the way they haue gone. But it is manifest that Spaine and the situation of al the lands from Cape Verde, toward ꝑ Orient of the Portingals to their 180. degrees. And in all their Cardes they neuer hitherto set the saide Ilands within their limitation of the saide 180. degrees, (Though they knewe very well of the Ilandes,) till nowe that the Spaniards discouered them. And it is knowen that the king of Portingal had trade to these Ilands afore, but would neuer suffer Portingall to goe thither from Calicut: for so much as he knewe that it fell out of his dominion: least by going thither there might come some knowledge of those other Ilands of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloues of Marchants of the countrey, that brought them to Calicut, much dearer then they would haue cost, if hee had sent for them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes secret. And now that it is discouered he sendes and kerpes the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

Also it should seeme that when this foresaid consent of the diuision of the worlde was agreed betweene them, the king of Portingall had alreadie discouered certaine Ilands that lye ouer against Cape Verde, and also certaine part of the maine lande of India toward the South, from whence hee sette Brasil, and called it the lande of Brasill. So for that all should come in his terme and limites, hee tooke ouer hundred and seuentie leagues beyonde Cape Verde: and after that, his 180. degrees, being his part of the worlde, should begin in the Carde right ouer against the 340. degrees, where I haue made a litle compasse with a crosse, and should finish at the 160. degree, where also I haue made an other litle marke. And after this computation without any controuersie, the Ilands of the Spicerie fal out of the Portingals domination. So that nowe the Spaniards say to the Portingals, that if they would beginne their 180. degrees from the saide Cape Verde, to the intent they should extende more toward the Orient, and so to touche those Ilands of the Spicerie of the Emperour, which is al that is betweene the two crosses made in this Carde, that then the Ilands of Cape Verde and the lande of Brasill that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the saide limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. For if their 180. degrees they count from the 370. leagues beyonde the saide Cape Verde, to include in it the saide Ilands and landes of Brasill, then plainely appeareth the saide 180. degrees should finish long before they come to these Ilands of the Spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordship may see. For their limits should begin at the 340. degrees of this Carde, and ende at 160. degrees, where I haue made two litle markes of the compasse with crosses in them.

So that plainely it should appeare by reason, that the Portingals should leaue these Ilands of Cape Verde and lande of Brasill, if they would haue part of the Spicerie of the Emperours: or els holding them, they haue no part there. To this the Portingals say, that they will beginne their 180. degrees from the selfe same Cape Verde: for that it may extende so much more toward the Orient, and touche these Ilands of the Emperours: and would winne these Ilands of Cape Verde and land of Brasill neuertheles, as a thing that they possessed before the consent of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the best reason. They be not yet agreed, Quare sub iudice lis est.

But without doubt (by all coniectures of reason,) the saide Ilands fall all without the limitation of Portingall, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the most part of all the Cards made by the Portingals, saue those they haue falsified of late purposely.

New found land discouered by the Englishmen.

But nowe touching that your Lordshippe wrote, whether that which we discouered touched any thing the foresaide coastes: once it appeareth plainely, that the Newe founde lande that wee discouered, is all a maine lande with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all the golde and pearles: and so continueth of coast more then 5000. leagues of length, as by this Carde appeareth. For from the said Newe landes it proceedeth toward the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southwarde vp till it come to the Streites of Todos Sanctos, which I reckon to be more then 5000. leagues.

Note.

So that to the Indias it should seeme that wee haue some title, at least that for our discouering wee might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie.

To sayle by the Pole.

Nowe then (if from the saide Newe founde landes the Sea bee nauigable) there is no doubt, but sayling Northwarde and passing the Pole descending to the Equinoctiall line, wee shall hitte these Ilandes, and it should bee a much shorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portingals haue. For wee be distant from the Pole but thirtie and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be 90. the which added together, be an hundreth twentie and nine degrees, leagues 2480. and miles 7440: Where wee should finde these Ilands. And the Nauigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may see, from Spaine to the

Ilands

Ilands of Canarie, and from these Ilands they runne ouer the line Equinoctiall Southward: to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of S. Augustine, and from this Cape Southwarde to the Streates of Todos Sanctos, in the which Nauigation to the saide Streates is 1700. or 1800. leagues: and from these Streates being past them, they returne towarde the line Equinoctiall to the Ilands of Spicerie, which are distant from the saide Streates 4200. or 4300. leagues. Of the streates of Magrian.

The Nauigation of the Portingals to the saide Ilands, is departing from Portingall Southwarde towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape passing the line Equinoctiall called Capo de bona speransa, and from Portingall to the Cape is 1800. leagues, and from this Cape to the Ilands of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that by this Nauigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is said,) if betweene our Newe founde landes or Norway, or Iland, the seas towarde the North be Nauigable, wee shoulde goe to these Ilandes a shorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

And though wee went not to the saide Ilandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingall, wee shoulde by the way and comming once to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and Spicerie, as all other landes are vnder the saide line Equinoctiall: and also shoulde, if we may passe vnder the North, enioy the Nauigation of all Tartarie. Which should bee no lesse profitable to our commodities of clothe, then these Spiceries to the Emperour, and king of Portingall. Note. Benefite to England.

But it is a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the seuenth clime, the sea is all Ice, and the colde so much that none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that vnder the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was vnhabitable. Obiection.

Yet since (by experience is proued) no land so much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the same shoulde bee founde vnder the North, if it were experimented. For as all sage, Nihil sit vacuum in rerum natura: So I iudge, there is no lande vnhabitable, nor Sea innauigable. If I should write the reason that presenteth this vnto me, I should be to prolixe, and it seemeth not requisite for this present matter. God knoweth that though by it I shoulde haue no great interest, yet I haue had and still haue no little minde of this businesse: So that if I had facultie to my will, it shoulde be the first thing that I woulde vnderstande, euen to attempt, if our Seas Northwarde be Nauigable to the Pole, or no. I reason, that as some sicknesses are hereditarious, and come from the father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discouerie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Bristowe named Hugh Eliot, were the discouerers of the Newe found landes, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and folowed their Pilots minde, the lands of the West Indies (from whence all the golde commeth) had bene ours. For all is one coast, as by the Carde appeareth, and is afore said. Answere. A true opinion. A voyage of discouerie by the Pole. M. Thorne and M. Eliot discouerers of New found land. The cause why the West Indians were not ours: which also Sebastian Gabot writeth in an Epistle to Baptist his vncles.

Also in this Carde by the coastes where you see C. your Lordship shall vnderstande it is set for Cape or head land, where I. for Iland, where P. for Port, where R. for Riuer. Also in all this little Carte I thinke nothing be erred touching the situation of the lande, saue onely in these Ilands of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is said,) euery one setteth them after his minde, there can be no certification howe they stande. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a consummate Carde should haue, or that a right good demonstration desireth. For there should be expressed all the mountaines and Riuers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of Portes of the sea, the names of all principall cities, which all I might haue set, but not in this Carde, for the litle space would not consent.

Your Lordship may see that seeing onely the names almost of euery Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied. Many Ilands are also left out, for the said lacke of roome, the names almost of all Portes put to silence, with the roles of the windes or pointes of the compasse: For that this is not for Pilots to saile by, but a summarie declaration of that which your Lordship commanded. And if by this your Lordship cannot well perceiue the meaning of this Card, of the which I would not marueile, by reason of the rude compostion of it, will it please your Lordship to aduise mee to make a bigger and a better Mappe, or els that I may cause one to be made. For I know my selfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but Licet semper discens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam scientiam perueniens. Also I know, to set the forme Spherical of the world in Plano after ꝑ true rule of Cosmographie, it would haue bene made otherwise then this is: howbeit the demonstration should not haue bene so plaine.

And also these degrees of longitude, that I set in the lower part of this card, should haue bene set along by ꝑ line Equinoctial, & so then must be imagined. For ꝑ degrees of longitude neere either

of the poles are nothing equall in bignesse to them in the Equinoctiall. But these are set so, for that setting them a long the Equinoctiall, it woulde haue made obscure a great part of the mappe. Many other curiosities may bee required, which for the nonce I did not set downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to satisfie your doubt touching the spicerie, as for that I lacke leasure and time. I trust your Lordship correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your Lordships seruice. But from henceforth I knowe your Lordship will rather commaund me to keepe silence, then to be large, when you shall be wearied with the reading of this discourse. Iesus prosper your estate and health.

Your Lordships
Robert Thorne 1527.

ALso this Carde and that which I write touching the variance betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to bee shewed or communicated there with many of that Court. For though there is nothing in it preiudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may bee a cause of paine to the maker: as wel for that none may make these Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for masters, as for that peraduenture it would not sounde well to them, that a stranger shoulde knowe or discouer their secrets: and woulde appeare worst of all, if they vnderstand that I write touching the short way to the spicerie by our Seas. Though peraduenture of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is vnpossible, and I thinke neuer will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor elsewhere is it to bee spoken of. For to mooue it amongst wise men, it should be had in derision. And therefore to none I woulde haue written nor spoken of such things, but to your Lordshippe, to whome boldly I commit in this all my foolish fantasie as to my selfe. But if it please God that into Englande I may come with your Lordshippe, I will shewe some coniectures of reason, though against the generall opinion of Cosmographers, by which shall appeare this that I say not to lacke some foundation. And till that time I beseeche your Lordshippe let it bee put to silence: and in the meane season it may please God to sende our two Englishmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may also bring more plaine declaration of that which in this case might be desired.

Also I knowe I needed not to haue bene so prolixe in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordship, if the said Carde had bene very well made after the rules of Cosmographie. For your Lordship would foone vnderstande it better then I, or any other that coulde haue made it: and so it should appeare that I shewed Delphinum natare. But for that I haue made it after my rude maner, it is necessarie that I be ẏ declarer or gloser of mine owne worke, or els your Lordship should haue had much labour to vnderstande it, which nowe with it also cannot be excused, it is so grossly done. But I knewe you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I trust your Lordship will accept this, and holde me for excused. In other mens letters that they write they craue pardon that at this present they write no larger: but I must finish, as king pardon that at this present I write so largely. Iesus preserue your Lordship with augmentation of dignities.

Your seruant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

Epitaphium M. Roberti Thorni, sepulti in Ecclesia
Templariorum LONDINI.

ROberius iacet hic Thorne, quem Bristolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim semper magnæ Respublica curæ,
Charior & cunctis patria diuitijs.
Ferre inopi auxilium, tristes componere lites,
Dulce huic consilio quosque iuuare fuit.
Qui pius exaudis miserorum vota precesque,
Christe huic cœli des regione locum.

Ordinances

Ordinances, instructions, and aduertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathaye, compiled, made, and deliuered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota Esquier, gouernour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of Regions, Dominions, Islands & places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the raigne of our most dread soueraine Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supreame head.

First the Captaine general, with the pilot maior, the masters, marchants & other officers, to be so knit and accorded in vnitie, loue, conformitie, and obedience in euery degree on all sides, that no dissention, variance, or contention may rise or spring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hinderance of the voyage: for that discention (by many experiences) hath ouerthrowen many notable intended and likely enterprises and exployts.

2 Item, for as much as euery person hath giuen an othe to be true, faithfull, and loyall subiects, and liege men to the kings most excellent Maiestie, his heires and successors, and for the obseruation of all lawes & statutes, made for the preseruation of his most excellent Maiestie, & his crowne Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to serue his grace, the Realme, and this present voyage truely, and not to giue vp, intermit, or leaue off the said voyage and enterprise vntill it shall be accomplished, so farre foorth as possibilitie & life of man may serue or extend: Therefore it behoueth euery person in his degree, as well for conscience, as for dueties sake, to remember his said charge, and the accomplishment thereof.

3 Item, where furthermore euery mariner or passenger in his shippe, hath giuen like othe to be obedient to the Captaine generall, and to euery Captaine and master in his ship, for the obseruation of these present orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter shall be made by the 12. counsellers in this present booke named, or the most part of them, for the better conduction, and preseruation of the fleete, and atchieuing of the voyage, and to be prompt, readie and obedient in all acts and feates of honestie, reason, and duetie to be ministred, shewed & executed, in aduancement and prestment of the voyage and exploit: therefore it is conuenient that this present booke shall once euery weeke (by the discretion of the Captaine) be read to the saide companie, to the intent that euery man may the better remember his othe, conscience, duetie and charge.

4 Item, euery person by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good will (as farre forth as him shall complie) all, and euery such act and acts, deede and deedes, as shalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enioyned (during the voyage) by the Captaine general, with the assent of the Counsell and assistants, as well in and during the whole Nauigation and voyage, as also in discouering and landing, as cases and occasions shall require.

5 Item, all courses in Nauigation to be set and kept, by the aduice of the Captaine, Pilot maior, masters, & masters mates, with the assents of the counsailers, & the most nomber of them, and in voyces vniformely agreeing in one to preuaile, and take place, so that the Captaine generall, shall in all counsailes and assemblies haue a double voyce.

6 Item, that the fleete shall keepe together, and not separate themselues asunder, as much as by winde & weather may be done or permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & masters shall speedily come aboord the Admiral, when and as often as he shall seeme to haue iust cause to assemble them for counsaile or consultation to be had concerning the affaires of the fleete and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants and other skilful persons in writing, shal dayly write, describe, and put in memorie the Nauigation of euery day and night with the points, and obseruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moone and starres, and the same so noted by the order of the Master and pilot of euery ship to be put in writing, the Captaine general assembling the Masters together once euery weeke (if winde and weather shal serue) to conferre all the obseruations, and notes of the said ships, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes doe agree, and wherein they discent and vpon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion determined, to put the same into a common leger, to remaine of record for the companie: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Cardes, Astrolabes, and other instruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterprises and exploits of discouering or landing to search Iles, regions, and such like, to be searched, attempted, and enterprised by good deliberation, and common assent, determined aduisedly. And that in all enterprises, notable ambassages, suites, requests, or

presentment of gifts, or presentes to princes, to be done and executed by the captaine Generall in person, or by such other, as he by common assent shall appoint or assigne to doe or cause to be done in the same.

9 Item, the steward and cooke of euery ship, and their associats, to giue and render to the Captaine and other head officers of their shippe weekely (or oftener) if it shall seeme requisite, a iust or plaine and perfect accompt of expenses of the victuals, as well flesh, fish, bisket, meate or bread, as also of beere, wine, oyle, or vineger, and all other kinde of victualing vnder their charge, and they, and euery of them so to order and dispende the same, that no waste or vnprofitable excesse be made otherwise then reason and necessitie shall commaund.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he shal be, shalbe tried vntrue, remisse, negligent, or vnprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to vse himselfe in his charge accordingly, then euery such officer to be punished or remooued at the discretion of the Captaine and assistants, or the most part of them, and the person so remooued not to bee reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remoue, any more for an officer, but to remaine in such condition and place, as hee shall be assigned vnto, and none of the companie to resist such chastisement or worthie punishment, as shalbe ministred to him moderately, according to the fault or desert of his offence, after the lawes and common customes of the seas, in such cases heretofore vsed and obserued.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour shalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is presently shipped for, such person may bee vnshipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Maiesties realme & dominion, and one other person more able & worthy to be put in his place, at the discretion of the Captaine and masters, & order to be taken that the partie dismissed shalbe allowed proportionably, the value of that hee shall haue deserued to the time of his dismission or discharge, & he to giue order with sureties, pawne, or other assurance, to repay the ouerplus of that he shal haue receiued, which he shall not haue deserued, & such wages to be made with the partie newly placed as shalbe thought reasonable, & he to haue the furniture of all such necessaries as were prepared for the partie dismissed, according to right and conscience.

12 Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be vsed in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthie tales, or vngodly talke to be suffered in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diuelish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not onely pouertie to the players, but also strife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the vtter destruction of the parties, and prouoking of Gods most iust wrath, and sworde of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, and contagions of vices, and sinnes to be eschewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reforming, to be punished at the discretion of the Captaine and master, as appertaineth.

13 Item, that morning and euening prayer, with other common seruices appointed by the kings Maiestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in euery ship dayly by the minister in the Admiral, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases, to be read deuoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie prayer of the Nauigants accordingly.

14 Item that euery officer is to be charged by inuentorie with the particulers of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the diffraying of the same together with modest and temperate dispending of powder, shot, and vse of al kinde of artillerie, which is not to be misused, but diligently to be preserued for the necessarie defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all instruments of your Nauigation, and other requisites.

15 Item, no liquor to be spilt on the balast, nor filthines to be left within boord the cooke roome, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the gromals & pages to be brought vp according to the laudable order and vse of the sea, as wel in learning of Nauigation, as in exercising of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liueries in apparel giuen to the mariners, be to be kept by the Marchants, and not to be worne, but by the order of the Captaine, when hee shall see cause to muster or shewe them in good aray, for the aduancement and honour of the voyage, and the liueries to be redeliuered to the keeping of the marchants, vntill it shall be thought conuenient for euery person to haue the ful vse of his garment.

17 Item, when any Mariner or any other passinger shall haue neede of any necessarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conseruation of his health, the same shall bee deliuered him by the Marchant, at the assignment of the Captaine and Master of that shippe, wherein such needie personne shall bee, at such reasonable price as the same cost, without any gaine to bee exacted

by

by the maſt hands, the debts thereof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the ſame to be witneſſed of the parties wages, that ſo ſhall receiue, and vacate the ſame.

18. Item the ſicke, diſeaſed, weake, and diſabled perſon within boord, to be tendred, relieued, cheriſhed, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and euery manner of perſon, without reſpect, to beare another's burden, and no man to refuſe ſuch labour as ſhall be put to him, by the maſt maiſter, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterpriſe, to be atchieued exactly.

19. Item if any perſon ſhall happen to die, or miſcary in the voyage, ſuch apparell, and other goods, as he ſhall haue at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the Captaine, and Maiſter of the ſhippe, and an inuentorie to be made of it, and confirmed to the vſe of his wife, and children, or other wiſe according to his mind, and will, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Seewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he ſhall haue deſerued to his death, and what ſhall reſt due to him.

20. Item that the Marchants appointed for this preſent voyage, ſhall not make any ſhewe or ſale of any kind of Marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forren princes, or any of their ſubiects, without the conſent, priuitie, or agreement of the Captaines, the cape Marchants and the aſſiſtants, or foure of them, whereof the Captaine Generall, the Pilot Maior, and cape Marchant to be one, and euery of the petie Marchants to ſhewe his reckoning to the Cape Marchant, when they, or any of them ſhall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the petie Marchants, without the aſſent aboueſaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought or giuen to the companie, by way of marchandiſe, trucke, or any other reſpect, to be booked by the Marchants, and to be well ordred, packed, and conſerued in one Maſſe entirely, and not to be broken or altered, vntill the ſhippes ſhall returne to the right diſcharges, and inuentorie of all goods, wares, and marchandizes ſo trucked, bought, or otherwiſe diſpended, to be preſented to the Gouernour, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants in London, in good order, to the intent the Kings Maieſtie may be truly anſwered of that which to his grace by his graue of corporation is limited, according to our moſt bound duties, and the whole companie alſo to haue that which by right vnto them appertaineth, and no embezelement ſhall be vſed, but the truth of the whole voyage to be opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and myſterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine. Ring Edwards corporation.

21. Item no particular perſon, to hinder or preiudicate the common ſtocke of the companie, in faile or preferment of his owne proper wares, and things, and no particular emergent or purchaſe to be employed to any ſeuerall profite, vntill the common ſtocke of the companie ſhall be furniſhed, and no perſon to hinder the common benefite in ſuch purchaſes or contingents, as ſhall fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper pollicie, induſtrie, or chance, nor no contention to riſe in that behalfe, by any occaſion of iewell, ſtone, pearles, pretious mettals, or other things, of the region, where it ſhall chance the ſame to riſe, or to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, or giuen: but euery perſon to be bounden in ſuch caſe, and vpon ſuch occaſion, by order, and direction, as the Generall, Captaine, and the Councell ſhall eſtabliſh and determine, to whoſe order and diſcretion the ſame is left: for that of things vncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be giuen.

22. Item not to diſcloſe to any nation, the ſtate of our religion, but to paſſe it ouer in ſilence, without any declaration of it, ſeeming to beare with ſuch lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you ſhall arriue.

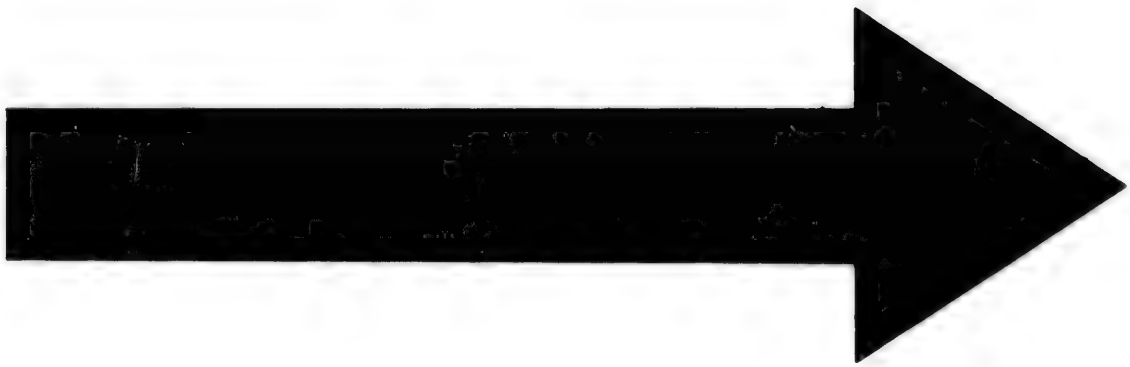
23. Item for as much as our people, and ſhippes, may appeare vnto them ſtrange and wonderous, and theirs alſo to ours: it is to be conſidered, how we they may be vſed, learning much of their natures, and diſpoſitions, by ſome one ſuch perſon, as you may firſt either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ſhippes, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be tempted, or intreated to incontinencie, or diſhoneſtie.

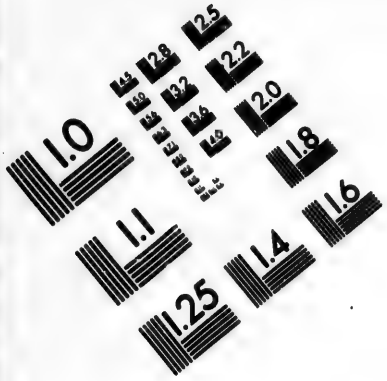
24. Item the perſon ſo taken, to be well entertained, vſed, and apparelled, to be ſet on land, to the intent that he or ſhe may allure other to draw nigh to ſhewe the commodities: and if the perſon taken, may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you ſhal know the ſecrets of his heart.

25. Item our people may not paſſe further into a land, then that they may be able to recouer their pinneſſes, or ſhippe, & not to credit the faire wordes of the ſtrange people, which be many times tried falſe, and falſe, not to be drawen into perill of loſſe, for the deſire of golde, ſiluer, or riches, and eſteeme your owne commodities aboue all other, and in countenance ſhewe not much to deſire the forren commodities: neuerthe leſſe take them as for friendſhip, or by way of permutation.

26. Item euery nation and region is to be conſidered aduiſedly, and not to prouoke them by any diſdaine, laughing, contempt, or ſuch like, but to vſe them with prudent circumſpection, with all gentleneſs, and curteſie, and not to tary long in one place, vntill you ſhall haue attained the moſt

worthy





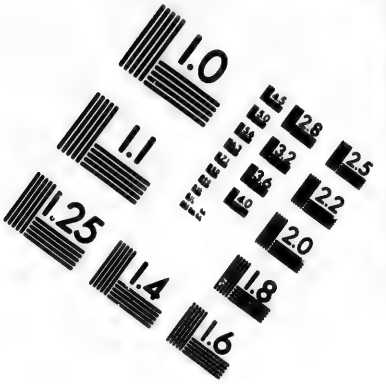
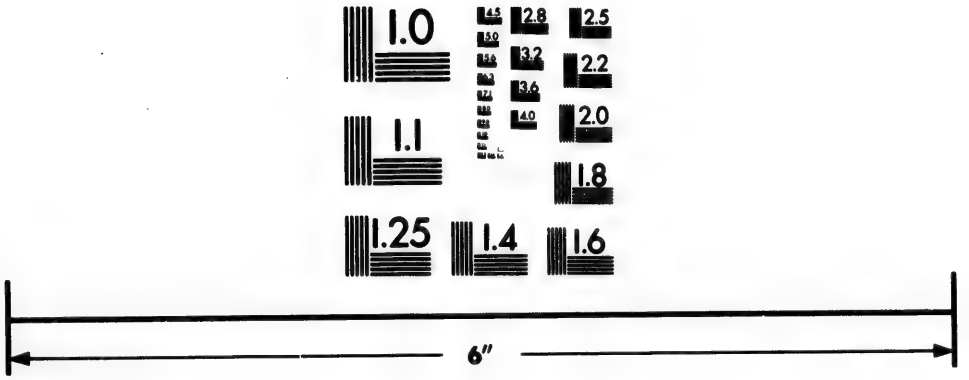
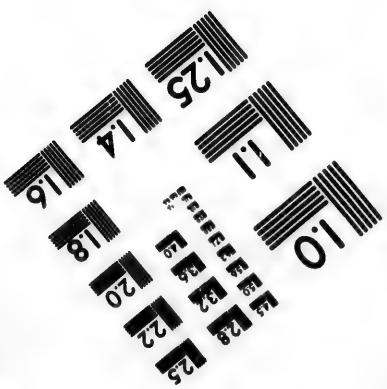


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)





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worthy place ẏ may be found, in such sort, as you may returne wt victuals sufficient, prosperously.

27. Item the names of the people of euery Island, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the same, their natures, qualities, and dispositions, the site of the same, and what things they are most desirous of, and what commodities they will most willingly depart wt, & what mettals they haue in hils, mountaines, streames, or riuers, in, or vnder the earth.

28. Item if people shall appeare gathering of stones, golde, mettall, or other like, on the sand, your pinnesses may draw nigh, marking what thinges they gather, vsing or playing vpon the drumme, or such other instruments, as may allure them to harkening to fantasie, or desire to see, and heare your instruments, and voices, but keepe you out of danger, and shewe to them no point or signe of rigour, or hostilitie.

29. Item if you shall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers house, to dinner, or other parliance, goe in such order of strength, that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods, and ambushes, and that your weapons be not out of your possessions.

30. Item if you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skinnes, hauing long bowes, and arrowes, be not afraid of that sight: for such be worne often times more to feare strangers, then for any other cause.

31. Item there are people, that can swimme in the sea, hauens, & riuers, naked, hauing bowes and shafts, coueting to draw nigh your ships, which if they shal find not well watched, or warded, they will assalt, desirous of the bodies of men, which they couet for meate: if you resist them, they diue, and so will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night, in some Islands.

32. Item if occasion shal serue, that you may giue aduertisements of your proceedings in such things as may correspond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of successe in the voyage, passing such dangers of the seas, perils of ice, intollerable coldes, and other impediments, which by sundry authors & writers, haue ministred matter of suspition in some heads, that this voyage could not succeede for the extremitie of the North pole, lacke of passage, & such like, which haue caused wauering minds, and doubtful heads, not onely to withdraw themselues from the aduenture of this voyage, but also disswaded others from the same, the certaintie whereof, when you shall haue tried by experience (most certaine Master of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the trueth which you shall haue experted, you may by common assent of counsell, sende either by land, or otherwaies, such two or one person, to bring the same by credite, as you shal thinke may passe in safetie: which sending is not to be done, but vpon vrgent causes, in likely successe of the voyage, in finding of passage, in towardlines of beneficiall traffike, or such other like, whereby the companie being aduertised of your estates and proceedings, may further prouide, foresee, and determine that, which may seeme most good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the same: either prouiding before hand such things, as shall be requisite for the continuance of the voyage, or els otherwise to dispose, as occasion shall serue: in which things your wisedomes and discretions are to be vsed, and shewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant, how many persons, as wel the kings Maiestie, the Lords of his honorable Counsell, this whole companie, as also your wiues, children, kinsfolkes, allies, friends, and familiars, be replenished in their hearts with ardent desire to learne and know your estates, conditions, and welfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtaine this notable enterprise, which is hoped no lesse to succeede to you, then the Orient and Occident Indias haue to the high benefit of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whose subiects industries, and trauailes by sea, haue inriched them, by those lands and Islands, which were to all Cosmographers, and other writers both vnknowne, and also by apparances of reasonvoide of experience thought and reputed vnhabitable for extremities of heates, and colds, and yet in deede tried most rich, peopled, temperate, and so commodious, as all Europe hath not the like.

33. Item no conspiracies, parttakings, factions, false tales, vntrue reports, which be the very seedes, & fruites of contention, discord, and confusion, by euil tongues to be suffred, but the same, & all other vngodlines to be chastned charitably with brotherly loue, and alwaies obedience to be vsed, and practised by al persons in their degrees, not onely for dutie, and conscience sake towards God, vnder whose mercifull hand nauigants aboue all other creatures, naturally be most nigh, and vicine, but also for prudent and worldly pollicie, and publike weale, considering and alwaies hauing present in your mindes that you be all one most royall kings subiects, and naturals, with dailie remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praise, and benefite that depend of, and vpon the same, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the aduancement of you the trauelers therein, your wiues, and children, and so to endeuour your selues as that you may satisfie the expectation of them, who at their great costes, charges, and expenses,

expenses haue so furnished you in good sort, and plentie of all necessaries, as the like was neuer in any Realme seene, vsed, or knowen requisite and needfull, for such an exploit, which is most likely to be atchieued, and brought to good effect, if euery person in his vocation, shall endeuour himselfe according to his charge, and most bounden dutie: praying the liuing God, to giue you his grace, to accomplish your charge to his glorie, whose mercifull hand shall prosper your voyage, and preserue you from all dangers.

In witnes whereof, I Sebastian Cabota, Gouernour aforesaid, to these present ordinances haue subscribed my name, and put my seale, the day and yeere aboue written.

The names of the twelue Counsellors appointed in *this voyage.*

1 Sir Hugh Willoughbie Knight, Captaine Generall.
2 Richard Chancelor Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3 George Burton Cape Marchant.
4 Master Richard Stafford Minister.
5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6 Iames Dalabere Gentleman,
7 William Gefferson Master of the Bona Speranza Admirall.
8 Stephen Burrowgh Master of the Edward Bonauenture.
9 Cornelius Durforth Master of the Confidentia.
10 Roger Wilson. } Masters mates.
11 John Buckland. } Masters mates.
12 Richard Ingram. } Masters mates.

Exemplar Epistolæ seu literarum Missiuarum, quas illustrissimus *Princeps Eduardus, eius nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ* Rex, misit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes iuxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem. Anno Domini 1553. Regni sui anno septimo, & vltimo.

EDuardus sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, &c. Omnibus Regibus & principibus ac dominis, & cunctis Iudicibus terræ, & Ducibus eius, quibuscunque est excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ sunt sub vniuerso cœlo: Pax, tranquillitas, & honor vobis, terris, & regionibus vestris quæ imperio vestro subiacent, cuique vestrum quemadmodum conuenit ei. Propterea quòd indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis aliis viuentibus, cor & desiderium tale, vt appetat quisque cum aliis societatem habere, amare, & vicissim amari, beneficijs afficere, & mutua accipere beneficia studeat, ideò cuique pro facultate sua hoc desiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficijs fouere & conseruare conuenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc desiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingressi sunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc desiderium fuisse declararunt. Insuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorúmque nostrorum exempla inuitant, qui semper humanissimè susceperunt & benignissimè tractauerunt illos, qui tum à locis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum se protectioni commendantes. Quod si omnibus id præstare æquum est, certè mercatoribus imprimis præstari debet, qui per vniuersum orbem discurrunt, mare circumlustrantes & aridam, vt res bonas & vtiles, quæ Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotissimas regiones & regna adferant, atque inde vicissim referant, quòd suæ regioni vtile ibi repererint: vt & populi ad quos eunt, non destituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, & ipsi sint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli & terræ, humano generi maximè consulens, noluit vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quò regio ope alterius regionis indigeret, & gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita stabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, singulíque omnibus beneficere quærerent. Hoc itaque inde ac stabiliendæ amicitiæ desiderio moti visi quidam regni nostri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones instituerunt, vt inter nostros & illos populos, viam mercibus inferendis & efferendis aperirent, nóstque rogauerunt vt id illis concederemus. Qui petitioni

petitioni illorum annuentes, concessimus viro honorabili & forti, Hugoni Wilbeo, & aliis qui cum eo sunt seruis nostris fidis & charis, vt pro sua voluntate, in regiones eis prius incognitas eant, quæ fituri ea quibus nos caremus, & adducant illis ex nostris terris, id quo illi careant. Atque ita illis & nobis commodum inde accedat, sitque amicitia perpetua, & fœdus indissolubile inter illos & nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus superabundant in regnis suis, & nos concedemus illis ex regnis nostris res, quibus destituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges & Principes, & omnes quibus aliqua est potestas in terra, vt viris istis nostris, transitum permittatis per regiones vestras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus vestris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quòd homines & ipsi sunt. Et si qua re caruerint, oramus pro vestra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicissim ab eis, quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cuperetis vt nos, & subditi nostri, nos gereremus erga seruos vestros, si quando transierint per regiones nostras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo, terra & mari continentur, pérque vitam nostram, & tranquillitatem regnorum nostrorum, nos pari benignitate seruos vestros accepturos, si ad regna nostra aliquando venerint. Atque à nobis & subditis nostris, ac si nati fuissent in regnis nostris ita benignè tractabuntur, vt rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam nostris exhibueritis. Postquam vos Reges, Principes, &c. rogauimus, vt humanitate & beneficentia omni prosequamini seruos nostros nobis charos, oramus omnipotentem Deum nostrum, vt vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur, & pacem quæ nullam habeat finem. Scriptum Londini, quæ ciuitas est primaria regni nostri. Anno 5515. à creato mundo, mense Iiar, 24. die mensis, anno septimo regni nostri.

The copie of the letters missiue, which the right noble Prince *Edward the sixt, sent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting the Northeast partes of the world, toward the mightie Empire of Cathay, at such time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their companie, attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Christ, 1553. and the seuenth and last yeere of his raigne.*

EDward the sixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Iudges, and Gouernours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent dignitie on the same, in all places vnder the vniuersall heauen: peace, tranquillitie, and honour, be vnto you, and your lands and regions, which are vnder your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

Forasmuch as the great and Almightie God hath giuen vnto mankind, aboue all other liuing creatures, such a heart and desire, that euery man desireth to ioyne friendship with other, to loue, and be loued, also to giue and receaue mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duetie of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially to shewe this good affection to such, as being moued with this desire, come vnto them from farre Countreis. For howe much the longer voyage they haue attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby declare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the examples of our fathers and predecessors doe inuite vs hereunto, forasmuch as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated such as of friendly minde came to them, as well from Countreis neere hand, as farre remote, commending themselues to their protection. And if it be right and equitie to shewe such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse the same ought chiefly to be shewed to Marchants, who wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable things, as are found in their Countreis, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the same, such things as they know their commodious for their owne Countreis: both as well that the people, to whome they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities as their Countreis bring not forth to them, as that also they may be partakers of such things, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen and earth, greatly prouiding for mankinde, would not that all things should be founde in one region, to the ende that one should haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendshippe might be established among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all. For the establishing and furtherance of which vniuersall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, moued hereunto by the same desire, haue inclined and taken vpon them a voyage by sea into farre Countreies, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may be opened to bring in, & carry out marchandi-

se

yes, desiring vs to further their enterprise. Who assenting to their petition, haue licensed the right valiant and worthy sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our trustie and faithfull seruants, which are with him, according to their desire, to goe to Countreies to them heretofore vnknowen, as well to seeke such things as we lacke, as also to carry vnto them from our regions, such things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them and vs, but also an indissoluble and perpetuall league of friendship be established betweene vs both, while they permit vs to take of their things, such whereof they haue abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them such things of ours, wherof they are destitute. We therefore desire you kings & princes, and al other, to whome there is any power on the earth, to permit vnto these our seruants, free passage by your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of yours vnwilling vnto you. Consider you that they also are men. If therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to aide and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiuing againe of them such things as they shall be able to giue you in recompence. Shew your selues so towards them, as you would that we and our subiects should shew our selues towards your seruants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in heauen, earth, and the sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your seruants, if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as friendly and gently be entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that we may hereby recompence the fauour and benignitie which you haue shewed to our men. Thus after we haue desired you Kings and princes, &c. With all humanity and fauour, to entertaine our welbeloued seruants, we will pray our Almightie God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which neuer shall haue ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe Citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world, 5515. in the moneth of Iiar, the foureteenth day of the moneth, and seuenth yeere of our raigne.

Iiar. I would read Iiar, that is, in the Sarasen language, mixt of Turkish and Aegyptian, February, interpreted by them the moneth to set ships to the sea

This letter was written also in Greeke, and diuers other languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, *to wit, the* Speranza, *which wintred in Lappia, where sir Hugh Willoughby, and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.*

THe voyage intended for the discouerie of Cathay, and diuers other regions, dominions, Islands, and places vnknowen, set forth by the right worshipfull, Master Sebastian Cabota, Esquire, and Gouernour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London: which fleete being furnished, did set forth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the seuenth yeere of our most dread Soueraigne Lord, and King, Edward the sixt.

The names of the shippes of the fleete, and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counsellors, Pilot Maior, Masters of the shippes, Marchants, with other officers, and Marriners, as hereafter followeth.

The Bona Esperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine Generall of the fleete. The first ship.
William Gefferson, Master of the shippe.
Roger Wilson, his Mate.
William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, John Andrewes, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralfe Charterton, Marchants.

Marriners and officers, according to the custome, and vse of the Seas,
John Brooke, Master Gunner.
Nicholas Anthony, Boteswaine.
John VVeb, his Mate.
Christopher Banbrucke, Thomas Dauison, Robert Rosse, Thomas Simpson, quarter Masters.
VVilliam VVhite, Iames Smith, Thomas Painter, Iohn Smith, their Mates.
Richard Gwinne, George Goiswine, Carpenters.

Robert

Robert Gwinne, Purser.
Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.
Richard Morgan, Cooke.
Thomas Nashe, his Mate.
VVilliam Light, Iohn Brande, Cutbert Chelsie, George Blage, Thomas VValker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, Iohn Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.
Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwiche.
Discharged at Harwiche, by reason of sicknes, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony.
For pickerie ducked at the yardes arme, and so discharged Thomas Nashe.

The second shippe.

The Edward Bonauenture, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinnesse, and a boate.
Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot Maior of the fleete.
Stephen Burrowgh, Master of the shipp.
Iohn Buckland, his Mate.
George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.
Iohn Stafford, Minister.
Iames Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, Iohn Segswike, Thomas Francis, Iohn Hasse, Richard Iohnson, VVilliam Kempe.

Marriners and officers, according to the custome and vse of the Seas.

Robert Stanton, Master Gunner.
Iohn VValker, his Mate.
Iames Longe, Iohn Cocks, Gunners.
Thomas VValter, Surgeon.
Peter Palmer, Boateswaine.
Richard Strowde, his Mate.
Iohn Robinson, Iohn Carowe, Thomas Stone, Robert Lishbie, quarter Masters.
Iohn Austen, Steward: Patricke Steuens, his Mate.
Austen Iacks, Cooke.
VVilliam Euery, Cowper.
Griffin VVagham, Carpenter.
Thomas Stelston, Thomas Townes, Iohn Robinson, Iohn White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, Iohn Browne, William Morren, William Watson, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterson, William Beare, Iohn Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrowgh, Roger Welford, Iohn Williams.

William Burrough, nowe Clerke of her Maiesties nauie.

The third ship

The Bona Confidentia, of 90. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.
Cornelius Durfoorth, Master of the shippe.
Richard Ingram, his Mate.
Thomas Langlie, Edward Keuer, Henrie Dorset, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the vse and customes of the Sea.

Henrie Tailer, Master Gunner.
George Thurland, his Mate.
William Hamane, Boateswaine.
Iohn Edwards, his Mate.
Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenson, Iohn Haye, William Shepwash, quarter Masters.
Iohn Reine, Steward.
Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Lassie, his Mate.
Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.
Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, Iohn Moore, William Chapman, Brian Chester, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibson, Iohn Clarocke, Erasmus Bently, Iohn Durforth.

The *Iuramentum*, or othe, ministred to the Captaine.

YOu shall sweare to be a faithfull, true, and loyall subiect in all points, and duties, that to a subiect appertaineth, to our Soueraigne Lord, the Kings Maiestie, his heires, and successors, and that you shall wel and truely, to the vttermost of your capacitie, wit, and knowledge, serue this present voyage, committed to your charge, and not to giue vp, nor sooner intermit the same, vntill you shall haue atchieued the same, so farre foorth, as you may without danger of your life, and loss of the fleete: you shall giue good, true, and faithfull counsell to the said societie, and to such as shall

haue the charge with or vnder you, and not to disclose the secrets, or qualities of the same to any person by any maner of meane, to the preiudice, hurt, or damage of it. You shall minister iustice to all men vnder your charge, without respect of person, or any affection, that might moue you to decline from the true ministration of iustice. And further, you shall obserue, and cause to be obserued, as much as in you lieth, all and singular such rules, articles, prouisions hitherto made, or hereafter to be made for the preseruation or safeconduct of the fleet and voyage, and benefit of the company. You shall not permit nor suffer the stocke or goods of the company to be wasted, imbezeled, or consumed, but shall conserue the same whole and entyre, without diminishment, vntill you shall haue deliuered, or cause to be deliuered the same, to the vse of the company. And finally you shall vse your selfe in all points, layes, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this company shall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe ministred to the Maister of *the shippe, &c.*

YOu shall sweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according, and to the vttermost of your knowledge, and good vnderstanding in mariners science and craft, shall in your vocation doe your best to conduct the good shippe called the N. &c. whereof you now are Maister vnder God, both vnto and from the portes of your discouerie, and so vse your indeuour and faithfull diligence, in charging, discharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the same shippe, as may be most for the benefit and profit of this right worshipfull fellowshippe: and you shall not priuately bargen, buy, sell, exchange, barter, or distribute any goods, wares, merchandize, or things whatsoeuer (necessarie tackles and victualles for the shippe onely excepted) to or for your owne vse, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the priuate lucre, gaine, or profit of any other person or persons whatsoeuer. And further, If you shall know any boatswaine, mariner, or any other person or persons whatsoeuer, to buy, sell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, merchandizes, or thinges for priuate account, reckoning or behalfe, you shall doe your best to withstand and let the same: and if you can not commodiously so doe, that then before the discharge of such goods bought for priuat accoūt, you shall giue knowledge therof to the Cape merchant of this said fellowship for the time being. And you shall not receiue nor take, nor suffer to be receiued or taken into your said shippe during this voyage any maner person or persons whatsoeuer, going or returning, but onely those mariners which without fraud or guile shall be hyred to be of your company, and to serue in mariners craft and science onely: So helpe you God, &c.

These foresaid shippes being fully furnished with their pinnesses and boates, well appointed with all maner of artillery, and other things necessarie for their defence with all the men aforesaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and haled vnto Detforth, the 10 day of May, 1553.

The 11 day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detforth, passing by Greenewich, saluting the kings Maiestie then being there, shooting off our ordinance, & so haled vnto Blackewall, and there remained vntill the 17 day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackewall, and came to Woolwich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and so the same night vnto Heyeth. May.

The 18 day from Heyeth vnto Grauesend, and there remained vntill the twentith day: that day being Saturday, from Grauesend vnto Tilberie Hope, remaining there vntill the two and twentith day.

The 22 day from Tylberie Hope to Hollie hauen.

The 23 day from Hollie hauen, till we came against Lee, and there remained that night, by reason that the winde was contrary to vs.

The 24 day the winde being in the Southwest in the morning, we sailed along the coast ouer the Spits, vntill we came against S. Olyph, about six of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25 day about ten of the clocke, we departed from S. Olyph, and so sailed forward vnto the Nesse, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26 day at fiue of the clocke in the morning, we weyed our anker, and sailed ouer the Nasse, the winde being at the Southwest, vntill we came to Harwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there vntill the 28 day.

The same day being Trinitie sunday about 7 of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers,

and sailed till we came athwart Walsurshe, and there came to an anker.

The 29 day from thence to Holmehead, where we stayed that day, where we consulted which way, and what courses were best to be holden for the discouerie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30 day of May at fiue of the clocke in the morning we set saile, and came against Yermouth about three leagues into the sea, riding there at anker all that night.

The last of May into the sea sixe leagues Northeast, and there tarried that night, where the winde blew very soft.

June. The first of June the winde being at North contrary to vs, we came backe againe to Yarewell, and remained there vntill the 15 day, tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpose.

The 15 day being at Yarewell in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning we waied our ankers, and went footh into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we set forward, and sailed vntill we came athwart Aldburough, and there stayed that night.

The 17 day about fiue of the clocke before noone we went backe vnto Orforneese, and there remained vntill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Yarewell, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of June the winde being faire in the Southwest we hailed into the seas to Orfordneese, and from thence into the seas ten leagues Northeast: then being past the sands, we changed our course fiue leagues Northnortheast: about midnight we changed our course againe, and went due North continuing in the same vnto the 27 day.

The 27 day about seuen of the clocke Northnorthwest 42 leagues, to the end to fall with Shotland: then the winde veered to the West, so that we could lie but North and by West, continuing in the same course 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we sailed North 16 leagues by estimation, after that North and by West, and Northnorthwest, then South east, with diuers other courses, trauersing and tracing the seas, by reason of sundrie and manifolde
July. contrary windes, vntill the 14 day of July: and then the sunne entring into Leo, we discouered land Eastward of vs, vnto the which we sailed that night as much as we might: and after we went on shore with our pinnesse, and found little houses to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we iudged, for feare of vs.

In this land dwelt Scther, as it seemeth. The land was all full of little Islands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Aegeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Foxtwelle North and by east, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The distance betweene Orthforthwelle and Aegeland 250 leagues. Then we sailed from thence 12 leagues Northwest, and found many other Islandes, and there came to an anker the 19 day, and manned our pinnesse, and went on shore to the Islands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the shore and welcomed vs. In which place
Roll Islands. were an innumerable sort of Islands, which were called the Ilis of Roll, being vnder the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minuts. The winde being contrary, we remained there three dayes, and there was an innumerable sort of fowles of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

The 22 day the winde comming faire, we departed from Roll, sailing Northnortheast, keeping the sea vntill the 27 day, and then we drew neere vnto the land, which was still East of vs: then went footh our pinnesse to seeke harborow, and found many good harbours, of the which we
Seanfew harbour. entred into one with our shippes, which was called Seanfew, and the land being Islandes, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also vnder the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there vntill the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, & from the sayd Roll about 30 leagues Northnortheast.

August. The 30 day of July about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Islandes Northnortheast, keeping the land still in sight vntill the second day of August: then haling in close aboord the land, to the intent to knowe what lande it was, there came a skiffe of the Island aboord of vs, of whom we asked many questions, who shewed vnto vs, that the
Seynam. Island was called Seynam, which is the latitude of seuentie degrees, and from Seanfew thirtie leagues, being also vnder the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandize there, but onely dryed fish, and traine oyle. Then we being purposed to goe vnto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might haue a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, & he said, that if we could beare in, we should haue a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring vs to Finmarke, vnto the mardhouse,

which

which is the ſtrongeſt holde in Finmarke, and moſt reſorted to by report. But when we would haue entred into an harbour, the land being very high on euery ſide, there came ſuch flawes of winde, and terrible whirlewindes, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were conſtrained to take the ſea againe, our pinneſſe being vnſhipt: we ſailed North and by Eaſt, the winde increaſing ſo ſore that we were not able to beare any ſaile, but tooke them in, and lay a drift, to the ende to let the ſtorme ouer paſſe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickeneſſe of miſts, we were not able to keepe together within ſight, and then about midnight we loſt our pinneſſe, which was a diſcomfort vnto vs. Aſſoone as it was day, and the fogge ouerpaſt, we looked about, and at the laſt we deſcryed one of our ſhippes to Leeward of vs: then we ſpyed an hullocke of our foreſaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not ſee. Then the flaw ſomething abating, we and the Confidence hoyſed vp our ſailes the fourth day, ſayling Northeaſt and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouſe, as we did conſult to do before, in caſe we ſhould part company. Thus running Northeaſt and by North, and Northeaſt fiftie leagues, then we ſounded, and had 160 fadoms, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceiued that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Where fore we changed our courſe the ſixt day, and ſailed Southeaſt and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to finde the Wardhouſe.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie looſeth the ſight of the Edward.

The eight day much winde riſing at the Weſt Northweſt, we not knowing how the coaſt lay, ſtroke our ſailes, and lay adrift, where we ſounded, and found 160 fadoms as afore.

The ninth day, the winde bearing to the South Southeaſt, we ſailed Northeaſt 25 leagues.

The tenth day we ſounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could ſee any land, whereat we wondered: then the winde comming at the Northeaſt, we ranne Southeaſt about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the winde being at South, we ſounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire ſand.

The 12 day, the winde being at South and by Eaſt, we lay with our ſaile Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day early in the morning, we deſcryed land, which land we bare with all, hoiſing out our boat to diſcouer what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was ſo ſhoale, where was very much ple alſo, but there was no ſimilitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Septam Eaſt and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed in the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

Willoughbies land, in 72 degrees.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeaſt, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and ſtocked, we thought it good to ſeeke harbour for her reuelle: then we bare roome the 18 day Southſouthealt, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we ſounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we ſounded againe, and found 7 fadome, ſo ſhoalder and ſhoalder water, and yet could ſee no land, where we marueiled greatly: to auoid this danger, we bare roomer into the ſea all that night Northweſt and by Weſt.

The next day we ſounded, and had 20 fadoms, then ſhaped our courſe, and ranne Weſt Southweſt vntill the 23 day: then we deſcried Lowe land, vnto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then we plyed Weſtward along by that land, which lyeth Weſt Southweſt, and Eaſt Northeaſt, and much winde blowing at the Weſt, we haled into the ſea North and by Eaſt 30 leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeaſt, we ſayled Weſt Northweſt: after that, the winde bearing to the Northweſt, we lay with our ſailes Weſt Southweſt, about 14 leagues, and then deſcryed land, and bare in with it, being the 28 day, finding ſhoale water, and bare in till we came to 3 fadome, then perceiuing it to be ſhoale water, and alſo ſeeing nie ſands, we haled out againe Northeaſt along that land vntill we came to the point thereof. That land turning to the Weſtward, we ranne along 16 leagues Northweſt: then comming into a fayre bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was vnhabited, but yet it appeared how vſed that the people had bene there, by croſſes, and other ſignes: from thence we went all along the coaſt Weſtward.

The fourth day of September we loſt ſight of land, by reaſon of contrary windes, and the eight day we deſcried land againe. Within two dayes after we loſt the ſight of it: then running Weſt and by South about 30 leagues, we got the ſight of land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to be a lee ſhoare, we gat vs into the ſea, to the end to haue ſea roome. *September.*

The 12 of September we haled to ſhoareward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the ſhoare, and the tide almoſt ſpent, we ranne to an anker in 30 fadoms water.

The 13 day we came along the coaſt, which lay Northweſt & by Weſt, & Southeaſt & by Eaſt.

The 14 day we came to an anker within two leagues of the the ſhoare, hauing 60 fadoms.

There we went a shore with our boat, and found two or three good harborroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The 15 day we came still along the coast till the 17 day: then the winde being contrary vnto vs, we thought it best to returne vnto the harbor which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the hauen, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This hauen runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in breath halfe a league, wherein were very many seale fishes, and other great fishes, and vpon the maine we saw beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers strange beasts, as ‖ guiloines, and such other which were to vs vnknowne, and also wonderfull. Thus remaining in this hauen the space of a weeke, seeing the veere farre spent, and also very euill wether, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had beene the depe of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent our three men Southsouthwest, to search if they could finde people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure dayes iourney, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes iourney, who in like sort returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

In this hauen they bid.

‖ Or, Ellons.

Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his owne hand.

These two notes following, were written vpon the outside of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was separated from the Edward Bonauenture.

2 Our shippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Iland Lofoote.

The riuer or hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two shippes perished for colde, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere vnto Kegor.

The Testimonie of M. Richard Eden in his Decades, *concerning this Booke.*

AND whereas (saith he) I haue before made mention how Moscouie was in our time discouered, by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebastian Cabota, who long before had this secret in his minde: I shall not need heere to describe that voyage, forasmuch as the same is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned young man Clement Adams, schoolemaister to the Queenes henchmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of the said Richard Chanceler.

Noua Anglorum, ad Moscouitas nauigatio Hugone Willowbeio *Equite classis præfecto, & Richardo Cancelero Nauarcho.*

Authore Clemente Adamo, Anglo.

Quas ob causas suscepta sit hęc nauigatio, & quibus authoribus & de nauigatione ad Moscouitarum fines.

POstquam merces nostras apud finitimas gentes sordere negotiatores nostri animaduerterunt, quæq; auorum nostrorum memoria certatim a peregrinis mercatoribus expeterentur, imminuto iam precio, etiam exportatæ fastidiosum reperirent emptorem, exoticarum verò mercium precia in immensum extenderentur, Londinenses quidam viri graues ac reipub. suæ imprimis amantes hanc cogitationem susceperunt, quò huic malo mederentur. Nec quærentibus (vt videbatur) remedium defuit, quo tantum incommodum declinarent. Nam cum Hispanorum ac Lusitanorum opes (inuentis nuper nouis terris) magnoperè auctas viderent, eandem viam sibi insistendam rati, nouam nauigationem instituunt. Cum eodem tempore Sebastianus Cabota vir celeberrimus in vrbe moraretur, cœpêre primo cum illo agere, ac seriò consultare, ac re demum inter plures iactata, tandem conuenit tres naues expedire, quibus aquilonaris mundi tractus diligenter perlustratus, nostris etiam pateret, atq; ad ignota regna viam patefaceret. Ad hanc rem tam arduam & difficilem, cum multa forent dispicienda, primum veluti in senatum quendam viros graues, ac prudentiæ spectatæ legunt, qui collatis consilijs sententias suas exponerent, & in omnem euentum salubriter prospicerent. Lectus hic senatulus censuit in rem fore quandam pecuniæ summam publicè cogi, qua tot naues instruerentur. Et ne quisquam priuatim graui pecunia premeretur, placuit vicenas quinas libras viritim colligi: (tantum enim impendebat qui in hoc quasi nouum collegium voluit ascisci.) Coacta itaq; ad sex millia librarum summa

Sebastianus Cabota.

Sex millia librarum coacta.

tres

tres naues mercantur, quarum maximam partem de integro ædificandam, ac reficiendam curare. Qua quidem in re, mercatorumne cura, an fabrorum diligentia, maiori me afficiat admiratione, penitus eſt incertum. Illi enim aſſamenta firmiſſima pulchreq; ſiccata ad nauium fabricam comparant: hi indefeſſo labore, ac arte ſumma, eadem inter ſe committunt, rimis ſtupa obſtructis, ac carinis picatis, vnius etiam imam partem inuento peracri, & ingenioſo munierunt. Acceperant enim in quibuſdam Oceani partibus teredines generari, quæ vel craſſiſſima etiamnum robora perforarent. Quo magis ab hoc periculo nauigantes forent ſecuri, partem nauis vndis depreſſam, tenuibus plumbi laminis obducunt. Poſt fabricatas naues, ac armamentis inſtructas, cepit illos non minor viatici ſollicitudo: quod pro temporis ratione, & nauigationis longinquitate fuerat proſpiciendum. Ad hæc, cum proſpicerent Orientalem orbis plagam eſſe petendam, nec illuc peruium mare, niſi Borealem mundi tractũ naueleri tenerent, vbi an pateret aditus iam tum in incerto erat: octodecim menſium commeatu naues inſtruunt, quod quidem hoc conſilio faciunt: cum noſtris per illam immenſi, & horrendi frigoris oram fuerat traijciendũ, prudenter in rem conſulentes, ſex menſium cibaria præbent, quo illuc nauigare, totidem menſium, quo ibi moram facere hiberno cœlo reditum negante: rurſum tantundem quo remeare poſſint, aſſignant. Poſt repoſitam (vt diximus) penũ, poſt arma omnis generis in naues congeſta, Duces ac quaſi anteſignani tantæ rei deerant: cui etſi multi ſeſe offerrent viri rerum ancipitum ignari, tamen Hugo Willowbeius vir imprimis ſtrenuus, ac non obſcuro loco natus, hanc curam ſibi delegari impenſius poſtulat, cuius facile præ cæteris, cum ob corporis formam (erat enim proceræ ſtaturæ) tum ob ſingularem in re bellica induſtriam a mercatorum collegio habetur ratio. Conſtituitur ergo Nauarchus, aſſignaturq; illi nauis prætoria, ſic vt in cœteras quoq; imperium haberet. Cum de reliquarum præfectis conſultaretur, ac huic muneri multi offerentur, omnium conſenſu vicit Richardus Cancelerus, vir ob multa ingenij documenta ſpectabilis, in quo vno ſumma conficiendi negotij ſpes erat. Hunc aluerat Henricus Sydneius, adoleſcens nobilis, Regiq; Edouardo apprimè charus, qui mercatorum collegium adiens, pro ſingulari ſua facundia coràm in hanc ſententiam verba fecit.

Teredines quæ naues perforant.

Hugo Willowbeius Nauarchus.

Richardus Cancelerus.

Vehementer pium inſtitutum veſtrum amplector (viri honeſtiſſimi) qui pro egregia veſtra erga patriam pietate in rem, & Anglis (vt ſpero) vtilem, ac patriæ honorificam, animo & cogitatione incumbitis. Quem quidem conatum veſtrum, nos quoq; pro viribus adiuuare paramur: nec quicquam nobis tam charum ducimus, quod non libenter huius tam laudabilis propoſiti nomine expenderimus. Imprimíſque mihi gratulor, me illud ingenium fouiſſe, quod vobis tam præclara molientibus, aliquo modo vſui eſſe poſſit. Nihilominus tamen, vos huius rei neſcios eſſe nolim: me Cancelerum eo animo a me dimittere, non quod faſtidiam, vel quod mihi grauis alumnus eſſe videatur, ſed vt promptam in adiuuando veſtro conſilio voluntatem meam pariter intelligeretis, atq; Cancelero meo commendatione mea a vobis debita tribueretur authoritas. Vos illum fama, ego illum experientia, vos verbis, ego rebus, vos ſermone & congreſſu, ego quotidiano conuictu hominis ingenium penitus habeo perſpectum, & exploratum: Nec latere vos debet, (honeſtiſſimi patres) quanta diſcrimina, & veſtro, & patriæ nomine, aditurus eſt. Cuius (ſi propicia numina proficiſcentem ſeruent) nos non immemores eſſe decebit. Nos pecuniolam fortunæ aleæ credimus, ille dulciſſimam vitam fœuiſſimo mari, & incertis periculorum caſibus exponet. Nos cum notis, amicis, ac cognatis ſuauem, ac placidam vitam tranſigemus, ille dum ignotos, & indomitos nautas in officio continere ſtudebit, quantis laboribus frangetur? quot curis, vigiliſq; angetur? quas moleſtias deuorare cogetur? Nos patrias ſedes tenebimus, ille extera & ignota regna petet: Ille Barbaris & feris gentibus ſalutem committet, ille etiam monſtrificis ponti belluis caput obiectabit. Quapropter pro periculorum magnitudine, pro officij ſui dignitate, veſtro fauore abeuntem proſequi, & (ſi fors ferat) vt conſpiciamus reducem, liberaliter quoq; munerari conueniet.

Oratio D. Henrici Sydnei.

Poſtquam hæc, aut non longe alia, multo diſertiſſimè egregius adoleſcens peroraſſet, alius illum contemplari, alius a proximo ſciſcitari, alius (cui nota viri virtus) tacite gaudere, ac arcanam ſpem concipere, illum olim in magnum virũ euaſurum, atq; putare inchoatas has adoleſcentis virtutes magnoperè olim patriam ornaturas. Conticeſcentibus omnibus, grauiſſimis patrum viſum eſt, de orientali orbis tractu quoad eius fieri poteſt ſciſcitari, inueſtigare, ac diligenter perquirere: accerſebantur hoc nomine Tartari duo, qui regi erant ab Equili: aderat interpres, illi per interpretem ſuper patria, ſuper gente, ſuper patrio more interrogati, nihil penitus reſponderunt. Quippe qui (vt falſè quidam palam dixit) poculis exhauriendis potius, quã populorũ moribus diſcendis magis erant aſſueti. Poſt multa vltrò citroq; iactata, tandẽ cenſent, ſoluendi tempus conſtitui, q̃ multum anni iam conſumptũ viſum eſt pleriſq;, & ſi prolixiorem

moram interponerent, fore vt glacies viam obſtrueret. Placuit itaq; omnibus, vt ad vigeſſimum diem Maij præfecti, nautæq; naues conſcenderent: ac ex portu Radlifenſi, ſecundo æſtu ſoluerent. Illi ſalutatis neceſſarijs, alius coniuge & natis, alius cognatis & affinibus, alius amico cognatis chariore, ad dictum diem adſunt: ſolutis iam nauibus, ac reciprocante æſtu, leni curſu Grenouicum feruntur, remigibus interim grandiores naues celocibus, ſeu ſpeculatorijs nauiculis remultantibus. Hi nouo veſtitu coloris Veneti eleganter ornati, incumbunt remis atq; æquora verrunt. Cùm nunc proximè Grenouicenſem Regiam eſſent, ſub aduenientium famam, effundunt ſeſe aulici, concurrit vulgus, ſtabat frequens in ripa, proſpectat ex feneſtris Senatus Regius; alij turrium faſtigia aſcendunt, vibrantur bombardarum fulmina, Tartariæ voluuntur nubes, Martem ſonant crepitacula, reboant ſumma montium iuga, reboant valles, reboant vndæ, claráque Nautarum percellit ſydera clamor, ſtat alius in puppi, ac geſtu quo poteſt amicis valedicit, alij in foris obambulant, hic cancellatis funibus pendet, ille antennis libratur, alius è ſummo malo proſpectat, in ſumma, cuiuſdam triumphalis pompæ feſta facies fuit. At (heu dolor) optimus Rex Eduardus, cuius præcipuè nomine hic tantus apparatus, per valetudinem ſolus aberat: quorum diſceſſum triſtiſſima illius mors (ac nunquam ſiccis oculis mihi memoranda) poſt paucos dies ſubſecuta eſt. Volouicum tandem delati figunt naues: inde ſoluturi, cum aut æſtus reciprocatio, aut ſecundior flatus ad nauigandum inuitaret: nec mora Harouicenſem portum petunt, in quo non ſine maximo tædio ac ſummo temporis detrimento diu morantur. Ad poſtremum tamen nacti idoneam ad nauigandum tempeſtatem, paſſis velis in altum feruntur, ſalutato priùs natali ſolo, quod an vnquam poſtea forent reuiſuri, penitus ignorabant. Reſpiciunt ſubinde triſtes, nec lachrymis temperant nonnulli, cogitantes in quàm dubios caſus erant ituri, & quàm ancipitem euentum maris erant experituri: Torquebat præter cæteros Richardum Cancelerum præfectum Edouardi Boniuenturi penuriæ metus, nam & pars viatici in portu Harouicenſi putrida comperta eſt, viniq; cadi infirmi ac fragiles. Mouit etiam illum paternus amor: reliquit enim abiens duos filios paruulos orphanos futuros, ſi aſperior aliquis caſus ipſum ſuſtuliſſet: mouit illum miſerorum & infœlicium comitũ fortuna, quorum ſalutem cum ſua coniunctam eſſe ſciebat: dum multiplici curarum ambage Canceleri animus excruciatur, tandem poſt multorum dierum velificationem, tellus procul viſa, ad quam Naucleri naues dirigunt: Inſulam eſſe comperiunt Roſſam: in hac conſumptis aliquot diebus, vlterius nauigant ſeptentrionem petentes, rurſum aliæ apparent inſulæ: nomen his Crux inſularum: poſt has cum aliquandiu naues vna velificaſſent, præfectus nauium Willoubeius, vir in conſilijs minimè præceps, erecto vexillo, reliquarum nauium primates euocat, vt his conſiliorum adiutoribus, & ſolicitudinum ſocijs vſus, de reliqua adminiſtratione faciliùs ſtatueret. Illi ex compoſito adſunt, ac inter cætera conuenit, ſi qua grauior tempeſtas ingrueret, ac claſſiculam diſijceret, omnes Vardhouſij Norduuegiæ portum non incelebrem curſu peterent, quiq; primi incolumes illuc appuliſſent, dum reliquæ naues eò conuenirent, in anchoris expectarent. Eodem die iam in pomeridianum tempus inclinato, circiter quartam, tanta tempeſtas ſubitò coorta eſt, & immenſi fluctus tanta vi ſe incitauerunt, vt naues inſtitutum curſum tenere non poſſent, ſed aliæ aliò, magno ſui cum periculo vagè diſijcerentur. Inclamat Nauarchus voce qua poteſt maxima Cancelerum, enimè rogat ne longiùs abſcedat: at ille, nec velle, nec ſi maximè vellet, poſſe, modò ille Nauarchidis ſuæ curſum, erat enim velocior ſuo, temperaret. Verùm neſcio quo caſu Willobæi nauis dum plenis velis fertur, tanta vi abrepta eſt, vt aliquot horarum ſpacio è conſpectu penitus euolauerit. Tertia etiam pari euentu ablata comites amiſit. Prætoriæ certè celox in puppim illiſa, conſpicientibus ex ipſa Edouardo nautis, fluctibus eſt obruta. Reliqui, fati comitũ ſuorum, qui incolumes nuper redierunt, penitus ſunt ignari. Quod ſi acerbior caſus infœlices premit, ſi pelagi ſæuitia innoxios abſorbuit, aut ſi in aliena terra indigi oberrent, digni certè meliore ſorte viri, quibuſq; ſi viuant, in patriam reditum; ſin crudelior mortis fortuna inſontes rapuit, mollem tumulum precemur. Richardus Cancelerus ſolus cum comitibus relictus, ac incerto reliquorũ caſu mæſtus, ad deſtinatum portũ contendit, ſociorum aduentum (ſi ſalui eſſent) ibi expecturus. Hic ſeptem dierum mora interpoſita, cùm ſe fruſtra expectatione torqueri videret, nauigationem ſubire in animo habebat. Cum itaq; omnino certum illi eſſet, nauem ex portu educere, fortè cum Scotis quibuſdam in congreſſum colloquiumq; venit. Qui cum illius animum exploratum haberent, & eius rationibus optimè conſultum cupientes, vehementer illum ab inſtituto conſilio deterrere conantur, ac pericula in maius extollẽtes, eius conſtantiam labefactare nituntur. At Cancelerus mobilitate ac leuitate ingenij nihil turpius exiſtimans, & perſuaſiſſimum habens fortem virũ maius in ſe dedecus admittere non poſſe, quàm ſi metu fractus & debilitatus, periculorũ caſus refugeret, Scotorum oratione nihil deterritus, in propoſito ſuſceptoq;

ceptoq; conſilio permanſit, ſtatuens aut efficere quod propoſuerat, aut certę morti occumbere. Qui in eadem naue cum Cancelero erant, etſi comitum diſceſſu quos auulſerat tempeſtatis ſæuitia plurimum angerentur, & ancipiti curſus ductu commouerentur, tanta tamen & tam ſecunda voluntate in Cancellerum reperiebantur, vt eius ductu & auſpicijs omnes caſus tentare, ac certum capitis periculum adire non reformidarent. Hoc tam conſtans ſodalium ſtudium ſollicitudinem Ducis non mediocriter auxit. Ille enim pari animo erga illos affectus, metuebat ne quo ſuo errore ſociorum ſaluti malè conſultum videri poſſit. Breuiter poſteaquam ſpem ſuam de reliquarum nauium reditu extenuari & euaneſcere vidit, rurſus fortunam maris experitur, mundiq; inane, ac naturæ damnata petit, eoúſque prouectus, dum omnis nox ablata, ſolíſque continuus fulgor vaſtum mare illuſtraret. Itaque continua luce per aliquot dies vſus, tandem Diuino numine fortunante, in ingentem quendam ſinum deueniunt, qui circiter centum millia paſſuũ latitudine collegit. In hunc penitus ingreſſi, naue ad anchoras deligata, dum circum circa proſpiciant, fortè haud procul cernunt ſchapham piſcatoriam, quam Cancelerus cum paucis ingreſſus adire voluit, ſciſcitaturus ex piſcatoribus, quæ terra, qui populus, qui mores. At illi inuſitata nauis magnitudine perculſi (neque enim tam vaſtę naues in illis regionibus viſuntur) præcipites ſeſe fugæ mandabant: Cæterum Cancelerus fugientes aſſequitur: Illi pauidi ac metu ſemianimes, ad genua ducis aduoluti pedibus oſcula offerunt. At Dux pro ſua ſingulari humanitate placidis oculis intuetur, geſtu ac nutu conſolatur, ſupplicum officia recuſat, proſtratóſq; amplexus in pedes adleuat: Mirum quantum fauoris hæc humanitas illi poſtea concillarit. Hij enim dimiſſi rumorem diſſipant de noua gente, de humanitate ſingulari. Hæc fama vbi percrebuit, accurrere vulgũs, vltrò viaticum offerre, nec commercium recuſare, niſi quod magna religione obſtringerentur, ne principe inconſulto peregrinas merces emerent. Mox docentur noſtri terram eſſe Ruſſiam, atque Moſcouiam, & in illis locis Euan Vaſiliuich (hoc enim erat principi nomen) plurimas nationes imperio ac ditione ſua regere ac gubernare. Viciſſim rogat Barbarus noſtrates, vnde genus ducunt, aut quid petunt in terra aliena. Ad hoc noſtri, ſeſe Angligenas, ab illuſtriſſimo Rege Edouardo ſexto in illũ orbem miſſos, habere ſe ad illorum Principem regis ſui mandata, nec quicquam vltra quærere, quàm principis ſui amicitiam ac popularibus ſuis commercia, qua quidem ex re maximas vtilitates in vtriuſque regni populos collatas iri ſperabant. Non inuitis auribus audiunt hæc Barbari, ac vltrò operam ſuam pollicentur, vt tam æqua & honeſta poſtulatio ad principis ſui aures primo quoque tempore perferretur. Tum Cancelerus à Toparchis, qui cum reliquis confluxerant, commeatum petit ac obſides poſcit in nauem, in tutelam ſuæ ſuorúmq; ſalutis. Cui Toparchæ, ſui arbitrij non eſſe, quid ſtatuat princeps, quod in ſua manu ſit, id velle præſtare, quódque ſolum poſſunt, commeatum pollicentur. Dum hæc aguntur, veredarium clàm dimittunt qui Imperatori renũtiet, de ignotæ gentis appulſu, ſimul vt illius animum explorarent, quid ille ſtatuat. Allatũ nuntium pergratum fuit principi, adeò quidem, vt vltro etiam ad Regiam inuitaret, aut ſi terreſtris itineris longinquitas moleſta ipſis videretur, commerciorum copiam ſuis facit: promittit inſuper, ſi libet ad ſe venire, veredariorum equorum impenſam. Interea Toparchæ diem ex die ducere, varias excuſationes prætexere, nunc reliquorum Toparcharum conſenſum, nunc ardua Reip. negotia ceſſationi ſuæ obtendere, tantiſper tempus proferre cupientes, dum reuerſus nũtius ſe de principis voluntate certiores faceret. Verum Cancelerus poſtquam ſe longa & inani expectatione ſuſpenſum teneri, & tempus data opera extrahi videret, ſeriò inſtat, vt promiſſi fidẽ liberent: quod ſi facere neglexerint, ſe vlterius nauigaturũ affirmat. At Moſcouitæ, tametſi adhuc Regiæ voluntatis incerti eſſent, & noſtrorum diſceſſum metuerent, (habebant enim merces, quas illi magnoperè expetebant) comeatu inſtruunt. Atq; ita iter longiſſimũ ac multò moleſtiſſimum ingreſſus eſt. Quod quidem trahis, quarum plurimus illi genti vſus, confecit: trahis geſtantur, trahis onera vehuntur, deniq; vix alia nouerunt vehicula. Huius rei cauſa eſt rigidiſſimum ſolum horrendo gelu Hybernis menſibus concretum, de quo paulò poſt diſſerenius. Maiori itineris parte iam peracta, ſuperuenit veredarius quem ſupra oſtendimus, clam ab Irenarchis dimiſſum qui (quo caſu incertum) à via aberrauerat, ac littora Maris Tartaris vicina petiuerat, ratus ſeſe noſtrorum nauem ibi inuenturum. Hic poſt longum errorem tandem ad noſtros redijt, ac Ducem in via aſſecutus, literas Imperatorias, illas quidem humanitatis pleniſſimas Cancelero attulit. Quibus imperabatur, vt veredi illi comitibúſque ſuis ſine prætio ſuppeditarentur: Quod quidem tanta alacritate ab omnibus in reliquo itinere factitatum eſt, vt in magnam contentionem venerint, & poſt rixam pugnis etiam diſceptarent, vtri veredos ſuos trahæ iungerent. Tandem poſt magnas longiſſimi itineris moleſtias (confecerat enim quindecies centena millia paſſuum) Moſcuam Regiam vrbem delatus eſt: de qua, ac Moſcouitarum Cæſare, déque illuſtribus Moſcouiæ vrbibus, paulò poſt plura ſumus ſcripturi.

Traharum vſus.

Literæ humaniſſimæ Imperatoris ad Cancelerum.

De

De Moscouia, quæ & Russia dicitur.

MOscouia quæ & Russia alba nominatur, terra est amplissima, hinc inde varijs gentibus contermina, à meridie atque Oriente Tartaris cingitur: Septentrionale latus Oceanus Scythicus ambit. Ad Occidentem tenent Lapones, gens sylvestris, nec vlli populo commercio linguæ nota: post hos Austrum versus incolunt Sueci, dein Finlandia, ab hac Liuonij, iuxta hos Lituani. Pluribus ac maximis fluminibus irrigua est, multisque locis palustris. Nobilissima fluminum Rha, quod illi materna idiomate Volgam, Tanais quem Don, Boristhenes quem hodie Neper nominant: horum Rha, atque Boristhenes, eodem lacu orti, immensa terræ spacia peragrant. Rha amœnos amnes in se recipiens, ac ex ipso statim fonte Orientem petens, post varios flexus ac cursus ambages aduenas aquas, suásq; in Caspiũ mare pluribus ostijs exonerat.

Tanais fonte haud spectabili ab ipsa scatebra grandescens, tandẽ in amplum lacũ se diffundit: post euagantes aquas in arctum cogens angustus labitur, ac post aliquot passuum millia, iterum in lacum diffusus (quem Iuan appellant) flexuoso meatu vadit, donec in vicina Volgæ penetrenit. Deinde quasi comitem auersatus, transuerso cursu flectens in meridiem contendit, ac Mæoticam paludem petit.

Boristhenes quem ex eodem fonte cum Rha ortum diximus, cognatas aquas in austrum defert, subinde auxiliares amnes recipiens: hic maximas gentes præterluens, tandem in pontum Euxinum sese condit.

Habet & Moscouia lacus, & stagna: lacus etiam deciduo syderum semine, pisces generant: Inter hos principatum tenet Bellij ozera, vel ob hoc præcipuè memorabilis, quod arx munitissima in eo sit extructa, quo Moscouitarum princeps gazam suam confert, si quando bellorum terror premit.

Quod ad Ryphæa iuga spectat perpetuis niuibus candẽtia, vnde veteres Tanaim ortum habere somniarunt, reliquaq; naturæ portenta, quæ Græcia olim finxit, nec nostri qui nuper redierunt, videre, nec Trimestri spatio illic versati, ac Moscouitarũ alloquio vtcunq; imbuti, auditu cognouerunt. Terram esse planam, ac campestrem illi, ac raro in montes assurgere: & qua vergit in Septentrionem latissimas saltus habere. Plurima ibi abies, vnde ad struendas ædes materia. Hi saltus feras alunt, vros, vrsos, lupos nigros, aliámq; feram nostro orbi non visam, quam illi Rossomakkam nominant: rarum feræ ingenium, & spectabile: satura enim & distenta, dum eorum stipitum angustias quærit, per quas se transmittens, ventris onus (quod alias non egeritur) excõlat: vros equites vt plurimum venantur, vrsos pedites lignijs furcis. Septentrionalis tractus tam horrendi frigoris esse dicitur, vt ex humidis lignis in foco structis distillans liquor in stiriam concrescat: tanta diuersitas tantillo spacio, vt hinc prunam, illinc glaciem in eadem face cernas. Postquam hyemare apud illos incipit, assidua gelu incrementa capit, nec se prius remittit, quàm solis radij nostrum orbem reuisentes canescentem terram fulgore exhilarat, tristéq; gelu tepore soluit. Nautæ certè nostri, qui in naue remanserant ex inferiori stego in foros scandentes, tam subita Lipothymia nónunquam sunt correpti, vt intermortui subinde ruerent: tanta erat illic rigentis cœli inclementia: Australiora illius aliquantò mitiora sunt.

Frigoris asperitas.

De Moscua Regia vrbe, & de Moscouitarum Rege.

RElíquum est vt promissa opusculi pars à nobis dicatur, déq; Moscua regia vrbe, & de Moscouitarum principe latiùs paulò disseramus, cuius imperium amplissimum est, opésq; hoc tempore insignes: Et quoniã ipsa vrbs facilè inter cæteras principatum tenet, meritò sibi primum locum vendicet. Vrbis amplitudo, vt nostri affirmant, Londinum cum suburbio magnitudine æquat. Aedificia habet multa, sed cultu nequaquam nostris conferẽda. Vici plures sunt, sed incomposíti, viæ lapide non sternuntur vt nostræ: ædium parietes lignij sunt, tecta scandulis vt plurimum muniuntur: iũcta oppido arx est & elegans, & munita. Huic à Septentrione annectitur vrbs lateritio muro. Ipsius etiam arcis mœnia, lateribus struuntur, quorum crassities pedes octodecim colligit: ab altera parte ficca fossa munitur castellum, ab altera flumine Vologda alluitur, quod in Orientem tendens sociales aquas Occæ adiungit. Sunt in castro nouẽ ædes sacræ non inuenustæ quas tenent cœnobitæ: habent etiam papam suum, ac quosdam alios præsules, qui omnes vt plurimum in arce degunt: Ipsius certè Principis Regia minus culta, quadratæ formæ, & structuræ humilis, nostrorum palatiorum nitore longè superatur: fenestrarum angustię nunc vitrijs nunc specularibus lumen admittũt. Attalica magnifica nostratiũ principum aulis ornamenta, illis deerant. Vndiq; parietibus adhęrent scamna, neq; id solum in Imperatoris Regia, verum etiã vbíq; in priuatorum ędibus. Exactis iam duodecim ab ingressu in vrbem diebus, adest nuntius ad Regias ædes nostros inuitans. Angli moram pertæsi cupidè paruêre. Itaque in aulam ingressi, honorandum centum Aulicorum cœtũ aureo cultu ad talos

vsque

vsque demisso ornatum, considere conspiciunt: Exinde in salutatorium admissi, mirum quantum fulgor Imperatorius nostrorum oculos perstrinxerit. Russorum enim Imperator Regali in solio sublimis, ac aureo diademate insigniter conspicuus, regióq; paludamento aurificũ opere spectabili ornatus sedit: aureum bacillum gemmis distinctum dextra tenet, ac præter cætera Regalis opulentiæ decora, inerat etiam in vultu maiestas tanto fastigio digna: stant iuxta hinc & hinc Archigrammateus ac silentiarius, & ipsi Regali auro vestiti. Deinde centum quinquaginta patrum concessus, aureo vestitu magnificus cubiculi subsellia vndiq; prætexuit. Poterat tantæ maiestatis fulgor, poterat tam augustus venerãdorum patrum conspectus insueto mentem excutere: At Cancelerus constanti vultu, Regia maiestate more salutata, Regis Edouardi literas tradit: lectis literis pauca de Regis nostri incolumitate interrogat; quibus Angli paucis respondent: mox à nostris per Archigrammatea dono Imperatori oblato (quod ipse nudato capite obtulit, nam antea erat opertus) Moscouitarum Princeps Anglos in prandij tempus, ad quod ipsos inuitauit, dimittit: postquam horas duas in illius cubiculo qui principi est à supplicibus morati sunt, accersit vtitius ad epulas: in aureum palatiũ (vt ipsi nominabant, licet parum excultum) introducti Russorum Cæsarem alto toro assidentem argenteo amictu decoratũ, atque altero iam diademate insignitum offendunt. Nostri ex aduerso collocati mensæ accumbunt, stat ingens medio in palatio abacus, ab imo quadratus paulum assurgit. Huic orbis incũbit, vnde in metam fastigiatur, latiori semper orbe contractiorem sustinente: hunc gaza Regia adornabat, tanta copia vt pondere etiam grauaret. Melior certè pars vasorum, ac potoriorum omnium ex auro lectissimo fabricata. Quatuor ollæ magnitudine conspicuæ, reliquam aureorum vasculorum magnificentiam præcipuè illustrarunt. Tantæ enim proceritatis extiterunt, vt quinos propè pedes altitudine colligerent: fuerunt etiam argentea quædam Dolia, à nostris minoribus capacitate non longè differentia, quibus principis potum priuatim seruant. Quatuor mensæ ad singula Triclinij latera singulæ dispositæ ac mundissimis mappis stratæ, quibus ab humiliori solo ternis gradibus erat ascensus, celeberrimo conuiuarum cætu instruuntur. Hi, foris linteati, intúsq; preciosissimis pellibus vestiti, regalem cœnam ornarunt. Cum princeps cultum vel panem attrectat signo crucis frontem prius munit. Qui in amicitia principis palmam tenent, cõfiliorúmq; participes fiunt, eidẽ choro adhibiti, remotiore loco ab ipso sedent. Porrò hic dum expectantur epulæ, veteri ac quasi auito Moscouitarum principum more, ipse Imperator singulos conuiuas pane primum donat, cum donorum suorum titulo, ac elata voce in hũc modum. Magnus Moscouitarum Dux, ac summus Russiæ Imperator Ioannes Vasiliuich (deinde qui perfert accipientẽ nominat) te pane donat. Sub hoc assurgunt conuiuæ vniuersi, ac mox residunt. Peracto principis munere, celebri dapiferorum pompa incedit Atriensis, ac salutato principe Cygnellum aurea in lance mensæ admouet: mox tollit, ac structo i, cum septem comitibus in frusta discerpendũ tradit. Hęc in mensam paulò post illata, pari ceremoniæ celebritate conuiuis distribuuntur. Dum hæc aguntur & ipse Atriensis pane donatus delibat, ac honorata principis celsitudine mox recedit. De reliquorũ ordine missuum, cum omninò incomposite sint illati, nihil certi referre possunt nostri. Illud certè constat, vniuersum esculentorum, ac potoriorum omnium apparatum, quibus centum conuiuis ministratum est, lectissimi auri fuisse, mensásq; ipsas vasis adeò fuisse onustas, vt nonnullis etiam in mensa deesset locus: Neq; verò silentio inuoluendum est ministros centum quadraginta, aurea veste ornatos ter ipso conuiuij tempore cultum mutauisse: Ministri quoq; pane ac potu donantur simili (quo reliqui) modo. Ad postremum finito prandio, ac illatis lucernis (erat enim iam mox) conuiuas ac familiares omnes nomine appellat, vt non immeritò mirum videatur tot ac tam varia cognomina principi alioqui occupatissimo, memoria non excidere; Donatiui, ac citandorum nominum ratio est, vt Moscouitæ referunt, tum vt familiam probè noscat, tum vt qui principis amicitia exciderunt hoc modo notentur. Nota.

De re Militari Moscouitarum.

QVoties finitimorum iniurię principem in bellũ euocant, haud vnquam infra trecenta virorum millia in hostem armat. Ex quorum numero, centum circiter millia in aciem secũ educens, reliqua in tutelam Imperij in præsidijs aptis in locis disponit. Colonum nullũ, nullum Mercatorem in militiam legit, tanta enim est populi multitudo, vt his domi relictis, iuuentus bellis gerendis abundè suppeditetur. Quoscunq; in expeditionem ducit, proprio sumptu seipsos alunt: pedestrem pugnam non nouerunt, equites in aciem procedũt. Arma sunt his lorica, & galea, lorica foris auro tegitur, vel holoserico etiam gregario militi. Impensè iuuat opulentiam ostentare. Arcu ac sagittis vtuntur more Turcarum. Lanceas etiam in aciem gerunt: stapedã adductiore equitant, idq; vt Turcæ: Genus est hominũ, algoris vltra omnem fidem patiens,

ac

ac victus parcissimum. Nam cum tellus alta niue candet, cum terra horrēdo gelu astricta rigeat, tamen hic Sarmata, sago stipitibus, vndè ventus ac niues sæuiunt, expasso, exiguum ignem sibi struit, atq; cuersus à vento iacet: sagum illi pro tecto est: sagum pro muro: in summa sagū instar omnium est. Hic incola niuium aqua, è gelido amne petita, ac similagine auenæ admixta, conuiuium suum instruit: ac his dapibus satus, ac lautè pastus, ad ignem decumbit, lateráque huiusmodi lautitiarum crapula defessa, rigenti solo perunt. Huic rigens solum pro pluma, trifcus seu cilex pro ceruicali. Equus etiam non lautiori pabulo nutritus quàm herus, hero est contubernalis. Quàm merito hic ignobilis & obscurus Sarmata, effeminatā ducibus nostris mollitiem exprobret, qui cœlo longè clementiore, pellitis ocreis renonibúsq; vtuntur. Hic est grecariorum militum apparatus. At qui illustriori dignitatis sunt loco, instructiores paulò in militiam proficiscuntur. Ipsius quidem Imperatoris apparatus vel tum maximè est insignis: Tentorij enim vela, vt plurimum aurea sunt, spectabili etiamnum plumariorum opere margaritísq; ornata. Quoties cum hoste conserendum est, incomposiri in hostile agmen procurrunt: neque aciem dirigunt (vt mos est nostris) sed in insidijs collocati aduersarios adoriuntur. Ipsorū equi biduj inediam facilè ferunt. In bello vt plurimum arborum cortices, ac virgultorum mollia his sunt pro pabulo: bimestri spatio hanc tantam penuriam, etiam vegeti, ac fortes & equus & eques non rarò perferūt. Si cuius opera in bello strenua princeps vsus est, hūc prædio aut fundo aliquo donat, in alimentum sui suorúmq;, qui tamē ad ipsum Imperatorē post eius mortem redit, si nulla proles virilis sexus ipsi contingat: nam si numerosam etiam fœminarum sobolem genuerit, tamen hunc hereditariū agrum vendicat princeps, nisi quod exiguam fortè partem ad dotandas puellas princeps concedat. Porrò qui Imperatoris munificentia illo modo muneratur, graui pecunia astringūtur tot milites in bello alere, cum necessitas postulat, quot illius fundi reditus Imperatoris censura abundè nutrire possit. Haud meliori sunt sorte, quibus hæreditatio iure agri contingunt. Nam si moriuntur, nec sobolem masculam reliquerint, decedētis prædia fisco Imperatorio statim cedunt. Super hęc, si opimus aliquis, bello inutilis ab Aulicis principi deferatur, quod rei militari in idoneus amplas facultates habeat, quibus multi clari sanguinis viri bello apti nutriantur, mox arcessitur infœlix, opibúsq; quas tantis cum sudoribus, quas tot laboribus per omnem vitam comparauit, tantillo temporis momento exuitur, nisi quod particulam aliquam à principe recipit, ad se, cōiugem, liberos, ac domesticos alendos. Hęc autem à populo Imperatori suo tam alacriter fiunt, vt credas illos aliena restituisse, non sua alieno dedisse. His bonis pro meritis singulorum aulicos suos donat princeps. In Bellis etiam, quo quis sæpius in expeditionē mittitur, eo propensiorē in se principis fauorem auguratur, etiā cum suis impensis seipsum alat: sicuti antea à nobis dictū est: tantum est apud omnes ducis sui obsequiū.

Ingens Regum obseruantia.

De Legatis Ducis Moscouitarum.

NOn minori magnificentia quàm qua diximus, Legatos suos in obeundis negotijs ad exteros reges mittit Moscouita: nam nostris Moscuę agentibus, legatos duos ad Poloniæ Regem iter suscipientes vel ingressos, quingenti Equites ornatissimi comitabantur, quorum melior pars veste aurea, ac serico induebatur, & qui incultissimè cymatili, vt interim equorum strata, auro argentóq; inducta, & spectabili Phrygionum opere ornata silentio transeam: habebant insuper centum sonipedes albos pulcherrimósq;, in quos (si alicuius tædiū ipsos in itinere cepisset) cum vellent transcenderent. Sed nunc tempus exigit vt ad quasdam alias Moscouitarum vrbes orationem conuertamus, & merces quibus abundant breuiter perstringamus.

Nouogardia.

SEquitur Moscuam celeberrima vrbium Nouogardia, quæ vt illi dignitate est inferior, ita magnitudine non parum superat. Emporium est totius Imperij longè nobilissimum: & licet regiam sedem sibi princeps Moscuæ constituit, fluminis tamen opportunus interlapsus, ac post in mare Sarmaticum exoneratus, facit Mercatorum conuentu, ipsa Regia vrbe celebratiorem. Huic vrbi ob summam optimi lini ac canabis abundantiā, inter reliquas regni vrbes facilè datur palma: vendit etiam coria, mel, & ceram. Instituerunt ibi Collegium mercatorum Flandri, qui pari perfidia vsi apud illos, qua nupe: apud nos, priuilegia amiserant, quæ sibi restitui, nostris ibi morantibus enixè à duce postularunt. Hi, audito nostrorum accessu, literas expediūt ad principem, nostros falsis criminibus onerant, & in suspicionem piraticæ vocant, itaq; hortantur vt detineat, ac in vincula conijciat: Hæc cum nostris nuntiata sunt, in summam desperationem adducuntur domum reditionis: Princeps tamen multò illustrissimus, regijs scriptis confirmatus, fidem nequaquam mendacibus literis adhibuit.

Flandrorum Mercatorum mendacem literę ad Regem ad-uersus nostros.

Yeraslauia,

Yeraslauia.

CElebratur quoque Yeraslauia propter coria, seuum ac fruges quibus plurimum abundat. Cerarum etiam orbes ibi sunt venales, licet alijs in locis maior sit copia: sita hæc est ab vrbe Regia ad lapidem ducentissimum: totum interuallum plurimos habet vicos populosissimos: abundant agri frugibus, quas Moscuam tanta copia conuehunt, vt aliquando antemeridiano videas septingentenas vel octingentenas trahas vltrò citróq; commeantes, fruges, vel salsamenta vehentes. Veniunt à millesimo lapide Moscuam, mercatum fruges, trahíque vehunt. Hij sunt Aquilonis incolæ, nam tanta est ibi frigoris immanitas, vt segetes non crescant, aut si crescunt non matureſcunt. Hij salsamenta, pelles, & coria, merces afferunt.

Vologda.

VOlogda quingentis quinquaginta millibus passuũ interiectis, ab vrbe Metropolitana distans, mercimonia habet, seuum ac linum, tametsi lini maior vis Nouogardiæ væneat.

Plescouia.

PRopter Mellis cerzq; præcipuam vim à mercatoribus frequentatur Plescouia.

Colmogora.

MItit Aquilonaris Russiæ tractus raras ac preciosas pelles: in his sunt vel præcipui Zabellinæ, Dominarum nostrarũ ceruicibus imprimis expetitæ: habent etiam pelles martias, vulpinas, candidas, nigras, & rufas, leporinas, & armelinas, aliásq; Barbaris nominibus dictas, beueres, mingas, miniueras: gignit vicinum mare belluam à Barbaris Mors nominatam: hęc dentium admiculo rupes scandens pabulum petit. Hanc cupiunt Russi ob dentium insignem vsum, qui non minor his est, quam elephantorum nostratibus. Hæc mercimonia ceruorum dorsis ad oppidum Lampas feruntur. Deinceps mercatores vrbem Colmogoram petunt, atq; ibi Hyberno tempore, celeberrimæ sunt illarum mercium nundinæ: suppeditat hæc vrbs vndiquáque vicinæ regioni affatim salem ac salsamenta: mittunt & Aquilonares Russi oleum à Barbaris, Trein nominatum, quod in quodam flumine Vna dicto faciunt, licet non solum ibi habeatur: coquunt etiam marinam aquam vnde ipsis constat vis magna salis. Vna flumen, vel Dwina.

De dissidentium lite, & quibus arbitris finiantur certamina.

NVnc quoniam de insignioribus vrbibus ea diximus, quæ locus postulauit, supereſt vt de iuris forma qua vtuntur Moscouitæ, quatenus ad notitiam nostram peruenit, perscribamus. Si qua lis apud eos oritur, fundorum Dominos, iudices primum constituunt: hij si componere litem non possunt, superiori magistratui certamen deferunt. Accusator à magistratu petit, vt liceat sibi aduersarium in ius vocare. Mox facta potestate satellitem vocat ac reum sistit, ac in ius rapit: huius tibias flagris cædit Lictor, donec proferat, qui legi satisfaciat: at reus si eius fidei non sit, vt vadem inueniat, manibus collo constrictis à lictore trahitur, verberibúsq; coúsque afficitur, donec ad dicendam causam coram Iudice sistatur. Reus itaque à magistratu interrogatus (verbi gratia in quæstione alieni æris) an in illius ære alieno sit à quo accusatur, ille it inficias: Ad hæc Iudex, qui potes inficiari? tum reus, iureiurando. Mox à magistratu prohibetur lictor ampliùs verberare, donec certiori fide de lite constet: leguleios non alunt: Quisq; sibi Aduocatus est, atq; accusantis querela, reíq; defensio supplicum literarum forma principi traditur, iustá principis sententiá petentiũ. Ipse Imperator omnẽ litem maiorum præsertim controuersiarũ cognoscit, ac cognita lite sententiam fert, Ille summa æquitate certamina dirimit, quod in summæ maiestatis principe præcipua laude dignũ reor. Id licet sancto animi proposito faciat, mirè tamen mali magistratus idem peruertunt, quos quidẽ in crimine deprehensos, seuerissimè princeps vindicat. Ad postremum cum vtráq; pars, quibus potuit argumentis, causam suam confirmauit, rogat Iudex accusatorem, an vlla causæ suæ argumenta adhuc superent? respondet se vel pugilem suum manu strenua etiam in hoste comprobaturum, ac postulat vt singulari certamine congredi liceat, copiáque certandi vtrique facta, ambo in Leguléi non alũtur in Moscouia.

mono-

monomachiam ruunt: aut si alteruter vel vterque parum strenuus, aut pugnæ minùs habilis sit, pugiles publicos substituunt: habent enim pugiles, quibus solo hoc quæstu victus constat. Hij armati in arenam descendunt: tela sunt vt plurimum claua bellica, & venabulum: fit pugna pedestris. Cuius igitur pugil in certamine superatur, is absque mora in vincula conijcitur, vbi miseris modis tractatur, donec cum aduersario certamen finiat. Præter hæc, si vterq; ortus sit claris parentibus, atque alter alterum priuatum hostem deposcit, annuit Iudex, nec tum vicarijs pugilibus fas est vti. Porro qui splendidiori loco natus est, hostem obscuriori ortum familia, in certamine respuit. Si quis pauper ære alieno astrictus, creditori soluendo non sit, abducit illum creditor, atque eoúsq; opere faciundo exercet, vel alteri operam obærati elocat, donec operando debitum persoluit: sunt qui sponte, se, coniugem, ac liberos opulentioribus per omnem vitam emancipabunt, vt in initio exiguam pecuniolæ summam accipiant, ac pòst pro reliqua vita alimenta capiant: adeo illis vilescit libertas.

Pugiles Mercenarij.

De furum supplicijs.

SI quis furto deprehensus sit, in carcerem conijciunt, ac flagris subinde cædunt, neque ob primam noxam suspendunt, vt nos, atque hanc, legem misericordiæ appellant: qui secundò delinquit, illi nasum præcidunt, ac stigmatis frontem signant: Tertia noxa crucem meretur. Multi, & insignes sunt crumenisecæ: quod si principis seueritas ipsos non tolleret, non esset resistere illorum prouentui.

De Religione.

GRęcæ Ecclesiæ dogma amplectuntur: simulachra Diuorum in templis non admittunt: tabulas tamen diuorum, imaginibus pictas in sacris ædibus frequentes habent: has adorant, his dona offerunt, his cereos accendunt, has etiam sacro fonte aspergunt, alioqui illis nullus est honos. Simulachra nostra nullam diuinitatis vim habere asserunt, quòd in templis dicantur perinde vt à statuarijs emuntur. Priuatis in ædibus statuas instar penatium colunt. Hæ in obscurissima parte domus vt plurimum statuũtur. Si quis domum vicini intrat, primùm omnium penates salutat, etiam cùm non videat: si scamnum aut sella stet in proximo, subinde frontem illidens in sellam, ac crebro capite & corpore nutans larem adorat. Sacrorum ac prophanorum virorum in vestitu nulla diuersitas. Nulli nec sacro nec prophano interdicitur matrimonium. Cæterùm si Ecclesiastici vxor è vita decedat, secundas nuptias repetere non licet. Quocirca ex sacerdotibus (vt vocant) secularibus fiunt plerúmque Monachi, quibus perpetua imperatur castitas. Sacra officia in templis materno idiomate fiunt. Ex pane fermentato Eucharistiam consecrant, ac post consecrationem, lance in capite per templum circumferunt nec participare volentem prohibent. Nouum ac vetus testamentum in templis legunt lingua vernacula tam offensate, vt nec ipse qui legit intelligat. Dum illa leguntur, garrire, confabulari, ac obstrepere licet, in reliquo officio, summam modestiam ac sanctimoniam præ se ferunt. Orationem dominicam decimus quisque haud nouit. At Symbolum Apostolicum, aut Decalogum Moisis nemo aut admodum pauci, aiunt enim rem tam arcanam ac sacram in vulgus temere enuntiari non oportere. Decalogum etiam sanguine Christi antiquatum esse. Humaniores literas omnino respuunt. Cognitionis Græcæ, Latinæ aut Hebraicæ linguæ penitus sunt ignari: singulis annis quaterna celebrant ieiunia quæ ab ipsis diuorum festis denominant. Primum cum nostro quadragesimali ieiunio exordium habet. Secundum diui Petri ieiunium dicitur. Tertio, dat nomen Diua Maria. Quartum, à Philippo nomen capit. Ac sicuti nos quadragesimam nostram à die Mercurij auspicamur, ita illi à die solis: diebus Sabbati carne vescuntur. Hebdomadis has esuriales ferias præcedentibus lacticinijs viuunt. Ac vulgo appellant butyri ieiunia. Hoc tempore mutuò sese inuisunt vicini, ac pacis oscula vicissim excipiunt, in signum mutui amoris ac concordiæ Christianæ. Nam sub illis ieiunandi temporibus frequentius quàm aliàs sacrosanctam cœnam adeunt. Post septem dies ab incœpto ieiunio, crebrò inuisunt templa, aut domi sese continent; ac orationi plurimum vacant. Nec illa septimana alio quàm oleribus vescuntur. Exacto septimanæ huius ieiunio, pristinam bibendi intemperiem repetunt, sunt enim bibones insignes. Districtè seruant ieiunia sua, nec vllius rei esum nisi holerum ac salsamentorum tunc temporis sibi indulgent: die Mercurij ac Veneris quauis septimana ieiunare solent.

Secundę nuptię prohibitę nonnullis.

Quaterna ieiunia singulis annis.

Plurima

Plurima ibi extruuntur Benedictinorum Cœnobia: his magni sunt agrorũ reditus: nam tertiam fundorũ partem totius Imperij tenent Monachi. Istis per omnem vitam esus carnium interdicitur: Alimenta sunt salsamenta, lac & butyrum. Nec ex instituto religionis recentes pisces edunt. Quatemis tamen illis quæ memorauimus ieiuniis, ne piscibus quidem viuunt, Caulibus, ac cucummeribus sale cõditis, radiculisque (quæ perennare facile faciunt) illis victus constat. Potus est his valde tenuis ac dilutus. Quotidie in Templis rem diuinam faciunt: sacrum officium antelucano adeunt, quod aduentante iam die finitur. Circa nonam diei celebratur missa. Post hanc prandetur: à prandio sacrum officium repetunt, nec non à cœna. Prandentibus cœnantibusue legitur euangeliorum interpretatio. Quoties alicuius monasterij Antistes concedit fato, Princeps Cœnobij bona inuadit, armenta, greges, suppellectilem, aurum, argentum, rapit. Aut is qui defuncto Antistiti dignitate succedit hæc ab imperatore pecunia redimit.

Ædes sacræ lignijs trabibus contexuntur, Ac plerumque assurgit turris scandulis tecta. Foris adduntur ædi porticus. In cœmiterijs fabricas ædificant ligneas in quibus librantur campanæ, nunc singulæ, nunc binæ, nunc trinæ. Aedes sacræ.

Non omittenda vt rara ita & ridicula gentis consuetudo: defunctorum cadauera loculis cõdunt, ac manui cadaueris codicillos indunt. Horum summa est, defunctum fuisse Russum Russorum, fidem amplexum, ac in eadem fide decessisse. Hæ literæ Diuo Petro mittuntur: lectis literis mox (vt illi aiunt) admittitur, & vt syncerioris fidei sectatori, beatior etiam sedes quàm Latinis Christianis conceditur. Nos enim semichristianos esse contendunt, sese autem syncerores ac genuinos. Hæc sunt indoctæ Barbariei pudenda deliramenta. Mos sepulturæ.

De idololatris Moscouitis, Tartaris conterminis.

TArtarorum confinia tenent Moscouitæ idololatræ. Percelebre est illis idolon aurea vetula dictum. Si qua grauior calamitas gentem premit, veluti fames, bellum, vel pestis, Idolum sum statim consulunt. Quod hoc modo faciunt. Coram simulacro prostrati preces fundunt, mox crepitaculum tympanum in medio statuunt: hoc sorte lecti circumstant: Argenteum bubonem tympano imponunt, bacillo concutitur tympanum. Ac cui circumiacentium accedit bubo, protenus interficitur. Statim nescio quibus Idoli præstigijs vitæ restitutus, malorum causas exponit, Itaque placato Idoli numine, non ita multò pòst publica calamitate liberantur. Aurea vetula Idolum.

De ędium priuatarum forma, ac de cultu populi.

PRiuatorum domus vbiuis truncis abiegnis contexuntur: Inferiori trabe quodam alueo superiacentis rotunditatem ita excipiente, vt hac sola admissura, omnem propemodum flatum excludant. Solent tamen iunctura muscari. Forma ædiũ quadrata est, fenestræ peranguste, per quas impage translucida pelle obducta lumen admittunt. Domorum tecta tabulatis fiunt, arborum corticibus foris inductis. Intus ad parietes lata habent scamna. Hęc vulgò pro accubitis, lectorum enim vsus vulgo ignotus. Ignis in Hypocaustis mane structus, totam domum pro modo, tepidam vel calidam reddit. Vulgi amictus vt plurimum laneus est. Piliis vtuntur fastigiatis, in modum metæ, in quibus etiam nobilitatis est insigne: quò enim porrectiori ac elatiori vtuntur pilio, eò splendidiores vulgo habentur. Domus tegunturcorticibus Arborum foris.

Conclusio ad Serenissimam Reginam *Mariam.*

HÆc sunt ter Maxima Regina, quæ tui Angli modo reduces retulerunt. Quod si per tuam excellentissimam Maiestatem liceat illuc denuò Nauigare, non dubitant tui, ad eas gentes nominis tui fulgorem penetraturum, quæ tribus solum Heroibus, à condito mundo sine æmulo genitis patuêre. ANNO 1554. Nota.

The newe Nauigation and discouerie of the kingdome of *Moscouia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553 : Enterprised* by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chanceler, Pilot maior of the voyage. Translated out of the former Latine into English.

Vpon what occasions, and by whom this voyage was set out, and of the discouerie of Moscouie by the North.

AT what time our Marchants perceiued the commodities and wares of England to be in small request with the Countreis and people about vs, and neere vnto vs, and that those Marchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncestors did earnestly seeke and desire, were now neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by vs caried to their owne portes, and all forreine marchandises in great accompt, and their prises wonderfully raised: certaine graue citizens of London, and men of great wisedome, and carefull of the good of their Country, beganne to thinke with themselues, howe this mischiefe might bee remedied: neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the auoyding of so great an inconuenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingals, by the discouerie and search of newe trades and Countreis was marueilously increased, supposing the same to bee a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolued vpon a newe and straunge Nauigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowmed, happened to be in London, they beganne first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speache and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should be prepared and furnished out, for the search and discouerie of the Northerne part of the worlde, to open a way and passage to our men for trauaile to newe and vnknowen kingdomes.

3. Ships furnished for the discouerie.

And whereas many things seemed necessarie to bee regarded in this so harde and difficult a matter, they first make choyce of certaine graue and wise persons in maner of a Senate or companie, which shoulde laye their heads together, and giue their iudgements, and prouide things requisite and profitable for all occasions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money shoulde publiquely bee collected to serue for the furnishing of so many shippes. And least any priuate man shoulde bee too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken, that euery man willing to be of the societie, should distribute the portion of twentie and fiue pounds a piece: so that in short time by this meanes the summe of fiue thousande pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought, the most part whereof they prouided to bee newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I woote not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shippewrights: for the Marchants, they gette very strong and well seasoned plankes for the building, the Shippewrights, they with dayly trauaile, and their greatest skill, doe fitte them for the dispatche of the shippes: they calke them, pitche them, and among the rest, they make one most stanche and firme, by an excellent and ingenious inuention. For they had heard that in certaine partes of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is hredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake that is: and therefore that the Mariners, and the rest to be employed in this voyage might bee free and safe from this danger, they couer a piece of the keele of the shippe with thinne sheetes of leade: and hauing thus built the shippes, and furnished them with armour and artillerie, then followed a second care no lesse troublesome and necessarie then the former, namely, the prouision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to haue the East part of the worlde sayled vnto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the Northerne tract, where as yet it was doubtfull whether there were any passage yea or no, they resolued to victuall the shippes for eighteene moneths, which they did for this reason. For our men being to passe that huge and colde part of the worlde, they wisely foreseeing it, allowe them fiue moneths victuall to saile to the place, so much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and so much more also for the time of their comming home.

Prouision of victuals for 18. moneths.

Howe this prouision being made and caried aboorde, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient Captaines and gouernours of so great an enterprise were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and some voyde of experience) offered themselues, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a most valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earnestly requested to haue that care and charge committed vnto him: of whome before all others, both by reason

Choise of captaines and Pilots.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

of

of his goodly personage (for hee was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the seruices of warre, the companie of the Marchants made greatest accompt: so that at the last they concluded and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appointed to him the Admirall, with authoritie and commaunde ouer all the rest. And for the gouernement of the other ships although diuers men seemed willing, and made offers of themselues thereunto, yet by a common consent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great estimation for many good partes of witte in him, was elected, in whome alone great hope for the performance of this businesse rested. This man was brought vp by one master Henrie Sidney, a noble young Gentleman and very much beloued of king Edwarde, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent speache or Oration, and spake to them after this maner following.

Richard Chanceler Grand Pilot borne in Bristow.

My very worshipfull friendes, I cannot but greatly commende your present godly and vertuous intention, in the serious enterprising (for the singuler loue you beare to your Countrey,) a matter, which (I hope) will prooue profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours (wee also of the Nobilitie) are readie to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing so deare and precious vnto vs, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in so commendable a cause. But principally I reioyce in my selfe, that I haue nourished and maintained that witte, which is like by some meanes and in some measure, to profite and steede you in this worthy action. But yet I woulde not haue you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe nowe part with Chanceler, not because I make litle reckoning of the man, or that his mainteinance is burdenous and chargeable vnto mee, but that you might conceiue and vnderstande, my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this businesse, and that the authoritie and estimation which hee deserueth may be giuen him. You know the man by report, I by experience, you by wordes, I by deedes, you by speache and companie, but I by the dayly triall of his life, haue a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are also to remember, into howe many perils for your sakes, and his Countreys loue, hee is nowe to runne: whereof it is requisite that wee bee not vnmindefull, if it please God to sende him good successe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: Hee committs his life, (a thing to a man of all things most deare) to the raging Sea, and the vncertainties of many dangers. We shall here liue and rest at home quietly with our friendes, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and vnruly Marriners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares shall hee trouble and vexe himselfe, with howe many troubles shall hee breake himselfe, and howe many disquietings shall hee bee forced to sustaine? Wee shall keepe our owne coastes and Countrey, Hee shall seeke strange and vnknowen kingdomes. Hee shall commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazarde his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the Sea. Wherefore in respect of the greatnesse of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to fauour and loue the man thus departing from vs, and if it fall so happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie also, liberally to rewarde him.

M. Henry Sidney his Oration.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had deliuered this or some such like speache, much more eloquently then I can possiblie report it, the companie then present beganne one to looke vpon another, one to question and conferre with another: and some (to whome the vertue and sufficiencie of the man was knowen) began secretly to reioyce with themselues, and to conceiue a speciall hope, that the man would prooue in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues alreadie appearing and shining to the worlde, would growe to the great honour and aduancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to some silence, it seemed good to them that were of greatest grauitie amongst them, to inquire, searche and seeke what might be learned and knowen, concerning the Easterly part or tract of the world. For which cause 2. Tartarians, which were then of the Kings Stable, were sent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be present, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to answere nothing to the purpose: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly saide) to tosse pottes, then to learne the states and dispositions of people. But after much adoe and many things passed about this matter, they grewe at last to this issue, to set downe and appoint a time for the departure of the shippes; because diuers were of opinion, that a great part of the best time of the yeere was alreadie spent, and if the delaye grewe longer, the way woulde bee stopt and barde by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought best by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Marriners

They departed from Ratcliffe the 20. of May 1553.

shoulde take shipping, and depart from Ratliffe vpon the ebbe, if it so pleased God. They hauing saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsefolkes, and another his friendes dearer then his kinsefolkes, were present and readie at the day appointed, and hauing wayed ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and sayling easily came first to Greenewich. The greater shippes were towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or skie coloured cloathe, rowed a maine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich (where the Court then laye) presently vpon the newes thereof the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flocked together, standing very thicke vpon the shoare: the priuie Counsell, they looke out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the shippes hereupon discharge their Ordinance, and shoote off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys, and the waters gaue an Eccho, and the mariners they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stoode in the poope of the shippe, and by his gesture bidde fare well to his friendes in the best maner he coulde. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbes the shrowes, another standes vpon the maine yarde, and another in the toppe of the shippe. To bee short, it was a very triumphe (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edwarde (in respect of whome principally all this was prepared,) hee onely by reason of his sickenesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The shippes going downe with the tyde, came at last to Woolwiche, where they stayed and cast ancre, with purpose to depart therehence againe, as soone as the turning of the water, and a better winde shoulde serue them to set saile. After this they departed and came to Harwiche, in which porte they stayed long, not without great losse and consuming of time: yet at the last with a good winde they hoysed vp saile, and committed themselues to the sea, giuing their last adieu to their natiue Countrey, which they knewe not whether they shoulde euer returne to see againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe, and could not refraine from teares, considering into what hazards they were to fall, and what vncertainties of the sea they were to make triall of.

Amongst the rest Richard Chanceler, the Captaine of the Edwarde Bonauenture, was not a litle grieued with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was founde to bee corrupt, and putrified at Harwiche, and the hoggesheads of wine also leaked, and were not staunch: his naturall and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him, for hee left behinde him his two little sonnes, which were in the case of Orphanes if hee speede not well: the estate also of his companie moued him to care, being in the former respects after a sort vnhappie, and were to abide with himselfe euery good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of sorowes and cares, after many dayes sayling, they kenned lande afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the shippes: and being come to it they landed, and finde it to bee Rose Island, where they stayed certaine dayes, and afterwards set saile againe, and proceeding towardes the North, they espied certaine other Islands, which were called the Trosse of Islands. From which places when they were a litle departed, master Willoughbie the Generall, a man of good foresight and prouidence in all his actions, erected and set out his flagge, by which he called together the chiefest men of the other shippes, that by the helpe and assistance of their counsels, the order of the gouernement, and conduction of the shippes in the whole voyage, might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempest should arise at any time, and happen to disperse and scatter them, euery shippe shoulde endeuour his best to goe to Wardhouse, a hauen or castell of some name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arriued there first in safetie, shoulde stape and expect the comming of the rest.

The very same day in the afternoone, about foure of the clocke, so great a tempest suddenly arose, and the Seas were so outragious, that the shippes coulde not keepe their intended course, but some were perforce driuen one way, and some another way, to their great perill and hazarde. The generall with his lowdest voyce, cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earnestly requested him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor coulde keepe companie with him, if he sailed still so fast: for the Admirall was of better saile then his shippe. But the saide Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his sailes, was carried away with so great force and swiftnesse, that not long after hee was quite out of sight, and the thirde shippe also with the

same

Like storme and like rage, was dispersed and lost vs.

The shippe boate of the Admirall (striking against the shippe,) was ouerwhelmed in the sight and view of the Mariners of the Bonauenture: and as for them that are alreadie returned and arrived, they knowe nothing of the rest of the shippes what was become of them. They returne the next yeere, knowing what was become of the other 2. shippes.

But if it be so, that any miserable mishappe haue ouertaken them, If the rage and furie of the Sea haue deuoured those good men, or if as yet they liue, and wander vp and downe in strange Countreis, I must needes say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wish them safetie and a good returne, but if the cruelties of death hath taken holde of them, God graunt them a Christian graue and Sepulchre.

Howe Richard Chanceler with his shippe and companie being thus left alone, and become very pensiue, heauie, and sorowfull, by this dispersion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the rest of the shippes. And being come thither, and hauing stayed there the space of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, he determined at length to proceede alone in the purposed voyage. And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in companie and speache with certaine Scottishmen: who hauing vnderstanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, beganne earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the discouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serue to that purpose. But hee holding nothing so ignominious and reprochfull, as inconstancie and leuitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valure couldo not commit a more dishonourable part then for feare of danger to auoyde and shunne great attempts, was nothing at all chaunged or discouraged with the speaches and wordes of the Scots, remayning stedfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to bring that to passe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with master Chanceler in his shippe, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whome the foresaide tempest had separated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of minde with master Chanceler, that they were resolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make proofe and triall of all aduentures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed vp with like good will and loue towardes them, feared least though any errour of his, the safetie of the companie should bee indangered. To conclude, when they sawe their desire and hope of the arriuall of the rest of the shippes to bee euery day more and more frustrated, they prouided to sea againe, and master Chanceler helde on his course towardes that vnknowen part of the world, and sailed so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee founde no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout ouer. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within it cast ancre, and looking euery way about them, it happened that they espied afarre off a certaine fisher boate, which master Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towardes to common with the fishermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what maner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the strange greatnesse of his shippe, (for in those partes before that time they had neuer seene the like) beganne presently to auoyde and to flee: but hee still following them, at last ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) prostrated themselues before him, offering to kisse his feete: but hee (according to his great and singuler courtesie,) looked pleasantly vpon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, refusing those duties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider howe much fauour afterwardes in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed, spread vp and downe a report abroade of the arriuall of a strange nation, of a singuler gentlenesse and courtesie: whereupon the common people came together offering to these newe come guests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious vse and custome, not to buy any forreine commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the king.

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Russia, or Moscouie, and that Euan Vasiliuich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned The discouerie of Russia.

farre and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answere was made, that they were Englishmen sente into those coastes, from the most excellent King Edwarde the sixt, hauing from him in commaundement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and seeking nothing els, but his amitie and friendship, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profite would growe to the subiects of both kingdomes.

The barbarians heard these thinges very gladly, and promised their ayde and furtherance to acquaine their king out of hande with so honest and reasonable a request.

In the meane time master Chancelour increased victuals for his money of the gouernour of that place, who together with others came aboorde him, and required hostages of them likewise for the more assurance of safetie to himselfe, and his companie. To whome the Gouernours answered, that they knew not in that case the will of their king, but yet were willing in such things as they might lawfully doe, to pleasure him: which was as then to afoorde him the benefite of victuals.

Howe whiles these thinges were a doing, they secretly sent a messenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriuall of a strange nation, and withall to knowe his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome vnto him, insomuch that voluntarily hee inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reason of the tediousnesse of so long a iourney, they thought it not best so to doe, then hee graunted libertie to his subiects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promised, (that if it would please them to come to him,) hee himselfe would beare the whole charges of poste horses. In the meane time the gouernours of the place deferred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuses, and saying one while that the consent of all the gouernours, and another while, that the great and waightie affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differre their answere: and this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time, vntill the messenger (sent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleasure.

But Master Chauncelour, (seeing himselfe holde in this suspence with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they posted the matter off so often,) was very instant with them to performe their promise: Which if they would not doe, hee told them that hee would depart, and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moscouites (although as yet they knewe not the minde of their king) yet feating the departure in deede of our men, who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolued to furnish our people with all thinges necessarie, and to conduct them by lande to the presence of their king. And so Master Chancelour begunne his iourney, which was very long and most troublesome, wherein hee had the vse of certaine sleedes, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are carried themselues vpon sleedes, and all their carriages are in the same sorte, the people almost not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cause whereof is the exceeding hardnes of the ground, congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in those places is very extreeme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will say something.

But nowe they hauing passed the greater part of their iourney, mette at last with the Sleuoman (of whome I spake before) sent to the king secretly from the Iustices or gouernours, who by some ill happe had lost his way, and had gone to the Sea side, which is neere to the Country of the Tartars, thinking there to haue founde our shippe. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the last in his direct returne, hee mette (as hee was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whome hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courtesie, and in the most louing maner that could bee: wherein expresse commaundement was giuen, that post horses shoulde bee gotten for him and the rest of his companie without any money. Which thing was of all the Russes in the rest of their iourney so willingly done, that they beganne to quarrell, yea, and to fight also, in striuing and contending which of them shoulde put their post horses to the sleede: so that after much adoe, and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauailed very neere fiftene hundred miles) master Chancelour came at last to Mosco, the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the seate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himselfe, and of the principall cities of Moscouie, wee will speake immediately more at large in this discourse.

The Emperours courteous letters to M. Chancelour.

Of Mos-

Of Moſcouie, which is alſo called Ruſsia.

MOſcouie, which hath the name alſo of Ruſsia the white, is a very large, and ſpacious Countrey, euery way bounded with diuers nations. Towards the South and the Eaſt, it is compaſſed with Tartaria: the Northern ſide of it ſtretcheth to the Scythian Ocean: vpon the Weſt part, beyond the Lappians, a rude, and ſauage nation, liuing in woods, whoſe language is not knowen to any other people: next vnto theſe, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Liuonia, and laſt of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moſcouie, hath alſo very many, and great riuers in it, and is marſhy ground in many places: and as for the riuers, the greateſt, and moſt famous amongſt all the reſt, is that, which the Ruſſes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next vnto it in fame, is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boriſthenes, which at this day they call Neper. Two of theſe, to wit, Rha, and Boriſthenes, riſing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre enough the land: Rha receiuing many other pleaſant riuers into it, and running from the very head or ſpring of it towards the Eaſt, after many crooked turnings and windings, diſchargeth it ſelfe, and all the other waters, and riuers, that fals into it, by diuers paſſages into the Caſpian Sea. Tanais, ſpringing from a fountaine of great name in thoſe partes, and growing great neere to his head, ſpeds it ſelfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrow againe, doth ſo runne for certaine miles, vntill it fall into another lake, which they call Iuan: and there hence, fetching a very crooked courſe, comes very neere to the riuer Volga: but diſdaining as it were, the companie of any other riuer, doth there turne it ſelfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and fals at laſt into the Lake of Mœotis. Boriſthenes, which comes from the ſame head that Rha doth, (as wee ſaide before) carieth both it ſelfe, and other waters that are neere vnto it, towards the South, not refuſing the mixture of other ſmall riuers: and running by many great and large Countreis, fals at laſt into Pontus Euxinus. Beſides theſe riuers, are alſo in Moſcouie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes beeue ſtilie by the celeſtiall influence: and amongſt them all, the chiefeſt and moſt principall, is called Bellij Ieſera, which is very famous by reaſon of a very ſtrong Towne built in it, wherein the Kings of Moſcouie reſerue and repoſe their treaſure, in all time of warre, and danger. The mightie lake of Bellij Ieſera.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the ſnow lieth continually, and where hence in times paſt it was thought that Tanais the riuer did ſpring, and that the reſt of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and inuented of olde were there to be ſeene, our men which lately came from thence, neither ſawe them, nor yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the ſpace of three moneths, and had gotten in that time ſome intelligence of the language of Moſcouie. The whole Countrey is plaine, and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large and ſpacious woods, wherein is great ſtore of Firre trees, a wood very neceſſarie, and fit for the building of houſes: there are alſo wilde beaſtes bred in thoſe woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Moules, and another kind of beaſt vnknowen to vs, but called by them Roſſomakka: and the nature of the ſame is very rare, and wonderfull: for when it is great with young, and ready to bring forth, it ſeeketh out ſome narrow place betweene two ſtakes, and ſo going through them, pulleth it ſelfe, and by that meanes is eaſed of her burden, which otherwiſe could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the moſt part a horſebacke, but their Beares afoote, with wooden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey, are reported to be ſo colde, that the very ice or water, which diſtilleth out of the moiſt wood, which they lay vpon the fire, is preſently congealed and frozen: the diuerſitie growing ſuddenly to be ſo great, that in one and the ſelfe ſame ſtreet and, a man ſhall ſee both fire and ice. When the winter hath once beginne there, it doth ſtill more and more increaſe, by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that colde ſtake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth diſſolue the colde, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our marriners which we left in the ſhip in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes ſo ſuddenly taken away, that they ſtoode as fell downe, as men very neere dead, ſo great is the ſharpeneſs of that cold climate: but as for the South partes of the Countrey, they are ſomewhat more temperate. The ſharpneſs of the winter in Moſcouie.

Of Moſco, the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of the Emperour thereof.

IT remaineth, that a larger diſcourſe be made of Moſco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince alſo, as before we haue promiſed. The Empire and gouernment of the King is

is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And because the citie of Mosco is the chiefest of all the rest, it seemeth of it selfe to challeng the first place in this discourse. Our men say, that in bignes it is as great as the Citie of London, with the Suburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and fairenes, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes, and Villages also, but built out of order, and with no hansomnes: their streetes and waies are not paued with stone, as ours are: the walles of their houses are of wood: the rooles for the most part, are couered with shingle boordes. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Castle, strong, and furnished with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is ioyned directly towardes the North, with a bricke wall: the wals also of the Castle are built with bricke, and are in bredth or thickenes eighteene foote. This Castle hath on the one side a dric ditch, on the other side, the riuer Volga, whereby it is made almost inexpugnable. The same Volga trending towardes the East doth admit into it the companie of the riuer Occa.

Their manner of building.

In the Castle aforesayde, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether vnhansome, which are vsed and kept by certaine religious men, ouer whome, there is after a sort, a Patriarke, or Gouernour, and with him other reuerent Fathers, all which for the greater part, dwell within the Castle. As for the Kings Court and Pallace, it is not of the neatest, onely in some it is foure square, and of lowe building, much surpassed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houses of the Kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and some of them by glasse, some other by lettilles admitte the light: and whereas the Pallaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloche of golde, there is none such there: they build and ioyne to all their wals, benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all priuate mens houses.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelue daies in the Citie, there was then a Messenger sent vnto them, to bring them to the Kings house: and they being after a sort wearied with their long stay, were very ready, and willing so to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there sate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and there hence being conducted into the chamber of presence, our men began to wonder at the Maiestie of the Emperour: his seate was aloft, in a very royall throne, hauing on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldsmithes worke, and in his hande he helde a Scepter garnished, and beset with precious stones: and besides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Maiestie in his countenance, proportionable with the excellencie of his estate: on the one side of him stood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arayed also in cloth of golde: and then there sate the Counsel of one hundred, and fiftie in number, all in like sort arrayed, and of great state. This so honorable an assemblie, so great a Maiestie of the Emperour, and of the place, might very wel haue amazed our men, and haue dasht them out of countenance: but notwithstanding, Master Chanceler being there withall nothing dismaied, saluted, and did his dutie to the Emperour, after the manner of England, and withall, deliuered vnto him the letters of their king, Edward the sixt. The Emperour hauing taken, & read the letters, began a litle to question with them, and to aske them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men answered him directly, & in few words: hereupon our men presented some thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretarie, which at the deliuerie of it, put off his hat, being before all the time couered: and so the Emperour hauing inuited them to dinner, dismissed them from his presence: and going into the chamber of him that was Master of the Requests to the Emperour, & hauing staied there the space of two howres, at the last, the Messenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for so they call it, although not very fitly) they find the Emperour sitting vpon a high and stately seate, apparelled with a robe of siluer, and with an other Diademe on his heade: our men being placed ouer against him, litte downe in the middes of the roome, stoode a mightie Cupboorde vpon a square foote, whereuppon stoode also a rounde boorde, in maner of a Diamond, bradde beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and euery steppe rose vppe more narrowe then another. Vpon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was so much, that the very Cupboord it selfe was scant able to sustayne the waighe of it: the better part of all the vessels, and goblets, was made of very fine golde: and amongest the rest, there were foure pots of very large bignes, which did adorne the rest of the plate, in great measure: for they were so highe, that they thought them at the least, fiue foote long. There were also vpon this Cupboorde, certaine siluer caskes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyrkins, wherein was reserued the Emperours drinke: on eache side of the Hall, stoode foure Tables, eache of them large, and couered with very

K. Edwardes letters deliuered.

very cleane table clothes, whereunto the companie ascended by three steps or degrees: all which were set with the assemblie ye self: the ghestes were all apparelled with linnen without, and with riche skinnes within, and so did notably set out this royall feast. The Emperour, when he takes any bread or knife into his hand, doth first of all crosse himselfe vpon his forehead: they that are in speciall fauour with the Emperour, sitte vpon the same bench with him, but somewhat fiarre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himselfe, according to an ancient custome of the kings of Moscouy, doth first bestow a peece of bread vpon euery one of his ghests, with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moscouie, and chiefe Emperour of Russia, John Basiliwich, (& then the officer nameth the ghest) doth giue thee bread. Wherupon all the ghests rise vp, and by and by sit downe again. This done, the Gentleman Vsher of the Hall comes in, with a notable companie of seruants, carying the dishes, and hauing done his reuerence to the Emperour, puts a young Swanne in a golden platter vpon the table, and immediatly takes it thence againe, deliuering it to the Caruer, and seuen other of his fellowes to be cut vp: which being performed, the meate is then distributed to the ghests, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Vsher receiues his bread, and talketh to the Emperour, and afterward, hauing done his reuerence, he departeth. Touching the rest of the dishes, because they were brought in out of order, our men can repor̃e no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of dishes, and drinking vessels, which were then for the vse of a hundred ghests, was all of pure gold, and the tables were so laden with vessels of gold, that there was no roome for some to stand vpon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140. seruitors araied in cloth of golde, that in the dinner time, changed thrise their habit and apparell, which seruitors are in like sort serued with bread from the Emperour, as the rest of the ghests. Last of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his ghests and Noble men by their names, in such sorte, that it seemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwise occupied in great matters of estate, should so wel remember so many and sundry particular names. The Russes told our men, that the reason thereof, as also of the bestowing of bread in that manner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne household: and withall, that such as are vnder his displeasure, might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the discipline of warre amongst the Russes.

WHensoeuer the iniuries of their neighbours doe call the King foorth to battell, he neuer armeth a lesse number against the enemie, then 300. thousand souldiers, 100. thousand whereof he carieth out into the field with him, and leaueth the rest in garrison in some fit places, for the better safetie of his Empire. He pestereth no husbandmen, nor Marchant: for the Countrey is so populous, that these being left at home, the youth of the Realme is sufficient for all his warres. As many as goe out to warfare, doe prouide all things of their owne cost: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horsebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, & a helmet: the coate of maile about is gilded, or els adorned with silke, although it pertaine to a common souldier: they haue a great pride in shewing their wealth: they vse bowes, and arrowes, as the Turks do: they cary lances also into the field. They ride with a short stirrop, after the manner of the Turkes: they are a kinde of people most sparing in diet, and most patient in extremitie of colde, aboue all others. For when the ground is couered with snowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the frost, this Russe hanges vp his mantle, or souldiers coate, against that part from whence the winde and Snowe driues, and so making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his serues him for his bed, wall, house and all: his drinke is the cold water of the riuer, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good cheere, and he thinketh himselfe well, and daintily fedde therewith, and so sitteth downe by his fire, and vpon the harde grounde, rosteth as it were his weary sides thus daintily stuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, and some blocke or stone his pillow: and as for his horse, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his Master, faring both alike: how lightly may this barbarous, and rude Russe, condemne the daintines and nicenes of our Captaines, who liuing in a colde and aire much more temperate, yet commonly vse furred boots, and clokes? But thus much of the furniture of their common souldiers. But those that are of higher degrees, come into the fielde, a little better prouided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himselfe, it is then aboue all other times, most notable. The couerings of his tente for the most part, are all of gold, adorned with stones of great price, and with the curious workemanship of pluma-
gers: assoone as they are to skirmish with the enemie, they goe forth without any order at
all:

all: they make no wings, nor militarie diuisions of their men, as we doe, but lying (the most part) in ambush, doe suddenly set vpon the enemie. Their horses can well abstaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede vpon the barkes of trees, and the most tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this scant and miserable manner of liuing, both the horse and his Master can well endure, sometimes for the space of two moneths, lustie, and in good state of body. If any man behaue himselfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he bestoweth vpon him in recompense of his seruice, some farme, or so much ground as he and his may liue vpon, which notwithstanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male issue. For although his daughters be neuer so many, yet no part of that inheritance commeth to them, except peraduenture the Emperour of his goodnes, giue some portion of the land amongest them, to bestowe them withall. As for the man, whosoeuer he be, that is in this sorte rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, he is bound in a great summe, to maintaine so many souldiers for the warre, when neede shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all those, to whome any land falls by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male issue, all their lands falls into the hands of the Emperour: and moreouer, if there be any riche man amongst them, who in his owne person is vnfit for the warres, and yet hath such wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriors might be maintained, if any of the Courtiers present his name to the Emperour, the vnhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant, depriued of all his riches, which with great paines, and trauel all his life time, he had gotten together: except perhaps some small portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children, and familie. But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make restitution of other mens goods, then giue that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour hauing taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their deserts: & the oftener that a man is sent to the warres, the more fauour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour, although he goe vpon his owne charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambassadors of the Emperour of Moscouie.

The Moscouite, with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then that which we haue spoken of, sends his Ambassadors to forren Princes, in the affaires of estate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Mosco, there were two Ambassadors sent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horse, and the greater part of the men were arraied in cloth of golde, and of silke, and the worst apparell was of garments of a blewe colour, to speake nothing of the trappings of the horses, which were adorned with gold and siluer, and very curiously embroidered: they had also with them one hundred white and faire spare horses, to vse them at such times, as any wearines came vpon them. But nowe the time requireth me to speake briefly of other Cities of the Moscouites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Nouogorode.

NExt vnto Mosco, the Citie of Nouogorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia: for although it be in Maiestie inferiour to it, yet in greatnes it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest Marte Towne of all Moscouie: and albeit the Emperours seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commoditiousnes of the riuer, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous, then Mosco it selfe. This towne excels all the rest in the commodities of flaxe, and hempe: it yeeldes also hides, honie, and wax. The Flemmings there, sometimes had a house of marchandize, but by reason that they vsed ill dealing there, which they vse with vs, they lost their priuiledges, a restitution whereof, they earnestly sued for, at the time that our men were there. But those Flemmings hearing of the arriuall of our men in those parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour against them, accusing them for pirats and rouers, willing him to detaine, and imprison them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they conceaued feare, that they should neuer haue returned home. But the Emperour beleeuing rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and false suggestions of the Flemmings, vsed no ill intreatie towards them.

The iniurie of the Flemmings against our men.

Yeraslaue.

Yeraslaue.

YEraslaue also is a Towne of some good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallowe, and corne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there also to be solde, although other places haue greater store: this Yeraslaue is distant from Mosco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fieldes yeelde such store of corne, that in conuaying it towardes Mosco, sometimes in a forenoone, a man shall see seuen hundred or eight hundred sleds, going and comming, laden with corne and salt fishe: the people come a thousand miles to Mosco, to buy that corne, and then carry it away vpon sleds: and these are those people that dwell in the North parts, where the cold is so terrible, that no corne doth grow there, or if it spring vp, it neuer comes to ripenes. The commodities that they bring with them, are salt fishe, skinnes, and hydes.

Vologda.

VOlogda being from Mosco, 550. miles, yeeldes the commodities of hempe, and flaxe also: although the greatest store of flaxe is solde at Nouogrode.

Plesco.

THe Towne of Plesco, is frequented of Marchants for the good store of honie, and waxe, that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

THe North parts of Russia yeelde very rare and precious skinnes: and amongest the rest, those principally, which we call Sables, worne about the neckes of our Noble women, and Ladies: it hath also Martyns skinnes, white, blacke, and red Foxe skinnes, skinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarously, as Beuers, Miuxes, and Miniuers. The sea adioyning, breedes a certaine beast, which they call the Mors, which seeketh his foode vpon the rockes, climing vp with the helpe of his teeth. The Russes vse to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompt, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. These commodities they cary vpon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for the sale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, serues all the Countrey about it with salt, and salt fishe. The Russes also of the North parts, send thither oile, which they call traine, which they make in a riuer called "Vna, although it be also made else where: and here they vse to boile the water of the sea, whereof they make very great store of salt. "or Dwina.

Of controuersies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

HAuing hitherto spoken so much of the chiefest Cities of Russia, as the matter required: it remaineth that wee speake somewhat of the lawes, that the Moscouits doe vse, as farre foorth as the same are come to our knowledge. If any controuersie arise among them, they first make their Landlords Judges in the matter, and if they can not ende it, then they preferre it to the Magistrate. The plaintiff craueth of the said Magistrate, that he may haue leaue to enter lawe against his aduersarie: and hauing obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring foorth a suretie for him: but if he be not of such credite, as to procure a suretie, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Judge. The Judge then asketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintiffe. If he denies it, then saith the Judge, how canst thou deny it? the defendant answereth, by an othe: thereuppon the officer is commaunded to cease from beating of him, vntill the matter be further tried. They haue no Lawyers, but euery man is his owne Aduocate, and both the complaint of the accuser, and the answer of the defendant, are in manner of petition deliuered to the Emperour, intreating iustice at his hands. The Emperour himselfe heareth euery great controuersie, and vpon the hearing of it, giueth iudgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worthie of speciall commendation, in the Maiestie of a Prince. But although he do this with a good purpose of mind, yet the corrupt Magistrates do wonderfully peruert

uert the same: but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doth punish them most seuerely. Now at the last, when eche partie hath defended his cause with his best reasons, the Iudge demandeth of the accuser, whether he hath any more to say for himselfe: he answereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his Champion, or else intreateth that in fight betwixt themselues, the matter may be ended: which being granted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them, seeme vnfit for that kind of triall, then they haue publike Champions to be hired, which liue by ending of quarrels. These Champions are armed with pow axes, and speares, and fight on foote, and he whose Champion is ouercome, is by and by taken, and imprisoned, and terribly handled, vntill he agree with his aduersarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Iudge graunteth it: in which case they may not vse publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be basely borne, and will not fight with him. If a poore man happen to growe in debt, his Creditor takes him, and maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himselfe, or to some other man, whose wages he taketh vp. And there are some among them, that vse willingly to make themselues, their wiues, and children, bondslaues vnto rich men, to haue a little money at the first into their handes, and so for euer after contents themselues with meate and drinke: so little accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of punishments vpon theeues.

IF any man be taken vpon committing of theft, he is imprisoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the first offence, as the manner is with vs: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the second time, hath his nose cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurses among them, and if the rigour of the lawe did not cut them off, they could not be auoided.

Of their religion.

THey maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they suffer no grauen images of saints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they haue in great abundance, which they do adore, and offer vnto, and burne waxe candles before them, and call holy water vpon them, without other honour. They say that our images, which are set vp in Churches, and carued, haue no diuinitie in them. In their priuate houses, they haue images for their houshold saints, and for the most part, they are put in the darkest place of the house: he that comes into his neighbours house, doth first salute his saints, although he see them not. If any foorme or stoole stand in his way, he oftentimes beateth his browe vpon the same, and often ducking downe with his head, and bowing, worshipperth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Priestes, and of the Laymen, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is reserued, and holde amongst them for a rule, and custome, that if a Priests wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a second wife: and therefore they of seruice Priestes, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whome them chastitie for euer is commanded. Their diuine seruice is all done, and said in their owne language, that euery man may vnderstand it: they receaue the Lordes Supper with leauened bread, and after the consecration, they carry it about the Church in a sawcer, and prohibite no man from receauing and taking of it, that is willing so to doe. They vse both the Olde, and the Newe Testament, and read both in their owne language, but so confusedly, that they themselues that doe read, vnderstand not what themselues doe say: and while any part of either Testament is read, there is libertie giuen by custome to prattle, talke, and make a noise: but in the time of the rest of the seruice, they vse very great silence, and reuerence, and behaue themselues very modestly, and in good sort. As touching the Lordes prayer, the tenth man amongst them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the least, very fewe of them doe either know them, or can say them: their opinion is, that such secrete and holy things as they are, should not rashly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Maxime amongst them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements also are all abolished by the death and blood of Christ: all studies and letters of humanitie, they vtterly refuse: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrue tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

Euery yeere they celebrate foure seuerall fasts, which they cal according to the names of the Saincts: the first beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent beginnes. The second is called amongst them, the fast of S. Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the fourth

fourth, and last, beginnes vpon S. Philips day. But as we begin our Lent vpon Wensday, so they begin theirs vpon the Sunday. Vpon the Saturday they eate flesh: whensoeuer any of those fasting feasts doe draw neere, looke what weeke doth immediatly goe before them, the same weeke they liue altogether vpon white meates, and in their common language, they call those weekes, the fast of butter.

In the time of their fastes, the neighbours euery where goe from one to another, and visite one another, and kisse one another with kisses of peace, in token of their mutuall loue, and Christian concord: and then also, they doe more often then at any other time, goe to the holie Communion. When seuen daies are past, from the beginning of the fast, then they often doe either goe to their Churches, or keepe themselues at home, and vse often prayer: and for that seuennights, they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that seuennight fast is once past, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable tolspots. As for the keeping of their fasting daies, they doe it very streightly, neither doe they eate any thing besides hearbes, and salt fishe, as long as those fasting daies do endure: but vpon euery Wensday and Friday, in euery weeke throughout the yeere, they fast.

There are very many Monasteries, of the order of S. Benedict, amongst them, to which many great liuings, for their maintenance doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes, doe at the least possesse the third part of the liuings, throughout the whole Moscouite Empire: to those Monkes that are of this order, there is amongest them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no flesh: and therefore their meate is onely salt fishe, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and customes of their religion, to eate any fresh fish at all: and at those foure fasting times, whereof we spake before, they eate no fishe at all: onely they liue with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpose cause, and take order to grow and spring, for their vse and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and small: for the discharge of their office, they doe euery day say seruice, and that earely in the mornings before day: and they doe in such sort, and with such obseruation begin their seruice, that they will be sure to make an ende of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning, they celebrate the Communion. When they haue so done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner, they go againe to seruice, and the like also after supper: and in the meane time, while they are at dinner, there is some exposition, or interpretation of the Gospel vsed. Note.

Whensoeuer any Abbot of any monasterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his houshold stuffe, beastes, flockes of sheepe, golde, siluer, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to succeed him in his place and dignitie, doth redeeme all those things, and buieth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the most part are couered with shingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they vsually build some entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine house of wood, wherein they set vp their bels, wherein sometimes they haue but one, in some two, and in some also three.

There is one vse and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dieth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hand of the corps they put a litle scrole, and in the same there are these words written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, hauing receiued the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who reciuing it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heauen, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Christians of the Latin church, reputing themselues to bee followers of a more sincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that wee are but halfe christians, and themselues onely to bee the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and childish dotages of such ignorant Barbarians.

Of the Moscouites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to Tartaria.

There is a certaine part of Moscouie, bordering vpon the countries of the Tartars, wherein those Moscouits þ dwel, are very great idolaters: they haue one famous idol amongst them, which they call the Golden old wife, and they haue a custome that whensoeuer any plague or any calamitie doeth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or such like, then they goe by and by to consult with their idoll, which they doe after this manuer: they fall downe prostrate before the idoll, and praye vnto it, and put in the presence of the same, Aurea vetula, or Zelotibaba.

a cymball, and about the same certaine persons stand, which are chosen amongst them by lot: vpon their cymball they place a siluer rode, and sound the cymball, and to whomsoeuer of those lotted persons that rode goeth, be is taken, and by and by slaine: and immediately, I know not by what illusions of the deuill, or idoll, he is againe restored to life, and then doth reueale and deliuer the causes of the present calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idoll, they are deliuered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their priuate houses, and of the *apparell of the people.*

THe common houses of the countrey are euery where built of beames of fine tree: the lower beames do so receiue the round holownesse of the vppermost, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they resist, and expell all windes that blowe, and where the timber is ioined together, there they stop the chinkes with mosse. The forme and fashion of their houses in all places is foure square, with straight and narow windowes, whereby with a transparent casement made or couered with skinne like to parchment, they receiue the light. The rooles of their houses are made of boordes couered without with the barke of trees: within their houses they haue benches or griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they sleepe vpon, for the common people know not the vse of beds: they haue stoues wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the same fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole house.

The apparell of the people for the most part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like vnto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and sharpe vpward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a signe and representation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth supposed to be, and the greater reuerence is giuen them by the common people.

The Conclusion to Queene Mary.

THese are the things most excellent Queene, which your Subiects newly returned from Russia haue brought home concerning the state of that countrey: wherefore if your maiestie shall be fauourable, and graunt a continuance of the trauell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be spred amongst those nations, whereunto three onely noble personages from the very creation haue had accesse, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moscouie and Emperour of Russia *his letters sent to King Edward the sixt, by the hands of Richard* Chanceler.

Iuan Vasileuich, that is to say, Iohn the sonne of Basilius.

THe Almightie power of God, and the incomprehensible holie Trinitie, right-full Christian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vasileuich, by the grace of God Emperour of all Russia, and great Duke of Vlademerskij, Moskouskij, Nouogrodskij, Cazanskii, Pskanskii, Smolenskii, Tuerskij, Hugorskij, Permskii, Veatskii, Bolgarskii, with diuers other lands, Emperour also and great Duke of Nouogoroda, and in the lowe Countries of Chernigouskii, Rezanskii, Volotskii, Reskii, Belskii, Rostouskii, Yaroslauskii, Belocherskii, Oodorskii, Obdorskii, Condinskii, and many other Countreis, Lord ouer all the North coast, greeting.

Before all right great and worthy of honour, Edward King of England, &c. according to our most hartie and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, and according to our holy Christian faith, and great gouernance, and being by the light of great vnderstanding, our answere by this our honourable writing vnto your kingly gouernance, at the request of your faithfull seruant, Richard Chanceler, with his companie, as they shall let you wisely know, is thus. In the strength of the twentieth yeere of our gouernance, be it knowen, that at our sea coastes, arriued a shippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and said, that he was desirous to come into our Dominions, and according to his request hath seene our Maiestie, and our eies: and hath declared vnto vs your Maiesties desire, as that we should graunt vnto your subiects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our subiects, to frequent free Parts, with all sortes of marchandizes, and vpon the same to haue wares for their returne. And they haue also deliuered vs your letters, which declare

That is, come into our presence.

declare the same request. And hereupon we haue giuen order, that whersoeuer your faithfull seruant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be well entertained, who as yet is not arriued, as your seruant Richard can declare.

And we with christian beliefe and faithfulnesse, and according to your honourable request, and my honourable commaundement will not leaue it vndone, and are furthermore willing that you send vnto vs your ships and vessels, when and as often as they may haue passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmelesse. And if you send one of your maiesties counsell to treate with vs whereby your countrey merchaunts may with all kindes of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they shall haue their free Marte with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kindes of wares, to come and goe at their pleasure, without any let, damage, or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our seale which we haue commaunded to be vnder sealed. Written in our dominion, in our towne and our palace in the castle of Mosco, in the yeere seuen thousand and sixtie, the second moneth of February.

This letter was written in the Moscouian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad seale hanging at the same, sealed in paper vpon waxe. This seale was much like the broad seale of England, hauing on the one side the image of a mã an horseback in complete harnesse fighting with a dragon. Vnder this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moscouian letters. These letters were sent the next yeere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, waights and measures vsed in Russia, written by Iohn Hasse, in the yeere, 1554.

FOrasmuch as it is most necessary for all merchants which seeke to haue traffique in any strange regions, first to acquaint themselues with the coines of those landes with which they doe intend to ioine in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the highest piece to the lowest, and in what sort they make their paiments, as also what their common waighes and measures be, For these causes I haue thought good to write some thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the merchants of that new Aduenture, may the better vnderstand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will arise.

No coines of gold in Russia, but all of siluer.

First, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Russia hath no other coines then siluer in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongst merchants, yet notwithstanding there is a coine of copper, which serueth for the releefe of the poore in Mosco, and no where els, and that is but onely for quas, water and fruite, as nuts, apples, and such other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the least of the siluer coines, 18. But I will not stand vpon this, because it is no currant money among merchants.

Of siluer coines there be these sortes of pieces: the least is a Poledenga, the second a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to say in English as halfepenie, penie, and two pence, and no other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forren countries, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they passe according to the agreement of merchants.

Their order in summing of money is this: as we say in England, halfepenie, penie, shilling and pound, so say they, Poledenga, Denga, Altine and Rubble: There goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, six Dengaes to an Altine, and 23. Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

The waights in Russia.

Concerning the waights of Russia they are these. There are two sortes of pounds in vse amongst them, the one great, the other small: the great pound is iust two small pounds: they call the great waight by the name of Beasemar, and the small they call the Skallawaight: with this small waighe they weigh their siluer coines, of the which the Emperour hath commaunded to put to euery small pound three Rubbles of siluer, and with the same waight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almost all other wares which come into the land, except those which they waigh by the Pode, as hops sale, iron, lead, tinne and batrie with diuers others: notwithstanding they vse to weigh batrie more often by the small waighe then by the great.

Whensoeuer you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, consider that to be the great waighe, and the pound to be the small. Also they deuide the small pound into 48. parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers sell their wares out of their shoppes, as Goldsmiths, Grocers, Silkesellers and such other like as we doe vse to retaile

by the ounce: and as for their great waight which they call the Beasemar, they sell by pode, or shippond. The pode doth containe of the great waight, 40. pounds, and of the small 80. there goe 10. podes to a shippond.

Yet you must consider that their great waight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13. ounces, but aboue 12. I thinke it be. But for your iust proofe, waigh 6. rubbles of Russia money with our pound waight, and then shall you see what it lacketh: for 6. rubbles of Russia is by the Emperours standerd, the great pound: so that I thinke it the next way to know the iust waight, as well of the great pound as of the small.

The waight of Wardhouse.

There is another waight needefull to be knowen, which is the waight of Wardhouse, for so much as they weigh all their dry fishe by waight, which waight is the Basemare, as they of Russia doe vse, notwithstanding there is another sort in it: the names of those waights are these: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the shippond. The marke pound is to be vnderstood as our pound, and their great pound is 24. of their marke pound: the weie is 3. great pound, and 8. weie is a shippond.

The Russia measures.

Nowe concerning their measures. As they haue two sortes of waights, so they haue also two sortes of measures: wherewith they measure cloth both linnen and woollen: they call the one an Areshine, and the other a Locut: the Areshine I take to bee as much as the Flaunders ell, and their Locut halfe an English yard: with their Areshine they may mete all such sortes of clothes as commeth into the land, and with the Locut all such cloth both linnen and woollen, as they make themselues. And whereas wee vse to giue yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they doe giue nothing but bare measure.

They haue also a measure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they call a Setfooth, and the halfe of that an Olmine: this Setfooth I take to be three bushels of London measure. And as for their drinke measure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I neuer sawe any true rate, but that some was greater then other some. And as for the measures of Wardhouse wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference between that & the measure of Danske, which is halfe an English ell.

The measure of Wardhouse in cloth, is the measure of Danske.

The Turkes and Armenians pay custome.

Concerning the tolles and customes of Russia, it was reported to mee in Moscouia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie custome of all the Wares they bring into the Emperours land, and aboue that they pay for all such goods as they waigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which the buyer or seller must make report of to the Master of the beame: they also pay a certayne Horse toll, which is in diuers places of his Realme foure pence of a horse.

The Emperors beame.

The Dutch nation lost their priuiledges, and renewed them with a great summe.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithstanding for certaine offences, they had lost their priuiledges which they haue recouered this Sommer to their great charge. It was reported to mee by a Iustice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thousand Rubbles, and also that Rye, Dorpte and Reuell haue yeelded themselues vnder the gouernement of the Emperour of Russia: whether this was a bragge of the Russes or not, I know not, but thus he sayd, and in deed whiles wee were there, there came a great Ambassadour out of Liffeland, for the assurance of their priuiledges.

The commodities of Russia.

To speake somewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to bee vnderstood, that there is a certaine place foure score miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there resort all the sortes of Wares that are in the North parres, as Oiles, Salt, Stockfishe, Salmon, Fethers and Furres: their Salt they make of salt water by the Sea side: their Oiles they make of Sealcs, whereof they haue great store which is brought out of the Bay where our shippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to sell, and the merchants there carie it to Nouogrode, and so sell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockfish and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouse: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Mosco, and their dry fishe they carry to Nouogrode, and sell it there to the Leeflanders.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beauers, Minkes, Armin, Lettis, Graies, Woolnerings, and white Foxes, with Decre skinnes, they are brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampne, and Powstezer, which fetch them from the Samoydes that are counted sauage people: and the merchants that bring these Furres, doe vse to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Batrie, and such other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carrie them to Nouogrode, Vologda, or Mosco, and sell them there. The Fethers which come from Penning they doe little esteeme.

If our merchants doe desire to know the meetest place of Russia for their standing house, in mine opinion

opinion I take it to bee Vologda, which is a great towne standing in the heart of Russia, with many great and good townes about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all such wares as are raised in Russland, but especially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon: there is also great store of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko. Vologda and the state thereof.

The towne of Vologda is meetest for our merchaunts, because it lieth amongst all the best townes of Russia, and there is no town in Russia but trades with it: also the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themselues in Mosco or Nouogrode, their charge will bee great and wonderfull, but not so in Vologda: for all things will there bee had better cheape by the one half. And for their vent, I know no place so meete: it is likely that some will thinke the Mosko to be the meetest by the reason of the court, but by that reason I take it to be worse: for the charge there would be so great by crauers and expences, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholy consumed, which in the other place will bee saued. And yet notwithstanding our merchaunts may bee there in the Winter to serue the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great merchaunt himselfe of ware and sables, which with good foresight may bee procured to their handes: as for other commodities there are little or none in Moscouia, besides those aboue rehearsed: if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes considering the charges of cariage ouer land. The emperor of Moscouie is a merchaunt himselfe.

Our merchaunts may doe well to prouide for the Russes such wares as the Dutch nation doeth serue them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeue, they shall serue better and with lesse charge then they of Rye or Dorpt, or Reuel: for it is no small aduenture to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of these places, and their charge not little to cary them ouer land to Nouogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Russia miles.

This Nouogrode is a place well furnished with Flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the best flaxe in Russia is brought thither and there sold by the hundred bundels, which is done also at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Nouogrode, dwell as neere Vologda, as Nouogrode, and when they heare of the vtterance which they may haue with our nation, they will as willingly come to them as goe to the other.

They haue in Russia two sortes of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other small: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundles then the small: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the small flaxe there goe 27. or 28. bundles to a shippond, there goeth not of the greater sort aboue 22. or 24. at the most. There are many other trifles in Russia, as sope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will be no great account made of them. Two sortes of flaxe.

Articles conceiued and determined for the Commission of the *Merchants of this company resiant in Russia, and at the VVardhouse, for the second voiage, 1555. the first of May, as followeth.*

FIrst, the Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, iointly and seuerally to be Agents, Factors, and Attornies generall and speciall, for the whole bodie of this companie, to buy, sell, trucke, change and permute all, and euery kind and kindes of wares, merchandizes and goods to the said company appertaining, now laden and shipped in the good ship called ỳ Edward Bonaventure, appointed for Russia, the same to vtter and sell to the most commoditie, profite and aduantage of the said corporation, be it for ready money, wares & merchandizes, or trucke, presently or for time, as occasion and benefit of the company shal require: and all such wares as they or either of them shall buy, trucke or prouide, or cause to be bought for the company to lade them homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent course of merchandizes, shall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth also to Iohn Brooke for the Wardhouse, as in the 17. & 18. articles of this commission appeareth.

2 Item, it is also committed, as aboue, to the said Agents, to binde and charge the said company by bil for wares vpon credite, as good opportunitie and occasion shall serue, with power to charge and bind the said company, and their successors for the payments of such things as shall be taken vp for credite, and the said Agents to be relieued, ab opere satis dandi.

3 Item, full authoritie and power is committed to the sayd first named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to present the

the king and Queenes maiesties letters, written in Greeke, Polish, and Italian, and to giue and exhibite the merchaunts presents at such time and place as shall bee thought most expedient, they, or one of them to demaund, and humbly desire of the Emperour such further grants and priuiledges to bee made to this company, as may bee beneficiall for the same, to continue in traffique with his subiects, according to such instructions as be in this behalfe deuised and deliuered to the Agents, whereunto relation is to be had, and some one of their persons to attend vpon the court for the obtaining of the same, as to their discretions shall be thought good.

4 Item, that all the sayd Agents doe well consider, ponder and weigh such articles as bee deliuered to them to know the natures, dispositions, lawes, customes, maners and behauiours of the people of the countreys where they shall traffique, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Merchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the subtilties of their bargayning, buying and selling, making as few debtes as possible may be, and to be circumspect, that no lawe neither of religion nor policie be broken or transgressed by them or any minister vnder them, ne yet by any mariner or other person of our nation, and to foresee that all toles, customes, and such other rites be so duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiscation may ensue to our goods either outward or inward, and that all things passe with quiet, without breach of the publique peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they shall arriue or traffique.

5 Item, that prouision bee made in Mosco or elsewhere, in one or moe good townes, where good trade shall bee found for a house or houses for the Agents, and companie to inhabite and dwell at your accustomed diets, with warehouses, sellers, and other houses of offices requisite, and that none of the inferiour ministers of what place or vocation so euer he bee, doe lie out of the house of the Agents without licence to bee giuen, and that euery inferiour officer shall be obedient to the orders, rules and gouernments of the sayd Agents, and in case any disobedient person shall bee found among any of them, then such person to be punished for his misbehauiour, at the discretion of the sayd Agents, or of one of them in the absence of the other.

6 Item, if any person of the sayde ministers shall bee of such pride or obstinacie, that after one or two honest admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the sayde Agents to displace euery such person from the place or roume to him here committed, and some other discreete person to occupie the same, as to the sayde Agentes by their discretions shall seeme meete.

7 Item, if any person shall bee found so arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the sayd Agents or by one of them in the absence of the other, then the sayde person to bee deliuered to the Iustice of the countrey, to receiue such punishment, as the lawes of the country doe require.

8 Item, that the sayde Agents and factours shall daily one howre in the morning conferre and consult together what shall bee most conuenient and beneficiall for the companie, and such orders as they shall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee prouided for that purpose, and no inferiour person to infringe or breake any such order or deuise, but to obserue the same exactly, vpon such reasonable payne as the Agents shall put him to by discretion.

9 Item, that the sayd Agents shall in the ende of euery weeke, or oftener as occasion shall require, peruse, see and trie, not onely the Cashers bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the same with their handes, but also shall receiue and take weekely the account of euery other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the empetous, and also of the state of the houshold expenses, making thereof a perfect declaration as shall appertaine, the same accounts also to be firmed by the sayd Agents handes.

10 Item, that no inferiour minister shall take vpon him to make any bargaine or sale of any wares, merchandizes or goods, but by the Commission and Warrantise of the sayde Agentes vnder their handes, and bee not to transgresse his Commission by any way, pretence or colour.

11 Item, that euery inferiour minister, that is to vnderstand, all Clearkes and yong merchants being at the order of the sayde Agents, shall ride, goe, saile and trauaile to all such place, and places, as they or he shall be appointed vnto by the sayd Agents, and effectually to follow and doe all that which to him or them shall be committed, well and truly to the most benefit of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, euen as by their othes, bueties and bonds of their masters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at euery moneths ende, all accountes and reckonings shall bee brought in to perfect order, into the Liuger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents

Agents together with the priuileges, and coppies of letters, may & shall be well and truly written by the secretarie, in such sorme as shalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings, may be sent home with the said shippe at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents do diligently learne and obserue all kinde of wares, as well naturals as forren, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be solde for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other thinges of these West parres, be most vendible in those Realmes with profit, giuing a perfect aduise of all such things requisite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargen with you for the whole masse of your stocke, and will haue the trade of it to vtter to his owne subiectes, then debating the matter prudently among your selues, set such high prises of your commodities, as you may assure your selues to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at such base prises, as you may beere also make a commodite and gaine at home, hauing in your mindes the notable charges that the companie haue susteyned in aduancing this voyage: and the great charges that they sustaine daily in wages, victualles and other things: all which must be requited by the wise handling of this voyage, which being the first president shalbe a perpetuall president for euer: and therefore all circumspection is to be vsed, and foresene in this first enterprise, which God bless and prosper vnder you, to his glory, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Maiestie, and the Lords of the counsell haue conceiued great hope, whose expectations are not to be frustrated. Note.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you vse all wayes and meanes possible to learne how men may passe from Russia, either by land or by sea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other shippes, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well trauelled persons, either naturall or forren, such as haue trauelled from the North to the South.

16 Item, it is committed to the said Agents, that if they shall be certified credibly, that any of our said first shippes be arriued in any place whereunto passage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company, at the discretion of the Agents shall be appointed to be sent to them, to learne their estate and condition, to visit, refresh, relieue, and furnish them with all necessaries and requisites, at the common charges of the company, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and welbeloued brethren of this our societie, to their reioycing and comfort, aduertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulnesse of them and their long absence, with our desire to heare of them, with all other things done in their absence for their commodity, no lesse then if they had beene present.

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the shippes shall arriue at this going forth at the Wardhouse, that their Agents, with Maister Chancelor grand pilot, John Brooke merchant, deputed for the Wardhouse, with John Buckland maister of the Edward, John Howlet maister, and John Robins pilot of the Philip and Mary, shall conferre and consult together, what is most profitable to be done therefore for the benefit of the company, and to consider whether they may bargen with the captaine of the castle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongst the coast for a large quantitie of fish, hie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reasonable for trucke of cloth, meale, salt or beere, and what traineoyle, or other commoditie is to be had there at this time, or any other season of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found sufficient lading for both the said shippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in haunting the place, if profit will so arise to the company, and to consider whether the Edward in her returne may receiue at the Wardhouse any kinde of lading homeward, and what it may amount vnto, and whether it shall be expedient for the Philip to abide at Wardhouse the returne of the Edward out of Russia, or getting that she may, returne with the first good winde to England, without abiding for the Edward, and so to conclude and accord certainelie among themselues vpon their arriuall, that the certainty may (vpon good deliberation) be so ordered and determined betweene both shippes, that the one may be assured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with each ship, according to such order as shall be taken betweene them. The Philip and Mary.

18 Item, that John Brooke our merchant for the Wardhouse take good aduise of the rest of our Agents, how to vse himselfe in all affayres, while the shippe shall be at the Wardhouse, he to see good order to be kept, make bargens aduisedly, not crediting the people vntill their natures, dispositions and fidelities shall be well tried, make no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be trusted then to trust. Note diligentlie what be the best wares for those parts, and how the fish falleth on the coast, and by what meane it is to be bought at the most aduantage, what kindes and diuersities of sizes in fishes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caske. Note. Note.

19 Item, he to haue a diligent eye and circumspection to the beere, salt, and other liquid wares,

and

and not to suffer any waste to be made by the company, and he in all contracts to require aduise, counsell, and consent of the maister and pilot, the merchant to be our housewife, as our speciall trust is in him, he to render that no lawes nor customes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the companie to be quiet, voyd of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, abstaine from all excesse of drinking, as much as may be, and in all to vse and behaue themselues as to quiet merchants doth, and ought to appertaine.

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward shall returne home this peere with as much wares as may be conueniently, and profitably prouided, bought, and laden in Russia, and the rest to be taken in at the Wardhouse, as by the Agentes shall be aduised. But by all meanes it is to be foreseene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any foreen place, but to come home, and bring with her all the whole aduertisementes of the merchantes, with such further aduise for the next peeres prouision, as they shall giue.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inuiolable to be obserued, that when the good shippes, or either of them (by Gods grace) shall returne home to the coastes of England, that neither of them shall vaye or touche in any hauen or porte of Englande, otherwise then winde and weather shall serue, but shall directly saple and come to the porte of the citie of London, the place of their right discharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, chest, fardell, trusse, barrell, fatte, or whatsoeuer thing it shall be, be brought out of the shippe, until the companie shall giue order for the same, and appoint such persons of the company as shall be thought meete for that purpose, to take view, and consider the shippe and her lading, and shall giue order for the breaking vp of the said bulke, or giue licence by discretion, for thinges to be brought to land. And that euery officer shall shewe the euidence of his charge to him first committed, and to examine the wastes and losses, and to deliuer the remainder to the vse and benefite of the company, according to such order as shall be appointed in that behalfe.

22 Item, the company exhorteth, willeth, and requireth, not onely all the said Agents, pilots, maisters, merchantes, clerkes, boatswaines, stewardes, skalemaisters, and all other officers and ministers of this present voyage, being put in charge and trust dayly to peruse, reade, and ouer such instructions as be made, giuen, and deliuered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Russia, Moscouia, Wardhouse, and other places, their dispositions, lawes, maners, customes, vses, tolles, cariages, coines, weights, numbers, measures, wares, merchandizes, commodities, and incommodities, the one to be accepted and embraced, the other to be reiected and vtterly abandoned, to the intent that euery man taking charge, may be so well taught, perfited, and readily instructed in all the premises, that, by ignorance, no losse or preiudice may growe or chance to the companie, assuring themselues, that forasmuch as the company hath trauelled and laboured so in their their instructions to them giuen, that euery man may be perfect, and fully learned to eschewe all losses, hurts and damages that may insue by pretence or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allowe, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or iust cause of excuse, in that which shall be misordered by negligence, the burden whereof shall light vpon the negligent offending person, especially vpon such as of their owne heads, or temeritie, will take vpon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby preiudice may arise, without the commission of the Agents aboue is mentioned, whereunto relation be had. Note.

23 Forasmuch as it is not possible to write and indite such prescribed orders, rules and commissions to you the Agents and factours, but that occasion, time and place, and the pleasures of the princes, together with the operation or successe of fortune shall change or shift the same, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the said company doe commit to you their deare and intyre beloued Agentes and factours, to doe in this behalfe for the commoditie and wealth of this company, as by your discretions, vpon good aduised deliberations shall be thought good and beneficiall. Prouided alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credit, and estimation of the same company be conserued and preserued: which to confirme we beseech the liuing Lord to his glory, the publike benefit of this realme, our common profit, and your praises.

Finallie for the seruice, and due accomplishment of all the premises, euery Agent and minister of and for this voyage, hath not onely giuen a corporall othe vpon the Euangelistes to obserue, and cause to be obserued, this commission, and euery part, clause and sentence of the same, as muche as in him lyeth, as well for his owne parte as for any other person, but also haue bounde themselues and their friendes to the company in seuerall summes of money, expressed in the Actes, and Recordes of this societie, for the trueth and fidelities of them for the beer,

and

and alſo manifeſter reſtification of the truth, and of their othes, promiſes, and bands aforeſaid, they haue to this commiſſion ſubſcribed particularly their ſeuerall handes, and the companie alſo in confirmation of the ſame, haue ſet their ſeale. Yeuen the day, moneth, and yeere firſt aboue mentioned.

The othe miniſtred to the ſeruants of the fellowſhippe.

YE ſweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye ſhall well, faithfully & truely, and vprightly, and with all your indeuour, ſerue this right worſhipfull company in that order, which by this fellowſhippes Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperour of Ruſſia &c, ſhall be vnto you committed, by commiſſion, commandement, or other his direction. And that you ſhall be obedient and faithfull to the ſame our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and vprightlie, according to the commiſſion, charge, commandement, or other direction of the ſaid Agent or Agents to you from time to time giuen and to be giuen, you ſhall proſecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme, commoditie, benefit and profit of the ſaid fellowſhippe: and you ſhall not directly or indirectly, openly or couertly doe, exercile or vſe any trade or feat of merchandize for your owne priuate account, commodity, gaine or profit, or for the account of or for any other perſon or perſons, without conſent or licence of this ſaid fellowſhippe, firſt obteined in writing. And if you ſhall know or vnderſtand any other perſon or perſons to vſe, exercile or doe any trade, traffike or feat of merchandize, to or for his or their owne account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye ſhall truely and plainely diſcloſe, open, vtter and reueale, and ſhew the ſame vnto this ſaid fellowſhippe, without fraud, colour, couin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth, the companies *firſt Agent in Moſcouie, touching their interteinement in* their ſecond voyage. Anno 1555 the 27 of Nouember in Moſco.

RIght worſhipfull, my duetie conſidered, &c. It may pleaſe your worſhip to vnderſtand, that at the making heereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, ſaue onely William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the riuer out of the boat, and was drowned: and the 11 day of September we came to Vologda, and there we layed all our wares vp, and ſolde very little: but one merchant would haue giuen vs 12 robles for a broad cloth, and he ſaid he would haue had them all, and 4 altines for a pound of ſugar, but we did refuſe it becauſe he was the firſt, and the merchants were not come thither, nor would not come before winter, truſting to haue more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithſtanding we did for the beſt. And the houſe that our wares lie in, coſt from that day vntill Eaſter ten robles. And the 28 day of September we did determine with our ſelues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hatton, Chriſtopher Hudſon, John Segewicke, Richard Johnſon, and Richard Good, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chanceler, Henry Lane, Edward Piſe, Robert Beſt and I ſhould go to Moſco. And we did lade the Emperours ſuger, with part of all ſortes of wares to haue had to the Moſco with vs, and the way was ſo deepe, that we were faine to turne backe, and leaue it ſtill at Vologda till the froſt. And we went forth with poſt horſe, & the charge of euery horſe being ſtill ten in number, comes to 10 s. 7 d. halfe penie, beſides the guides, and we came to the Moſco the fourth day of October, and were lodged that night in a ſimple houſe: but the next day we were ſent for to the Emperour his ſecretarie, and he had vs welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes, and we ſhewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he deſired to ſee them all, and that they might remaine with him, to haue them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and ſo we did: and then we were appointed to a better houſe: and the ſeuenth day the ſecretarie ſent for vs againe, and then he ſhewed vs that we ſhould haue a better houſe, for it was the Emperour his will, that we ſhould haue all things that we did lacke, and did ſend vs meade of two ſorts, and two hens, our houſe free, and euery two dayes to receiue eight hens, ſeuen altines, and two penſe in money, and medow a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our houſe, and to do that whereunto we would ſet him: and we had giuen many rewards before, which you ſhall perceiue by other, and ſo we gaue the meſſengers

Queene Maries letters to the Emperor of Ruſſia.

gers a reward with thankes: and the ninth day we were sent to make vs ready to speake with the Emperour on the morrow. And the letters were sent vs, that we might deliuer them our selues, and we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his presence we went thorow a great chamber, where stood many small cunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of siluer. I meane, like washing bowles, all parsell gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of golde, and then into the chamber where his grace sat, and there I thinke were more then in the other chamber also in cloth of golde, and we did our duety, and shewed his grace our queenes graces letters, with a note of your present which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her cousin, saying that he was glad that we were come in health into his Realme, and we went one by one vnto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid vs go in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his presence, and were set with our faces towardes his grace, and none in the chamber sate with their backes towards him, being, I thinke, neere a hundred at dinner then, and all serued with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not slender, but very massy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, standing still on the cupboord, not mooued: and diuers times in the dinner time his grace sent vs meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went vp to his grace, and receiued a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the same night his grace sent certaine gentlemen to vs with diuers sortes of wine and medo, to whome we gaue a reward. And afterward we were by diuers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the copie of the priuileges that we would desire to haue, for feare it should not be written in the Russe tongue, as we did meane. So first a Russian did write for vs a peticion to the Emperor, the tenour whereof was, that we did desire a stronger priuilege: & when the Secretary saw it, he did deliuer it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed vs to write our mindes, and he would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet we haue no answere: but we haue bene required of his Secretary, and of the vnder Chancelour, to know what wares we had brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to haue, that are, or may be had in this Realme: and we shewed them, and they shewed the Emperour therof. And then they said his graces pleasure was, that his best merchants of the Polco should be spoken to, to meet and talke with vs. And so a day was appointed, and we mette in the Secretary his office, and there was the vnder Chancelour, who was not past two yeeres since the Emperours merchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the conclusion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed vs to bethinke vs, where we would desire to haue a house or houses, that we might come to them as to our owne house, and for merchandize to be made preparation for vs, and they would know our prises of our wares and frise: and we answered, that for our prices they must see the wares before we could make any price thereof, for the like in goodnesse had not beene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all sortes of our wares to come from Vologda, with the first fleeting, and then they should see them, and then we would shew them the prices of them: and likewise we could not tell them what we would giue them iustly, till we did know as well their iust weight as their measures (for in all places where we did come, all weights and measures did vary:) then the Secretary (who had made promise vnto vs before) said, that we should haue all the iust measures vnder seale, & he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or sell with any other measure then that, the law was, that he should be punished: he said moreouer, that if it so happen that any of our merchants do promise by couenant at any time to deliuer you any certaine sum of wares in such a place, and of such like goodnesse, at such a day, for such a certaine price, that then because of variance, we should cause it to be written, according as the bargen is, before a iustice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe couenant and promise in all points, according to his couenant, that then looke what losse or hinderance we could iustly proue that we haue thereby, he should make it good, if he be worth so much: and in like case we must doe to them, and to that we did agree, saue onely if it were to come ouer the sea, then if any such fortune should be (as God forbid) that the shippe should mischance or be robbed, & the proofe to be made that such kinde of wares were laden, the English merchants to beare no losse to the other merchant. Then the Chancelor said, me thinks you shall be best to haue your house at Colmogro, which is but 100 miles from the right discarge of the ships, and yet I trust the ships shall come neerer hereafter, because the ships may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000 miles from Vologda by water, and all our merchants shall bring all our merchandize to Colmogro to you, and so shall our merchants, neither go empty nor come empty: for if that they lacke lading homward, there is sale, which is good ware here, that they may come laden againe: so we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his saying: for we shall neuertheless, if we list, haue a house at Vologda, & at the Polco, yea, & at Nouogrode, or where we will in Russia:

The Italians counsell to our people.

The diuersitie of weights & measures in Russia.

Colmogro.

Russia. But the three and twentith of this present we were with the secretary, and then among other talke, we mooued, that if we should tary at Colmogro with our wares, and should not come to Vologda, or further to seeke our market, but tary still at Colmogro, and then the merchants of the Polco and others should not come and bring their wares, and so the shippes should come, and not haue their lading ready, that then it were a great losse and hinderance for vs: then sayd he againe to vs, that the merchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they should come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they should not finde wares there sufficient to serue them, that then they should be at great losse and hinderance, they leauing their other trades to fall to that: and to that we did answere, that after the time that we doe appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they should neuer come thither, but at the beginning of the yeere, they should finde that our merchants would haue at the least for a thousand roobles, although the shippes were not come: so that he said, that then we must talke further with the merchants: so that as yet I know not, but that we shall haue need of one house at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then we shall be sure to buy some at Vologda, and to be out of bondage. Vologda.

And thus may we continue three or foure yeeres, and in this space we shall know the countrey and the merchants, and which way to saue our selues best, and where to plant our houses, and where to seeke for wares: for the Polco is not best for any kinde of wares for vs to buy, saue onely wax, which we can not haue vnder seuen pence the Russe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I haue bidden fiue pence for a pound. And I haue bought more, fiue hundred weight of yarne, which standes me in eight pence farthing the Russe pound one with another. And if we had receiued any store of money, and were dispatched heere of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we shall be shortly (you know what I meane) then as soone as we haue made sale, I do intend to goe to Nouogrode, and to Pleskco, whence all the great number of the best tow flaxe commeth, and such wares as are there I trust to buy part. And feare you not, we will do that may be done, if God send vs health, desiring you to prepare fully for one shippe to be readie in the beginning of Aprill to depart off the coast of England. Nouogrode.

Concerning all those thinges which we haue done in the wares, you shall receiue a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth these from vs is a merchant of Turwell, and he was caused to carry these by the commandement of the Emperour his secretarie, whose name is Euan Mecallawiche weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it please you to send any letters to Danticke, to Robert Elson, or to William Watsons seruant Duncan Walton to be conueyed to vs, it may please you to inclose ours in a letter sent from you to him, written in Polish, Dutch, Latine, or Italian: so inclosed, comming to the Polco to his handes, he will conuey our letters to vs where soeuer we be. And I haue written to Danticke already to them by the conueyance of letters from thence. The Russian secretary his name.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men say, that these hundred yeeres was neuer so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yesternight we receiued a letter from Christopher Hudson from a citie [illegible] Yerellaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceiue him, so that he was faine to tary by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sledde did ouerthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was lost, which made vs all very sory.

I pray you be not offended with these my rude letters, for lacke of time: but as soone as sales be made, I will finde the meanes to conuey you a letter with speed: for the way is made so doubtfull, that the right messenger is so much in doubt, that he would not haue any letters of any effect sent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of these: and to say the truth, the way is not for him to trauell in. But I will make another shift beside, which I trust shall serue the turne till he come, if sales be made before he be ready, which is and shall be as pleaseth God: who euer preserue your worship, and send vs good sales. Written in haste.

By yours to command

GEORGE KILLINGWORTH

Draper.

A copie of the first Priuileges granted by the Emperour of *Russia to the English Merchantes*, in the yeere 1555.

IOhn Vasilliwich, by the grace of God, Emperour of Russia, great Duke of Vuogrode, Poscouia, &c. To all people that shall see, reade, heare, or vnderstand these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted all Realmes and Dominions in the whole world with sundry commodities, so as the one hath need of the amity and commodities of the other, and by meanes thereof, traffike vsed from one to another, and amity thereby increased, and for that as amongst men nothing is more to be desired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can liue in quietnesse, so that it is as troublesome to be vtterly wanting, as it is perceiued to be grieuous to the body to lacke ayre, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conseruation and maintenance thereof in health, considering also how needfull merchandize is, which furnisheth men of all that which is conuenient for theyr liuing, and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other thinges conuenient and profitable for them, and that merchandize bringeth the same commodities from diuers quarters, in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in euery place (where entercourse of merchandizes is receiued and embraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the inioyers thereof be as men liuing in a golden worlde. Vpon these respects, and other weighty and good considerations, vs heerunto mouing, and chiefly vpon the contemplation of the gracious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, &c. in the fauor of her subiects, merchants, the gouernor, consuls, assistants, and comminalty of merchants aduenturers, for discouery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace especiall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents, for vs, our heyres and successors, doe giue and grant, as much as in vs is and lyeth, vnto Sebastian Cabota Gouernour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Consuls: Sir Iohn Gresham, &c. Assistants, and to the comminalty of the aforenamed fellowshippe, and to theyr successours for euer, and to the successours of euery of them, these articles, grants, immunities, franchises, liberties and priuileges, and euery of them heereafter following, expressed and declared, videlicet:

1 First, we for vs, our heyres and successours, do by these presents giue and grant free licence, faculty, authority and power vnto the said Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, and comminalty of the said fellowshippe, and to their successours for euer, that all and singular the merchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, attorneys, seruants, and ministers, and euery of them may at all times heereafter for euer more surely, freely, and safely with theyr shippes, merchandizes, goods, and things whatsoeuer, saile, come, and enter into all and singular our lands, countryes, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, ports, iurisdictions and destraints by sea, land, or fresh waters, and there tary, abide, and soiourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kinde of merchandizes with all maner of merchants and people, of whatsoeuer nation, right condition, state or degrees they bee, and with the same or other shippes, wares, merchandizes, goods, and things, whatsoeuer they be, vnto other Empyres, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at theyr pleasure and liberty, by sea, land or freshwaters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our Empyre and dominions, and euery part thereof, freely and quietly, without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, presse, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, taxed, or payed, or at any time heereafter to be demanded, taxed, set, leuied, or inferred vpon them or any of them, or vpon their goods, shippes, wares, merchandizes and thinges, of, for, or vpon any part or parcell thereof, or vpon the goods, shippes, wares, merchandizes, and thinges of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall, ne special, of vs, our heyres or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subiect vnto vs.

2 Item, we giue and grant to the sayd merchantes, this power and libertie, that they, ne any of them, ne theyr goods, wares, merchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shall be by any meanes, within our dominions, landes, countryes, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our iurisdiction, at any time heereafter attached, stayed, arrested, ne disturbed for any debt, [illegible]

tie, or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or sureties, ne also for any offence or default committed, or that shall be committed, but onely for such as they, or any of them shall actually commit, and the same offences (if any such happen,) shalbe by vs onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we giue and graunt, that the saide Marchants shall and may haue free libertie, power, and authoritie, to name, choose, and assigne brokers, shippers, packers, wayers, measurers, wagoners, and all other meete and necessarie labourers, for to serue them in their feate of Marchandises, and ministers, and giue vnto them and euery of them a corporall othe, to serue them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may punish and dismisse them, and from time to time choose, sweare, and admit other in their place, or places, without contradiction, let, veration, or disturbance, either of vs, our heires or successours, or of any other our Justices, officers, ministers, or subiects whatsoeuer.

4 Item, wee giue and graunt vnto the saide Marchants and their successours, that such person as is, or shall bee commended vnto vs, our heires or successours, by the Gouernour, Consuls, and assistants of the saide fellowship, resiant within the Citie of London within the Realme of England, to bee their chiefe Factor within this our Empire and Dominions, may, and shall haue full power and authoritie to gouerne and rule all Englishmen, that haue had, or shall haue accesse, or repaire in or to this saide Empire and iurisdictions, or any part thereof, and shall and may minister vnto them, and euery of them good iustice, in all their causes, plaints, quarrels, and disorders betweene them mooued, and to bee mooued, and assemble, deliberate, consult, conclude, define, determine, and make such Actes, and ordinances, as hee so commended with his Assistants shall thinke good and meete, for the good order, gouernement and rule of the saide Marchants, and all other Englishmen repairing to this our saide Empire and Dominions, or any part thereof, and to set and lewie vpon all, and euery Englishmen, offender or offenders, of such their Actes and ordinances made, and to bee made, penalties, and mulcts by fine or imprisonment.

5 Item, if it happen, that any of the saide Marchants, or other Englishman, as one or more doe rebell against such chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not dispose him, or themselues to obey them, and euery of them, as shall appertaine, if the saide Rebels or disobedients doe come, and bee founde in our saide Empire and iurisdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promise and graunt, that all and euery our officers, ministers, and subiects shall effectually ayde and assist the saide chiefe Factor, or Factors, and their deputies, and by their power shall really worke, to bring such rebell or disobedient Rebels, or disobedients to due obedience: And to that intent shall lende vnto the same Factor or Factors, and their deputies vpon request therefore to be made, prisons, and instruments for punishments from time to time.

6 Item, wee promise vnto the saide Marchants, and their successours vpon their request, to exhibite, and doe vnto them good, exact, and fauourable iustice, with expedition in all their causes, and that when they or any of them, shall haue accesse, or come to, or before any of our Justices, for any their plaints mooued, and to bee mooued betweene any our Subiects or other stranger, and them, or any of them, that them they shall bee first, and forthwith heard, as soone as the partie which they shall finde before our Justices shall bee depeached, which partie being heard forthwith, and assoone as may bee, the saide English Marchants shall bee ridde, and dispatched: And if any action shall bee mooued by or against any of the saide Marchants, being absent out of our saide Empire and Dominions, then such Marchants may substitute an Attorney in all and singuler his causes to bee followed as neede shall require, and as shall seeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt, and promise to the saide Marchants, and to their successours, that if the same Marchants or any of them shall bee wounded, or (which God forbidde) slaine in any part, or place of our Empire, or Dominions, then good information thereof giuen, Wee and our Justices, and other officers, shall execute due correction and punishment without delaye, according to the exigence of the case: So that it shall bee an example to all other, not to commit the like. And if it shall chaunce the Factors, seruants, or Ministers of the sayde Marchants or any of them, to trespasse or offende, whereby they or any of them shall incurre the danger of death or punishment, the goods, wares, marchandises, and thinges of their Masters, shall not therefore be forfaited, confiscated, spoyled, ne seised by any means, by vs, our heires, or successours, or by any our officers, ministers or subiects, but shall remaine to their vse, franke, free, and discharged from all punishment and losse.

8 Item, wee graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, hee shall not be layed in prison, so farre, as he can put in sufficient surretie or paune: Neither shall any Sergeant, or officer leade them, or any of them to prison, before he shall haue knowen whether the chiefe Factor or factors, or their deputies, shal be sureties, or lying in paune for such arrested: then the officers shall release the partie, and shall set him or them at libertie.

9 Moreouer, wee giue, graunt, and promise to the same Marchants, that if any of their shippes or other vessels, shall bee spoyled, robbed, or damnified, in saylyng, anckoring or returning, to, or from our sayde Empires, and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other person, whatsoeuer hee or they bee, that then and in such case, wee will doe all that in vs is, to cause restitution, reparation, and satisfaction to bee duely made to the saide English Marchants by our letters and otherwise, as shall stande with our honour, and bee conformant to equitie and iustice.

8 Item, for vs, our heires and successours, wee doe promise and graunt, to performe, maintaine, corroborate, authenticate, and obserue all and singular the aforesaide liberties, franchises, and priuiledges, like as presently wee firmely doe intende, and will corroborate, authentike, and performe the same by all meane and way that wee can, as much as may bee to the commoditie and profite of the saide English Marchants, and their successours for euer.

And to the intent that all and singuler the saide giftes, graunts and promises, may be inuiolably obserued and performed, wee the saide Iohn Vasiliuich by the grace of God Emperour of Russia, great duke of Nouogrode, Mosco, &c. for vs, our heires and successours, by our Imperiall and Loydly worde in steade of an othe, haue and doe promise by these presents, inuiolably to maintaine and obserue, and cause to bee inuiolably obserued and maintained, all and singuler the aforesaide giftes, graunts, and promises from time to time, and at all and euery time and times hereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof haue caused our Siguet hereunto to be put. Dated in our Castel of Mosco, the 20. day of in the yeere.

The Charter of the Marchants of Russia, graunted vpon the discouerie of the saide Countrey, by King Philip and Queene Mary.

PHilip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queene, &c. To all maner of officers, true Iurie men, ministers and Subiects, and to all other people, as well within this our Realme or els where vnder our obeysance, iurisdiction, and rule, or otherwise vnto whome these our letters shall bee shewed, seene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right trustie, right faithfull, and welbeloued Counsailers, William Marques of Winchester, Loyde high Treasurer of this our Realme of England, Henry Earle of Arundel, Loyd Steward of our household, Iohn Earle of Bedford, Loyde keeper of our priuie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Loyde Haward of Effingham, Loyde high Admirall of our saide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their owne aduenture, coastes and charges, prouided, rigged, and tackled certaine shippes, pinelles, and other meete vessels, and the same furnished with all thinges necessarie, haue aduaunced and set forwarde, for to discouer, descrie, and finde Iles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seignioryes vnknowen, and by our subiects before this not commonly by Sea frequented, which by the sufferance and grace of Almightie God, it shall chaunce them sayling Northwardes, Northeastwards, and Northwestwardes, or any parts thereof, in that race or course which other Christian Monarches, (being with vs in league and amitie) haue not heretofore by Seas traficqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their saide aduenture, as well for the ‖ glorie of God, as for the illustrating of our honour, and dignitie royall, in the increase of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our subiects of the same: And to this intent our subiects aboue specified and named, haue most humbly besecched vs, that our abundant grace, fauour and clemencie, may be graciously extended vnto them in this behalfe: Whereupon we inclined to the petition of the foresaid our Counsailers, subiects and Marchants, and willing to animate, aduance, further and nourish them in their said godly, honest, and good purpose, and, as we hope, profitable aduenture, & that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieue the same, Of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt, for vs, our heires and successours, vnto our saide right trustie,

The discouerie principally intended for Gods glorie.

truſtie and right faithfull, and right welbeloued Counſailers, and the other before named perſons, that they by the name of Marchants aduenturers of England, for the diſcouerie of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and not before that late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation, commonly frequented as aforeſaid, ſhalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowſhip and communaltie of themſelues, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants aduenturers for the diſcouerie of landes, territories, Iles and Seigniories vnknowen, and not by the Seas, and Nauigations, before their ſaide late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by theſe preſents, and that the ſame fellowſhip or communaltie from henceforth ſhall be, and may haue one Gouernour of the ſaid fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers.

Sebaſtian Cabota firſt Gouernour of the Moſcouie compaine.

And in conſideration that one Sebaſtian Cabota, hath bene the chiefeſt letter foorth of this iurney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and conſtitute him the ſaid Sebaſtian to be the firſt and preſent gouernour of the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, by theſe preſents. To haue and enioy the ſaid office of Gouernour, to him the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota during his natural life, without anoying or dimilling from the ſame roome.

And furthermore, we graunt vnto the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie and their ſucceſſours, that they the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors after the deceaſe of the ſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, ſhall, and may freely and lawfully in places conuenient, and honeſt, aſſemble themſelues together, or ſo many of them as will, or can aſſemble together, as well within our Citie of London, or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe them in ſuch ſort and maner, as other worſhipfull corporations of our ſaide Citie haue vſed to aſſemble, and there yeerely name, elect and chooſe one Gouernour or two, of themſelues, and their liberties, and alſo as well yeerely during the naturall life of the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota now Gouernour, as alſo at the election of ſuch ſaid Gouernour or gouernours before his decreaſe, to chooſe, name and appoint eight and twentie of the moſt ſad, diſcreete, and honeſt perſons of the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchant aduenturers, as is aboue ſpecified, and 4. of the moſt expert and ſkilfull perſons of the ſame 28. to be named and called Conſuls, and 24. of the reſidue, to be named and called Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls for the time being, which ſhal remaine and ſtand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it ſhall fortune the ſaide Gouernour, Conſuls, and aſſiſtants, or any of them ſo to be elected, and choſen as is aforeſaide, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and ſo often, it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie, to elect and chuſe of themſelues other Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, in the place and ſteade of ſuch as ſo ſhall happen to die, to ſerue out the ſame yeere.

Sir George Barnes, William Garret, Anthonie Huſie, Iohn Suthcot, the firſt 4. Conſuls.

And further we doe make, ordeine, and conſtitute, George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret, Alderman of our ſaide Citie, Anthonie Huſie, and Iohn Suthcot, to be the firſt and preſent 4. Conſuls of the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie by theſe preſents, to haue & enioy the ſaid offices of Conſuls to them the ſaid George Barnes, William Garret, Anthonie Huſie, & Iohn Suthcot, for terme of one whole yeere next after the date of theſe our letters patents: And wee doe likewiſe, make, ordeine and conſtitute Sir Iohn Greſham knight, Sir Andrew Iudde, knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir, Iohn Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdſon, Iohn Hopkins, William Watſon, Williã Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Ieffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, Iohn Elliot, Iohn Sparke, Blaſe Sanders, and Miles Mording, to be the firſt and preſent 24. Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls, and to the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie by theſe preſents, to haue and enioy the ſaid offices of aſſiſtants to them for terme of one whole yeere, next after the date of theſe our letters patents. And further, we for vs, our heires & ſucceſſours, as much as in vs is, will & graunt by theſe preſents vnto the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip & company of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, & to their ſucceſſours, that the ſaid Gouernour or gouernours, 4. Conſuls, & 24. aſſiſtants, that now by theſe patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the ſaid fellowſhip, & communaltie of marchants aduenturers, or the more part of them, which ſhalbe then preſent, ſo frõ time to time to be choſen, ſo that there be 15. at the leaſt, wholy agreed therof, the ſaid Gouernour or gouerners, or one of them, & 2. of the ſaid Conſuls ſhalbe there, & 12. of the reſidue of the ſaid nomber of 15. ſhalbe of the ſaid aſſiſtants, and in the abſence of ſuch Gouernour, that then 3. of the ſaide Conſuls, and 12. of the ſaide aſſiſtants at the leaſt for the time being, ſhal & may haue, vſe, and exerciſe ful power & authoritie, to rule & gouerne all and ſinguler the Marchants of the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie, & to execute, & do full and ſpeedie

speedie iustice to them, and euery of them, in all their causes, differences, variances, controuersies quarrels, and complaints, within any our Realmes, dominions and iurisdictions onely mooued, and to be mooued touching their Marchandise, trasiques, and occupiers afore saide, or the gouernor or rule of them or any of them.

Also wee for vs, our heires and successors, so much as in vs is, doe likewise by these presents graunt, that the said Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie, and their successours, shall and may haue perpetuall succession, and a common Seale which shall perpetually serue for the affaires and businesse of the saide fellowship and communaltie. And that they and their successours, shall and may be for euer able persons, and capar in the lawe, for to purchase and possesse in fee and perpetuitie, and for terme of life, or liues, or for terme of yeere or otherwise, landes, tenements, rentes, reuersions, and other possessions, and hereditaments, whatsoeuer they bee, by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of the Marchants aduenturers by Seas and Nauigations, for the discouerie of landes, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and before the saide last aduenture or enterprise by Seas not frequented, as before is specified, and by the same names, shal and may lawfully alien, graunt, lete and sett the same, or any part thereof to any person or persons, able in the lawe to take and receiue the same. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the same, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without speciall licence of vs, our heires or successours, first had and obtained.

Also, wee for vs, our heires and successours haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt vnto the saide Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and communaltie of the saide Marchants and to their successours, that they and their successours, shall, and may lawfully purchase vnto them and their successors for euer, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatsoeuer, of the cleare yeerely value of 7. score 6. pounds, thirteene shillings and foure pence of lawfull money of Englande and not aboue, as well of such landes, tenements, and hereditaments, as bee holden or shall bee holden of vs, our heires or successours, as of any other person or persons, the statutes prouided against alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any article or clause in them or any of them contained, or any other lawe, custome, statute, or prouision to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that they by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, for the discouerie of landes, territories, Iles, dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen by the Seas and Nauigations, and not before the saide late aduenture or enterprise by Seas frequented as afore saide, shall and may bee able in the lawe, to impleade, and be impleaded, to answere, and to be answered, to defende, and to bee defended before whatsoeuer Iudge or Iustice, temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court, or courtes, and in all actions personall, reall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaintes of nouel disseison, and also in all plaintes, suites, quarrels, affaires, businesses and demaundes whatsoeuer they bee, touching and concerning the saide fellowshippe and communaltie, and the affaires and businesse of the same onely, in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this our Realme may doe.

Moreouer, wee for vs, our heires and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt vnto the saide Gouernour Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers afore saide, and to their successours, that the saide Gouernour, or Gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successours, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, shall haue full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make, ordeine, establish and erect all such statutes, actes and ordinances, for the gouernement, good condition, and lawdable rule of the said fellowshippe and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers afore saide, as to them shalbe thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie, and also to admitte vnto the saide Corporation and fellowshippe to be free of the same, such and as many persons, as to them shall bee thought good, meete, conuenient, and necessarie. And that euery such person or persons, as shall fortune hereafter to bee admitted into the saide fellowshippe, communaltie and corporation, shall from the time of his or their admittance, bee free of the same: And also wee will, and by these presents graunt for vs, our heires and successours, vnto the saide Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, communaltie, of Marchant aduenturers afore saide, and to their successours, that the Gouernour, or gouernours, Consuls and assistants of the same, in maner, forme, and number afore rehearsed, and their successours, for the time being, shall, and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents from time to time, as to them shall seeme good, to limit, sett, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, & imprisonments, or any of them vpon any offender of the saide fellowshippe and communaltie, for any offence touching the same fellow-

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ship and communaltie, and also that all acts and ordinances by them or their successours to bee made, which time shall thinke not necessarie or preiudiciall to the said fellowship or communaltie, at all times to revoke, breake, frustrate, anihilate, repeale and dissolue at their pleasure and libertie. And further, wee will that if any of the saide fellowship and communaltie shalbe founde contrarious, rebellious, or disobedient to the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, and the saide assistants for the time being, or to any statutes, acts or ordinances, by them made or to bee made, that then the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, and the saide assistants, in maner, forme, and nomber aboue specified, for the time being, shall and may by vertue of these presents, mulct, and punish euery such offender or offenders, as the qualitie of the offence requireth, according to their good discretions.

And further, we will that none of the saide offender or offenders, shall decline from the power of the saide Gouernour, or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, in maner, forme, and nomber aboue saide for the time being: so alwayes, that the saide acts, statutes and ordinances, doe onely touche and concerne the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, assistants, and the saide fellowshippe and communaltie of our before named Marchants aduenturers, or the men of the same fellowship and communaltie, and none other; And so alwayes, that such their acts, statutes and ordinances, bee not against our prerogatiue, lawes, statutes, and customes of our Realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the seuerall duetie of any our subiects, towardes vs, our heires and successours, nor contrary to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by vs or any our progenitours, heretofore had or made, or hereafter by vs, our heires and successours tobee made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor also to the preiudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our citie of London, nor to the prejudice of any person or persons, bodie politique, or corporate, or incorporate, iustly pretending, clayming, or hauing any liberties, franchises, priuiledges, rightes or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of any graunt, gift, or letters patents, by vs, or any our progenitours, heretofore giuen, graunted, or made.

Moreouer, we for vs, our heires, and successours, will, and by these presents, doe graunt vnto the said Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communaltie of our Marchants aforesaid, that their said Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successours for the time being, in maner, forme and nomber aboue rehearsed, shall haue full power and authoritie to assigne, constitute and ordaine one officer, or diuers officers as well within our aforesaide Citie of London, as also in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or elswhere within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Seruant or Seruants to the fellowship or communaltie of the said Marchants, and that the same Seruant or Seruants, shall and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents, to take, leuie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of euery person and persons, of the saide fellowshippe and communaltie conuict, and that shalbe conuicted, vpon or for breaking of any statutes, acts, ordinances, to be made by the saide Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants for the time being.

And further, wee will and also graunt for vs, our heires and successours, that the saide officer or officers, shall haue further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for disobedience in this behalfe (if neede bee) to set handes, and arrest, as well the body and bodies, as the goods and chattels of such offender, and offenders, and transgressers, in euery place and places not franchised: and if it shall fortune any such offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to bee in any Citie, borowe, towne incorporate, or other place franchised or priuiledged, where the saide officer or officers, may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, shiriffes, baylifes, and other head officers, or ministers, within euery such Citie, borowe, towne incorporate, or place or places franchised, vpon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the Gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship, in nomber and forme aforesaid, vnder the common seale of the said felowship & communaltie for the time being, shall, & may attach and arrest the body or bodies of such offender or offenders, as also take, and seise the goods and chattels of all and euery such offender or offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and the same bodie and bodies, goods and chattels of all and euery such offender and offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and euery part thereof so attached and seazed, shall according to the tenor and purport of the said precept, returne, and deliuer vnto the saide officer, or officers of the aforesaide fellowshippe, and communaltie.

And further, we wil & grant for vs, our heires & successours by these presents, that al & euery such

Maior, shiriffe, bayliffe, or other head officers or ministers, of any citie, borowe, towne incorporate, or other places franchised, shall not bee impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any our court or courtes, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said precept or precepts.

And furthermore, wee of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires, and successours, as much as in vs is, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt, vnto the saide Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, and to their successours, and to the Factors, and Factors, assigne and assignes of euery of them, full and free authoritie, libertie, faculte and licence, and power to saile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Iles, Islands, and coastes of the sea, wheresoeuer before their late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, or by our Marchants and subiects by the seas not heretofore commonly frequented, vnder our banner, standerd, flags, and Enlignes, with their shippe, shippes, barkes, pinnesses, and all other vessels of whatsoeuer portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in such shippe or shippes, or other vessels at their owne and proper costes and expences, for to trafique, descrie, discouer and finde, whatsoeuer Ile, Islands, countries, regions, prouinces, creekes, armes of the sea, riuers & streames, as wel of Gentile, as of any other Emperour, king, prince, gouernour or Lord whatsoeuer he or they shalbe, and in whatsoeuer part of the world they be situated, being before the saide late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, and by our Marchanes and subiects not commonly frequented: and to enter and land in the same, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to bee had or taken by any our lawes, customes or statutes to our vse, or to the vse of our heires or successors for the same.

K. Philip and Queene Mary hereby doe disanul Pope Alexanders diuision.

And we haue also graunted, and by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, doe graunt vnto the said Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe and communaltie, and to their successours, and to their Factors and assignes, and to euery of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and fasten our banners, standerds, flags, and Enlignes, in whatsoeuer citie, towne, village, castle, Ile, or maine lande, which shalbe by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforesaide, and that the said fellowship and communaltie, and their successors, Factors and assignes and euery of them, shall and may subdue, possesse and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Iles, and maine landes of infidelitie, which is or shall bee by them, or any of them newly founde or descried, as our vassals and subiects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and iurisdiction of the same Cities, Townes, Castles, villages, Iles, and maine landes, which shall bee by them, or any of them newly discouered or founde vnto vs, our heires and successours for euer.

Anno 1554.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our Subiects in this last peere attempted by Nauigation, towardes the discouerie and disclosure of vnknowen places, Realmes, Islandes, and Dominions by the seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almighty God to cause one of the three shippes by them first set foorth for the voyage, and purpose aboue mentioned, named the Edward Bonauenture, to arriue, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mighty Prince our cousin and brother, Lorde Iohn Basiliuich Emperour of all Russia, Volodomerskie, great duke of Moscouie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our loue and zeale, did not onely admitte the Captaine, and Marchants our subiects into his protection, and Princely presence, but also receiued and intertained them very gratiously, and honourably, graunting vnto them by his letters addressed vnto vs, franke accesse into all his Seignories and Dominions, with licence freely to trafique in and out with all his Subiects in all kinde of Marchandise, with diuers other gratious priuiledges, liberties and immunities specified in his saide letters vnder his Signet: Knowe yee therefore that wee of our further royall fauour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and speciall grace, for vs our heires, and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt vnto the same Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and communaltie aboue named, and to their successours, as much as in vs is, that all the maine landes, Iles, portes, hauens, creekes, and Riuers of the said mightie Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Moleo, &c. And all, and singuler other landes, Dominions, territories, Iles, Portes, hauens, creekes, riuers, armes of the Sea, of all and other Emperour, king, prince, rulers and gouerners, whatsoeuer he or they before the said late aduenture or enterprise not known, or by our foresaide Marchants and subiects by the seas, not cõmonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcel thereof lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as is aforesaid, by sea shal not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any our subiects, other then of þ said company & felowship, & their successors without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the Gouernour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said fel-

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lowship, and Communaltie aboue named, or the more part of them, in manner and number afore-said, for the time being, vpon paine of forfeiture, and losse, as well of the shippe, and shippes, with the appertenances, as also of all the goods, marchandize, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those our Subiects, not being of the said fellowshippe, and Communaltie, which shall attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which be, or hereafter shall happen to be founde, and trafficked vnto, the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of vs, our heires, and successors, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the saide fellowshippe, and Communaltie. And if it shall fortune any stranger, or strangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the same Marchants, their factors, Deputies, or Assignes, or any of them, in sailing, going, or returning at any time in the saide aduenture, or for to saile or trade to or from any those places, lands, or coastes, which by the saide Marchants, their Factors, Deputies, and Assignes haue bene, or shall be descried, discouered, and found, or frequented, as well within the coastes and limits of gentilitie, as within the dominions and Seignories of the said mightie Emperour and Duke, and of all, and euery other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler, and Gouernour whatsoeuer, he, or they be, before the saide late aduenture or enterprise not knowen by any our said Marchants, and subiects, by the seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northwestwards, or Northeastwards as aforesaid, then we will, and grant, and by these presents doe licence, and authorize for vs, our heires, and successors, the said Marchants, their Factors, Deputies, and Assignes, and euery of them, to doe their best in their defense, to resist the same their enterprise, and attempts. Willing therefore, and straightly commanding, and charging all and singular our Officers, Maiors, Sherifes, Eschеators, Constables, Bailifs, and all, and singular other our Ministers, and Liege men, and Subiects whatsoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the said Gouernour, or Gouernours, Consuls, Assistants, fellowship, and Communaltie, and to their Successors, and Deputies, Factors, Seruants, and Assignes, and to the Deputies, Factors, and Assignes of euery of them, in executing and enioying the premisses, as wel on land, as in the sea, from time to time, and at all times, Anno 1555. when you, or any of you, shall be thereunto required. In witnes whereof, &c.

Apud Westmonasterium, 6. die Feb. Annis regnorum nostrorum, primo & secundo.

Certaine instructions deliuered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. *for Russia, to euery Purser, and the rest of the seruants, taken for the* voyage, which may serue, as good and necessary directions, to all other like aduenturers.

1 FIrst you shall before the shippe doth begin to lade, goe aboord, and shal there take, and write one inuentorie, by the aduise of the Master, or of some other principall officer there aboord, of all the tackle, apparel, cables, ankers, ordinance, chambers, shot, powder, artillerie, and of all other necessaries whatsoeuer doth belong to the said ship: and the same fully taken, you shall write in a booke, making the said Master, or such officer priuie of that which you haue so written, so that the same may not be denied, when they shall call accompt thereof: that done, you shall write a copie of the same, with your owne hand, which you shall deliuer before the shippe shall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be fully answered the same, when time shall require: and this order to be seene and kept euery voyage ouerly, by the pursers of the companies owne shippe, in any wise.

2. Also when the shippe beginneth to lade, you shall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter such goods as shall be brought a boord, to be laden for the companie, packed, or vnpacked, taking the markes and numbers of euery packe, farwell, trusse, or packet, cmouopa, chest, fatte, butt, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, fyrkin, or other caske, maunde, or basket, or any other thing, which may, or shall be packed by any other manner of waies, or deuise. And first, all such packes, or trusses, &c. as shal be brought aboord to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you shall doe the best to let that the same be not laden, and to inquire diligently to knowe the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the same is, that is so brought aboord to be laden: if you can not know the owners of such goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as also to send or bring word ere thereof to the Agent, and to some one of the foure Marchants with him adioyned, so speedily as you can, if it be here laden, or to be laden in this riuer, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforesaid: and when the said shippe hath receiued

ceiued in all that the companies Agent will haue laden, you shal make a iust copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of euery thing plainly, which you shal iustly deliuer to the sayd booke keeper to the vse aforesaid.

3 Also when the ship is readie to depart, you shall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and shall shew him all such letters as you haue receiued of any person or persons priuately or openly, to be deliuered to any person or persons in Russia or elsewhere, and also to declare if you know any other that shall passe in the ship either master or mariner that hath receiued any letters to be priuily deliuered to any there, directed from any person or persons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters so by you receiued, you shall not carry with you, without you be licenced so to doe by the Agent here, and some of the foure merchants, as is aforesayd: and such others as doe passe, hauing receiued any priuie letters to be deliuered, you shall all that in you lieth, let the deliuerie of them at your arriuing in Russia: and also if you haue or doe receiue, or shal know any other that doth or hath receiued any goods or readie money to bee imploied in Russia, or to be deliuered there to any person or persons from any person or persons, other then such as be the companies goods, and that vnder their marke, you shall before the shippe doeth depart, declare the same truely to the said Agent, and to some of the other merchants to him adioyned, as it is before declared.

4 Also when the ship is ready to depart, and hath the master and the whole company aboord, you shall diligently foresee and take heede, that there passe not any priuie person or persons, other then such as be authorized to passe in the said ship, without the licence & warrant of one of ꝑ Gouernours and of the assistants, for the same his passage, to be first shewed. And if there bee any such person or persons that is to passe and will passe without shewing the same warrant, you shall let the passage of any such to the vttermost of your power: And for that there may no such priuy person passe vnder the cloke and colour of some mariner, you shall vpon the waying of your ships anker, call the master and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may see that you haue neither more nor lesse, but iust the number for the voyage.

5 Also you must haue in remembraunce, that if it shall chaunce the ship to bee put into any harbour in this coast by contrary windes or otherwise in making the voyage, to send word thereof from time to time as the case shall require, by your letters in this maner. To master I. B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that which he must haue for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you shall do very well to keepe a daily note of the voiage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally see that you forget not daily in all the voiage both morning and euening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voiage shal haue the better successe thereby, and the company prosper the better.

7 Also in calme weather and at other times when you shall fortune to come to anker in the seas during the voiage, you shall for the companies profite, and for good husbanding of the victuals aboord, call vpon the Boatswaine and other of the company to vse such hookes and other engines as they haue aboord to take fish with, that such fish so taken may bee eaten for the cause aforesayd: and if there bee no such engines aboord, then to prouide some before you goe from hence.

8 And when God shall send you in safetie into the Baie of S. Nicholas at an anker, you shall goe a shore with the first boate that shall depart from the ship, taking with you such letters as you haue to deliuer to the Agent there: and if he bee not there at your comming a land, then send the companies letters to Colmogro to him by some sure mariner or otherwise, as the master and you shall thinke best: but goe not your selfe at any hand, nor get from aboord the ship, vnlesse it bee a shore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ship that you be appointed in, which you shall applie diligently to haue done so speedily as may bee. And for the discharging of the goods therein in the Baie, to bee caried from thence, see that you doe looke well to the vnlading thereof, that there bee none other goods sent a shore then the companies, and according to the notes entered in your booke as aforesayd: if there bee, enquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiuer of the sayd goods, in such sort that the company may haue the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9 Also

9. Also there a shoare, and likewise aboord, you shall spie, and search as secretly as you may, to learne and knowe what bargaining, buying, and selling there is, with the Master, and the maisters of the shippe, and the Russes, or with the companies seruants there: and that which you shall perceaue and learne, you shall keepe a note thereof in your booke, secretly to your selfe, which you shall open, and disclose at your comming home, to the Gouernours, and the Assistants, in such sort, as the truth of their secret trades, and occupyings may be reuealed, and knowen. You shall need alwaies to haue Argos eies, to spie their secret packing and conueyance, as well on land, as aboord the shippe, of and for such furres, and other commodities, as priuely they doe vse to buy, packe, and conuey hither. If you will be vigilant, and secrete in this article, you can not misse to spie their priuie packing one with another, either on shoare, or aboord the shippe: worke herein wisely, and you shall deserue great thanks of the whole companie.

10. Also at the lading againe of the shippe, you shall continue and abide aboord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke, all such goods and marchandize, as shall be brought and laden, which you shall orderly note in all sortes as heretofore, as in the second article partly is touched: and in any wise, put the Master and the companie in remembrance, to looke and forsee substantially, to the romaging of the shippe, by faire meanes or sheats, as you shall see and thinke will serue for the best.

11. Thus when the shippe is fully laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a shoare to the Agent for your letters, and dispatch away: you shal demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the truth thereof, you shall repaire to the companies storehouse there, at S. Nicholas, to see if there be any goods left, in the said storehouse: if there be, you shall demand why they be not laden, and to note what kind of goods they be, that be so left: and seeing any of the shippes there, not fully laden, you shall put the Agent in remembrance to lade those goods so left, if any such be to be laden, as is aforesaide. And thus God sending you a faire wind, to make speede and away.

12. Finally, when God shall sende you to arriue againe vpon this coast in safetie, either at Harewhich, or els where, goe not you a land, if you may possible, to the ende, that when you be gone a shoare, there may no goods be sent priuily ashoare to be solde, or els to be solde aboord the shippe, in your absence, but keepe you still aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the causes aforesaid, and write the companie a letter from the shippe of your good arriuall, which you may conuey vnto them by land, by some boy or marriner of the shippe, or otherwise as you shall thinke best: and likewise when God shall send you and the shippe, into the riuer here, doe not in any wise depart out of the shippe that you be in, vntill the companie doe send some other aboord the shippe, in your steede and place, to keepe the said shippe in your absence.

The Nauigation and discouerie toward the Riuer of Ob, *made by Master Stephen Burrowe, Master of the Pinnesse called* the Serchethrift, with diuers things worth the noting, passed in the yeere, 1556.

WE departed from Ratliffe to Blackewall, the 23. of Aprill, Saturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays. Aprill 25.

The 27. being Sunday, the right Worshipfull Sebastian Cabota, came aboord our Pinnesse at Grauesende, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinnesse, and tasted of such cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on shoare, giuing to our Mariners right liberall rewardes: and the good olde Gentleman, Master Cabota, gaue to the poore most liberall almes, wishing them to pray for the good fortune, and prosperous successe of the Serchethirste, our Pinnesse. And then at the signe of the Christopher, he and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in my companie, great cheere: and for very ioy that he had to see the towardnes of our intended discouerie, he entred into the dance himselfe, amongst the rest of the young and lustie companie: which being ended, he, and his friends departed most gently, commending vs to the gouernance of Almightie God. 27

Tuesday we rode still at Grauesende, making prouision for such things as we wanted. 28

Wednesday in the morning, we departed from Grauesende, the wind being at South west, and that night we came to an anker thwart of our Ladie of Hollands. 29

Thursday at three of the clocke in the morning, we waied, and by eight of the clocke, we were at an anker in Orwell wannes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonauenture, 30

where

where the Worshipfull companie of Marchants appointed me to be, vntill the said good shippe
Note. arriued at Wardhouse. Then I returned againe into the pinnesse.

Maye.

1 Friday being the first day of May, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, the wind being at South east, and by East, we waied, and went into Orwell hauen.

2 Saturday at fiue of the clocke in the morning, the winde being at South, and by West, we went into the Wands, but at two of the clocke at afternoone, the wind shifted, and came vp at East and by North, and began to blow a good gale: and at foure of the clocke, we waied, and went againe into Harewich.

4 Munday at three a clocke in the morning, we came againe out of Harewich, the wind being at West Northwest, and by eight of the clocke, we were thwart of Dysondnesse, and then the winde shifted, and came at South southeast: and at two of the clocke, we were thwart of Sowlde, and there we cooke in our sailes, and staied for the pinnesse vntil foure of the clocke, which pinnesse we sent thither the third day, to fetch certaine men, and necessaries for the Philip and Marie, and then we set off Northeast, vntil fiue of the clocke: at the same time Yarmouth steeple was off vs West Northwest, eight leagues, and then we set our course North.

5 From that vntil Tuesday fiue a clocke in the morning, North 18. leagues. From that vntill a South sunne North, and by West, the latitude being 54. degrees and a halfe, the wind being at this present at Southwest, and by West.

6 From that vntil Wensday fiue of the clocke in the morning, North, and by West: and at this present fiue a clocke the wind shifted, and came at West northwest: we had the latitude this day, in
The variation of the compas. 55. degrees, 14. minuts: the variation of the compasse, from North to East almost 13. degrees.

7 From that vnto a west sunne, fiue leagues northeast; and at this present the wind shifted to the northeast.

From that vntill Thursday fiue a clocke in the morning, 5. leagues northwest, and by north.

From that vntill a south sunne, three leagues northwest: we sounded at this present, and had 45. fadome, and small mingled white and blacke sand, and some maches like Hering bones. We had the latitude this day at noone, in 55. degrees, 23. minuts.

From that vntill a west sunne, north, fiue leagues.

8 From that vntill Friday, a southest sunne, East ten leagues, the wind at north a stiffe gale.

9 From that vntill Saturday, a northeast sunne, fiue leagues southwest, and then we call about to the Northward, the wind being at West, and by north.

From that vntill a southwest sunne, northeast, and by north, eight leagues, and then the winde shifted to the northwards.

From that vntill a west sunne, two leagues East, and by north.

10 From that vntill Sunday three of the clocke in the morning, fiue leagues East, and by north, the wind at northwest.

11 From that vntill Munday, an East sunne, southeast, and by South, 13. leagues and a halfe.

From that vnto a south southwest sunne, three leagues south southwest, and then the winde shifted, and came at west, and by north.

From that vntill a west sunne, north northwest.

12 From that vntill Tuesday in the morning, three of the clocke, north northwest, 25. leagues, and then north and by west.

From that vnto a south sunne north, and by west, 14. leagues, and then it waxed thicke, and the wind came at the northwest, and by west.

From that vntill a northwest sunne, East northeast, and halfe a point to the Northwards, foure leagues scant.

13 From that vntill Wensday, a south sunne northeast, and by East, and then we were in 57. degrees, 57. minuts.

From that vnto a Northwest sunne, East northeast, foure leagues.

14 From that vntill the 14. day, a south sunne, three leagues and a halfe, East northeast, and then we call about, the wind being at northeast.

15 This Friday we were within 7. leagues of the shoare, on the coast of Norway: the latitude a south sunne, 58. degrees and a halfe, where we saw three sailes, beside our owne companie: and thus we followed the shoare or land, which lieth north northwest, north, and by west, and northwest and by north, as it doth appeare by the plat.

Anno

Saturday at an East sunne, we came to S. Dunstans Island, which Island I so named. It was off vs East, two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeast: the latitude this day at a south sunne, 59. degrees, 42. minutes. Also the high round mountaine bare East of vs, at a South sunne: and when this hill is East of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lieth North, and halfe a point Westerly, from this saide South sunne, vnto a North sunne twentie leagues Northnorthwest alongst the shoare. S. Dunstans Island. 16

Upon Sunday at sixe of the clocke in the morning, the farthest land that we could see that lay Northnorthwest, was East of vs three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eastwards of the North, which head land I iudge to be Scowtsnesse. At seuen of the clocke, we changed our course, and went North, the winde being at Southsoutheast, and it waxed very thicke and mistie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheast. At a South sunne we lost sight of the Serchethrift, because of the miste, making our way North. And when we lost sight of the shoare, and pinnesse, we were within two leagues and a halfe of the shoare: the last land that we sawe, when this miste came vpon vs, which is to the Northwards of Scowtsnesse, lay Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, and we made our way North, vntill a West sunne fiue leagues. 17

From that vntil Munday three a clocke in the morning, ten leagues, Northnortheast: and then we went North, and by East, because the winde came at the West Southwest with thicke myste: the latitude this day at a South sunne sixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this season we had sight of our Pinnesse againe. 18

From that vntill Tewsday a South sunne North northeast, fourtie foure leagues, and then Northeast. From a South sunne vntill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeast. 19

From that vntill Wednesday, a South sunne North northeast, except the first watch Northeast: then had we the latitude in sixtie seuen degrees, thirtie nine minutes. Frō that vnto a Northwest sunne, eighteene leagues Northeast, and then we were within two leagues of the shore, and saw the high land to the Southwardes of Lowfoote breake out through the miste, and then wee went North and by East. 20

From the sayd Northwest sunne vntill foure of the clocke in the morning North, and by East, ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheast vntill a South sunne, the Latitude being sixtie nine degrees, and a halfe. From that vntill halfe an houre past seuen of the clocke, Northnortheast, eleuen leagues and a halfe, and then wee went Northeast, ten leagues. From that, three leagues and a halfe, East Northeast, and then wee sawe the lande through the cloudes and hazye thwarte on the broade side of vs, the winde being then at the South southwest. 21 22

From that vntill Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning, East Northeast, and to the Northwardes fourtie eight leagues, and then the winde came vp at North, we being aboorde the shore, and thwart of the Chappel, which I suppose is called Kedilwike: then we cast the shippes head to the Seawardes, because the winde was very scant: and then I caused the Pinnesse to beare in with the shore, to see whether she might finde an harborough for the ships or not, and that she found and sawe two roaders ride in the sounde: and also they sawe houses. But notwithstanding, God be praised, the winde enlarged vpon vs, that we had not occasion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinnesse bare her Myssen mast ouer boorde with flagge and all, and lost the flagge: with the mast there fell two men ouer boorde, but God be praysed, they were saued: the flagge was a token, whereby wee might vnderstand whether there were a good harbour there or not. 23 Kedilwike Chappell.

At a North sunne the North cape (which I so named the first voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eastwards of the foresayd Chappell from the Eastermost poynt of it. The North cape so named by Steuen Borough.

Iune.

The sunday we weyed in Corpus Christi Bay, at a Northeast and by East sunne: the Bay is almost halfe a league deepe: the head lande which is Corpus Christi poynt, lyeth Southeast, and by East, one league from the head of the Baye, where we had a great tyde, like a race ouer the flood: the Bay is at the least two leagues ouer: so doe I imagine from the faire forelande to Corpus Christi point tenne leagues Southeast, and by East: It floweth in this Baye, at a South and by West moone full sea. From that we weyed vntill seuen a clocke at afternoone twentie leagues Southeast, and by South: and then we tooke in all our sayles, because it was then verie mystie, and also we met with much yce, that ranne out of the Baye, and then we went South Southeast with our foresayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of the Edward, which bade vs farewell, and then we shot off another piece, and bade her farewell, The seuenth.

fare well: we could not one see the other, because of the thicke mistie: a Northwest sunne, it began somewhat to cleere, and then we saw a head land, and the shoare trended to the Southwest ward, which I iudged to be about Crosse Iland: it was of vs at a noych northwest sunne, west southwest.

8 From this noyth northwest sunne, vntill Sunday, we went Southeast, and this morning we came at anker among the shoales that lie off, of point Looke out, E northeast, and by East sunne, the wind being at East southeast. At this point Looke out, a south Moone maketh a full sea. Cape good fortune lieth from the Ile of Trolles southeast, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out, lieth from Cape Good fortune, East southeast, and betweene them are fiue leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Lookeout East southeast, and halfe a point to the southwards, and betweene them are fiue leagues. There is betweene these two points, a Baye that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of shoales, and dangers. At a southeast sunne we waied, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at East southeast: and at a southeast sunne, we came to an anker, being then a full sea, in fiue fadoms and a halfe water. It lieth at this place where we roade, and also at point Lookeout, foure fadome water. At a West noyth west sunne

9 we waied, and driued to the windewards, vntill Tuesday, a noyth noytheast sunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the riuer Colape, in eight fadome water. Cape S. Bernarde lieth from S. Edmonds point, southeast, and by south, and betwixt them are fiue leagues, and also betwixt them is the Riuer Colape, into which Riuer wee went this morning.

10 The latitude of Colape. Wensday we roade still in the said Riuer, the winde being at noyth: we sent our skiffe a lande to be dyelled: the latitude of the mouth of the Riuer Cola, is fiftie fiue degrees, foytie and eight minuts.

11 A Russe Lodia. Thursday at 6. of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of vs one of the Russe Lodias, rowing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twentie men in her. The Master of the boate presented me with a great loafe of bread, and fiue ringes of bread, which they call Colaches, and foure dried pikes, and a pecke of fine oatemeale, and I gaue vnto the Master of the boate, a combe, and a small glasse: and he declared vnto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to drinke, the tide being somewhat broken, they gently departed. The Masters name was Pheother.

Whereas the tenth day, I sent our pinnesse on shoare to be mended, because she was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter, and three men more to helpe him, the weather chanced so, that it was Sunday, before they could get aboord our shippe. All that time they were without prouision of victuals, but onely a litle bread, which they spent by Thursday at night, thinking to haue come aboord when they had lifted, but wind and weather denied them: insomuch that they were faine to eate grasse, and such weedes, as they could finde then aboue grounde, but fresh water they had plentie, but the meate with some of them could scant frame by reason of their queasie stomackes.

14 From Thursday at afternoone, vntill Sunday in the morning, our barke did ride such a roade sled, that it was to be maruelled, without the helpe of God, how she was able to abide it.

In the bight of the southeast shoare of the riuer Cola, there is a good roade in fiue fadome, & foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you shall haue no lande noyth Noytheast of you then. I prooued with our pinnesse, that the depth goeth on the southeast shoare.

18 Thursday we waied our ankers in the Riuer Cola, and went into the Sea seuen or eight leagues, where we mette with the winde farre noytherly, that of force it constrained vs to goe againe backe into the saide Riuer, where came aboord of vs sundry of their boates, which declared vnto me that they were also bound to the noythwards, a fishing for Noyse, and Salmon, and gaue me liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

Lodias hauing 24. men a peece. As we roade in this riuer, we saw we daily comming downe the riuer many of their Lodias, and they that had leake, had foure and twentie men in them, and at the last they grewe to thirtie saile of them: and amongst the rest, there was one of them whose name was Gabriel, who shewed me very much friendshippe, and he declared vnto me, that all they were bound to Pechora, a fishing for Salmons, and Noyses: insomuch that hee shewed mee by demonstrations, that with a faire winde wee had seuen or eight daies sailing to the Riuer Pechora, so that I was glad of their companye. This Gabriel promised to giue mee warning of shoales, as hee did indeede.

From Colape to Pechora is but 7. or 8. daies sailing.

21 Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gaue me a barrell of meede, and one of his

speciall friends gaue me a barrell of beere, which was carped vpon mens backs, at least two miles.

Sunday we departed from the riuer Cola, with all the rest of the said Lodias, but sailing be- 22
fore the winde, they were all too good for vs: but according to promise, this Gabriel and his friend did often strike their sailes, and tarped for vs forsaking their owne company. The currelie of one Gabriel.

Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we were thwart of Cape S. John. It is to be vnderstood, 23
that from the Cape S. John vnto the riuer of bay that goeth to Pezen, it is all sunke land, and A good y necessary note.
full of shoales and dangers, you shall haue scant two fathom water, and see no land. And this present day we came to an anker thwart off a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the said Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before night there were aboue 20 saile that went into the said creeke, the winde being at the Northeast. We had indifferent good lay d fang.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboord with his skiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with vs ouer the shoales with two small pumy combes, and a steele glasse, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not vngratefull. But notwithstanding, his first company had gotten further to the Northwards.

Wednesday being Midsummer day, we sent our skiffe a land to sound the creeke, where they 24
found it almost drie at a low water. And all the Lodias within were on ground.

Although the harborough were euill, yet the stormy similitude of Northerly windes tempted vs to set our sailes, and we let slip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwayes in such iournyes varieties do chance, when we came vpon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the winde did shrinke so suddenly vpon vs, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could haue slacked the shippe before the winde, we should haue beene on ground on the lee shore, so that we were constrained to let fall an anker vnder our sailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to haue warpe in. Gabriel came out with his skiffe, and so did sundry others also, shewing their good will to helpe vs, but all to no purpose, for they were likely to haue beene drowned for their labor, in so much that I desired Gabriel to lend me his anker, because our owne ankers were too bigge for our skiffe to lay out, who sent me his owne, and borrowed another also and sent it vs. Then we layd out one of those ankers, with a hawser which he had of 140 fathom long, thinking to haue warpe in, but it would not be: for as we shoted vpon the said warpe the anker came home, so that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we rushed in vpon the other small anker that Gabriel sent aboord, and layd that anker to seawards: and then betweene these two ankers we trauersed the shippes head to seawards, and set our foresaile and maine saile, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gat the sea to our friend, and cryed out all that day with our maine coyle.

The Thursday we went roome with Cape S. John, where we found indifferent good rode 25
for a Northnortheast wind, and for a need, for a North and by West winde.

Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the 26
winde at Eastsoutheast, and plyed for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawser: & as soone as we were at an anker, the foresaid Gabriel came aboord of vs, with three or foure more of their small boats, and brought with them of their Aquauitæ and meade, protesting vnto me very much friendship, and reioyced to see vs againe, declaring that they earnestly thought that we had been lost. This Gabriel declared vnto me, that they had saued both the ankers and our hawser, and after we had thus communed, I caused 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gaue them figs, and made them such cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of them, there came another of their skiffes aboord, with one who was a Kerill, whose name afterwards I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, and Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Colay, which is not far from the riuers mouth. This foresaid Kerill said vnto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gaue him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene sufficient. And as I continued in one accustomed maner, that if the present which they brought were worth interteinment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, & therfore I regarded him but little. And thus we ended, and they tooke their leaue and went a shore. At their comming a shore, Gabriel and Kerill were at vnconuenient words, and by the eares, as I vnderstand: the cause was because the one had better interteinment then the other: but you shall vnderstand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, because there were 17 lodias of Kerils company who tooke his part and but 2 of Gabriels company.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former Twentie eight lodias belonging to Cola.
company and neighbors, which were in number 28 of them at the least, and all of them belonging to the riuer Colay.

And as I vnderstood, Kerill made reckoning that ꝑ hawser which was left in his anker should 27
haue

haue beene his owne, and at first would not deliuer it to our boat, insomuch that I sent him word that I would complaine vpon him, wherupon he deliuered the hawser to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I sent our boat on shore to fetch fresh water and wood, and at their comming on shore this Rexill welcomed our men most gently, and also bankered them: and in the meane time caused some of his men to fill our barricoes with water, and to helpe our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his best silke coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, and brought his present with him: and thus hauing more respect vnto his present then to his person, because I perceiued him to be vainegloious, I bade him welcome, and gaue him a dish of figges: and then he declared vnto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to shew me pleasure, and not Gabriel, who was but a priests sonne.

28 After their departure from vs, we weyed, and plyed all the ebbe to the winde ward, the winde being Northerly, & towards night it waxed very stormy, so that of force we were constrayned to go roome with Cape S. John againe, in which storme we lost our skiffe at our sterne, that we bought at Wardhouse, and there we rode vntill the fourth of July. The latitude of Cape S. John is 66 degrees 50 minuts. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. John is of height from the full sea marke, as I iudge 10 fathoms, being cleane without any trees growing, & also without stones or rocks, and consists onely of blacke earth, which is so rotten, that if any of it fall into the sea, it will swimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the shore you shall not haue aboue 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

The latitude of Cape S. John 66 degrees 50 minuts.

Earth swimming about water like wood.

Iulie.

4 Saturday at a Northnorthwest sunne, the winde came at Eastnortheast, & then we weyed, and plyed to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues shot past the Cape, we saw a house standing in a valley, which is dainty to be seene in those parts, and by and by I saw three men on the top of the hill. Then I iudged them, as it afterwards prooued, that they were men which came from some other place to set traps to take vermin for their furres, which trappes we did perceiue very thicke alongst the shore as we went.

5 Sunday at an East sunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Rusles lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiuing the most part of the Lodias to be gone, we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed, and spent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

6 Munday at a South sunne it was high water. All alongst the coast it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full sea: and as we were a weying we espied the Rusle Lodias, which we first lost. They came out of a creeke amongst the sandy hilles, which hilles begynne 15 leagues Northnortheast from Cape S. John.

7 Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheast from the place where we saw the Rusles come out: and there the Rusles harboured themselues within a sounke banke, but there was not water enough for vs.

At a North sunne we weyed, and plyed to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, vntill a South sunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende those sandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie North and by West, South and by East, and Northnorthwest, and to the Westwards, and there the water beginneth to waxe deepe.

The latitude 68 degrees and a halfe.

At a Northwest sunne, we came to an anker within halfe a league of the shore, where we had great plenty of fish, both haddocks and cods, riding in 10 fathom water.

8 Wednesday we weyed, and plyed neerer the head land, which is called Caninos, the winde being at East and by North.

9 Thursday the winde being skant we turned to windewards the ebbe, to get about Caninos: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degrees 40 minuts.

10 Friday we turned to the windeward of the ebbe, but to no purpose: and as we rode at an anker, we saw the similitude of a storme rising at Northnorthwest, and could not tell where to get rode nor succor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: and that land which we rode vnder with that winde was a lee shore. And as I was musing what was best to be done, I saw a saile come out of a creeke vnder the the foresaid Caninos, which was my friend Gabriel, who forsooke his harborough and company, and came as neere vs as he might, and pointed vs to the Eastwards, and then we weyed, and followed him, and went East and by South, the winde being at Westnorthwest, and very misky.

11 Saturday we went East southeast & followed Gabriel, and he brought vs into an harborough called

called Morgiouets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz, and we had vpon the barre going in two fa- Morgiouets an harbor.
dome and a fourth part: and after we were past in ouer the barre, it waxed deeper, for we had 5 fa-
thoms, 4 and a halfe, and 3 fathom, &c. our barke being mored, I sent some of our men to shoare
to prouide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we Drift wood.
found plenty of yoong fowle, as gulles, seapies, and others, whereof the Russes would eat none,
whereof we were nothing sorry, for there came the more to our part.

Sunday our men cut wood on shoare, and brought it aboord, and we balasted our shippe with 12
stones.

This morning Gabriel saw a smoke on the way who rowed vnto it with his skiffe, which smoke
was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northwest sunne he came aboord againe,
and brought with him a Samoyd, which was but a yong man: his apparell was then strange vn- A Samoyd.
to vs, and he presented me with three yoong wilde geese, and one yoong barnacle.

Munday I sent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought vs a boord eight barricoes 13
of fresh water: the latitude of the said Morgiouets is sixtie eight degrees and a tierse. It floweth
there at a Southsouthwest moone full sea, and hyeth two fadome and a halfe water.

At a Westnorthwest sunne we departed from this place, and went East 25 leagues, and then 14
saw an Island North and by West of vs eight leagues, which Island is called Dolgoieue: and Dolgoieue an Island.
from the Eastermost part of this Island, there lyeth a sand East and by South seuen leagues This sand seemeth to be it whereupon Charles Jackman perished.
long.

Wednesday at a North and by East sunne, Swetinoze was South of vs 5 leagues.

This day at afternoone we went in ouer the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had vpon the Pechora.
barre but one fathom water.

Thursday we road still. 15

Friday I went on shoare, and obserued the variation of the compasse, which was three de- 16
grees and a halfe from the North to the West: the latitude this day was sixtie nine degrees tenne 17
minuts. The variation of the compas.

From two or three leagues to the Eastward of Swetinos, vntil the entring of the riuer Pechora,
it is all sandy hilles, and towards Pechora the sandy hilles are very low.

It higheth on the barre of Pechora foure foot water, and it floweth there at a Southwest moone
a full sea.

Munday at a North and by East sunne, we weyed, and came out ouer the sayd dangerous 20
barre, where we had but flue foot water, insomuch that we found a foot lesse water comming out
then we did going in. I thinke the reason was, because when we went in, the winde was off the
sea, which caused the sandes to breake on either side of vs, and we kept in the smoothest betweene
the breaches, which we durst not haue done, except we had seene the Russes to haue gone in be-
fore vs: and at our comming out the winde was off the shoare, and fayre wether, and then the sands
did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God, that our shippe did draw so lit-
tle water.

When we were a seaboord the barre, the winde scanted vpon vs, and was at Eastsoutheast, in- 21
somuch that we stopped the ebbes, and plyed all the flouds to the windewards, and made our way
Eastnortheast.

Tuesday at a Northwest sunne we thought that we had seene land at East, or East & by North
of vs: which afterwards prooued to be a monstrous heape of yce.

Within a little more then halfe an houre after we first saw this yce, we were inclosed within Ice.
it before we were aware of it, which was a featefull sight to see: for, for the space of sixe houres, it
was as much as we could do to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of yce, and beare roomer
from another, with as much winde as we might beare a coarse. And when we had past from the
danger of this yce, we lay to the Eastwards close by the winde.

The next day we were againe troubled with the yce. 22

Thursday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had the 23
latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minuts. The latitude 70 degrees. 11 minuts.

We had not runne past two houres Northwest, the winde being at Northnortheast and North-
east and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of yce: we wethered the head
of it, and lay a time to the seawards, and made way West 6 leagues.

Friday at a Southeast sunne, we cast about to the Eastwards, the winde being at Northnorth- 24
est: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minuts.

On S. James his day bolting to the windewards, we had the latitude at noone in seuentie de- 25
grees twentie minuts. The same day at a Southwest sunne, there was a monstrous Whale

aboord of vs, so were to our side that we might haue thrust a sword or any other weapon in him, which we durst not doe for feare he should haue ouerthrowen our shippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs shouted, and with the cry that we made he departed from vs: there was as much a boue water of his backe as the height of our pinnelle, and at his falling downe, he made such a terrible noyse in the water, that a man would greatly haue marueiled, except he had knowne the cause of it: but, God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him. And a little after we spyed certaine Ilands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fathom, and blacke oze: we came to an anker at a Northeast sunne, & named the Island S. James his Iland, where we found fresh water.

S. Iames Island.

26 Sunday, much winde blowing, we rode still.

27 Munday I went on shoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minuts: the variation of the compasse, was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the West.

The variation of the compas 7 degrees and a halfe.

Tuesday we piped to the Westwards alongst the shoare, the winde being at Northwest, and as I was about to come to anker, we saw a saile comming about the point, whereunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I sent a skiffe aboord of him, and at their comming aboord, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man said he had beene in our company in the riuer Colay, and also declared vnto them, that we were past the way which should bring vs to the Ob. This land, said he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to say, the New land: and then he came aboord him selfe with his skiffe, and at his comming aboord he tolde me the like, and said further, that in this Noua Zembla is the highest mountaine in the world, as he thought, and that Camen Bolshay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I saw it not: he made me also certaine demonstrations of the way to the Ob, and seemed to make haste on his owne way, being very lothe to tary, because the peere was farre past, and his neighbour had set Pechora, and not he: so I gaue him a steele glasse, two pewter spoones, and a paire of veluet sherbed knives: and then he seemed somewhat the more willing to tary, and shewed me as much as he knew to our purpose: he also gaue me 17 wilde geese, and shewed me that foure of their lodias were vp uen perforce from Caninoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Lolhake.

The relation of Lolhake. The way to the riuer of Obbe. A mightie hill in Noua Zembla.

Lolhake.

29 Wednesday, as we piped to the Eastwards, wee espyed another saile, which was one of this Lolhaks company, and we bare roome, and spake with him, who in like sort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done.

30 Thursday, we piped to the East wards, the winde being at Eastnorthest.

31 Friday, the gale of winde began to increase, and came Westerly withall, so that by a high west sunne we were at an anker among the Ilands of Vaigats, where we saw two small lodias, the one of them came aboord of vs, and presented me with a great loafe of bread: and they tolde me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who seemed to be the chiefest among them in killing of the morse.

The Islands of Vaigats.

There were some of their company on shore, which did chase a white beare ouer the high cliffe into the water, which beare, the lodia that was aboord of vs, killed in our sight.

This day there was a great gale of winde at North, and we saw so much yce driuing a seabord, that it was then no going to sea.

August.

1 Saturday I went a shore, and there I saw three morses, that they had killed: they held one teeth of a morse, which was not great, at a noble, and one white beare skinne at three nobles and two nobles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoids on the great Iland, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houses, but only couerings made of deere skinnes, set ouer them with stakes: they are men expert in shooting, and haue great plenty of deere.

Samoyds.

This night there fell a cruell storme, the winde being at West.

2 Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of snow, and we rode with two ankers a head.

3 Munday we weyed and went roome with another Island, which was fiue leagues Eastnorth east from vs: and there I met againe with Lolhake, and went on shore with him, and he brought me to a heape of the Samoyds idols, which were in number aboue 300, the worst, and the most vnartificiall worke that euer I saw: the eyes and mouthes of sundry of them were bloudy, they had the shape of men, women, and children, very grossly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was alsa sprinkled with bloud. Some of their idols were an olde sticke with two or three notches, made with a knife, in it. I saw much of the footing of the said Samoyds, and of the sleds that they ride in. There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, and there I saw a deere skinne which the foules had spoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as

The maners of the Samoyds.

as high as their mouthes, being all bloudy, I thought that to be the table whereon they offered their sacrifice: I saw also the instruments, whereupon they had roasted flesh, and as farre as I could perceiue, they make their fire directly vnder the spit.

Lolhake being there present, tolde me that these Samoyds were not so hurtfull as they of Ob are, and that they haue no houses, as in deed I saw none, but onely tents made of deere skinnes, which they vnderpoppe with stakes and poles: their boats are made of deere skinnes, and when they come on shoare they cary their boates with them vpon their backes: for their carriages they haue no other beastes to serue them, but deere onely. As for bread and corne they haue none, except the Rustes bring it to them: their knowledge is very base, for they know no letter. The Samoyds of the Ob, very hurtfull and shrewd people.

Tuesday we turned for the harborough where Lolhaks barke lay, whereas before we road vnder an Iland. And there he came aboord of vs, and said vnto me: if God send winde and weather to serue, I will goe to the Ob with you, because the masters were skant at these Islandes of Vaigats: but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he said he would goe to the riuer of Namezay, where the people were not altogether so sauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: he shewed me that they will shoote at all men to the vttermost of their power, that can not speake their speech. 4

Wednesday we saw a terrible heape of yce approching neere vnto vs, and therefore we thought good with all speed possible to depart from thence, and so I returned to the Westwards againe, to the Iland where we were the 31 of July. 5

Thursday I went a shoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and the variation of the compasse was 8 degrees from the North to the West. 6 The latitude. The variation of the compas.

Lolhake and the two small Lodias of Pechora departed from this Iland, while I was on shoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I marueiled why he departed so suddenly, and went ouer the shoales amongst the Islands where it was impossible for vs to follow them. But after I perceiued them to be weather wise.

Friday we road still, the winde being at Northnortheast, with a cruell storme. The yce came in so abundantly about vs at both ends of the Island that we road vnder, that it was a fearefull sight to behold: the storme continued with snow, raine, and haile plenty. 7

Saturday we road still also, the storme being somewhat abated, but it was altogether misty, that we were not able to see a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeast and by East. 8

Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Island, the winde being at Southeast and as we were cleere a sea boord the small Islandes and shoales, it came so thicke with mistes, that we could not see a base shotte from vs. Then we tooke in all our sailes to make little way. 9

At a Southeast sunne it wared cleere, and then we set our sayles, and lay close by the winde to the Southwards alongst the Islands of Vaigats. At a West sunne we tooke in our sayle againe because of the great mist and raine. We sounded at this place, and had fiue and twenty fathoms water, and soft blacke ooze, being three leagues from the shoare, the winde being at South and by East, but still misty.

Sunday at an East sunne we sounded, and had 40 fathoms, and ooze, still misty: at noone we sounded againe, and had 36 fathom, still misty. 10

Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne, we let fall our anker, in three and twenty fadome, the mist still continuing. 11

Wednesday at three of the clocke in the morning the mist brake vp, the winde being at Northeast by East, and then we saw part of the Islands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went Eastsoutheast close by the winde: at a West sunne we were at an anker vnder the Southwest part of the said Vaigats, and then I sent our skiffe to shoare with three men in her, to see if they might speake with any of the Samoyds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie. 12

Thursday the winde came Westerly, so that we were faine to seeke vs another place to ride in, because the winde came a seaboord land, and although it were misty, yet we followed the shoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of vs, we let fall our anker. At a West sunne the mist brake vp, so that we might see about vs, and then we might perceiue that we were entred into a sound. 13

This afternoone we tooke in two or three skiffes lading of stones to balast our shippe withall. It hereby heere foure foot water, and floweth by fits, vncertaine to be iudged.

Friday we road still in the sound, the winde at Southwest, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it wared againe misty. 14 The vncertaintie of ebbing & flowing.

15 Saturday there was much winde at West, and much raine, and then againe mistie.

16 Sunday was very misty, and much winde.

17 Sunday very misty, the winde at Westnorthwest.

18 Tuesday was also misty, except at noone: then the sunne brake out through the mist, so that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minuts: the afternoone was misty againe, the winde being at Westnorthwest.

19 Wednesday at three of the clocke afternoone the mist brake vp, and the winde came at Eastnorth east, and then we weyed, and went South & by East, vntill seuen of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to haue had sight of the sandy hilles that are to the Eastwards of the riuer Pechora. At a Northwest sonne we tooke in our maine saile, because the winde increased, and went with foure sailes West-northwest, the winde being at Eastnortheast: at night there grew so terrible a storme, that we saw not the like, although we had indured many stormes since we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke such monstrous and terrible seas, without the great helpe of God, who neuer faileth them at need, that put their sure trust in him.

20 Thursday at a Southsouthwest sunne, thanks be to God, the storme was at the highest, & then the winde began to slake, and came Northerly withall, and then I reckoned the Westermost point of the riuer Pechora to be South of vs 15 leagues. At a Westsouthwest sunne we set our maine saile, and lay close by the winde, the winde being at Northwest and by North, making but little way, because the billow went so high: at midnight we cast about, and the shippe caped Northnortheast, making little way.

They were within 15 leagues of Pechora.

21 Friday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minuts, and we sounded, and had 29 fathoms sand, and in maner stremp ground. At a West sunne we cast about to the Westwards, and a little after the winde came vp at West.

23 Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a tierce, we sounded heere, and had nine and fortie fathoms and ooze, which ooze signified that we drew towards Nova Zembla.

They returne the 22 of August.

And thus we being out of all hope to discouer any more to the Easterward this yere, we thought it best to returne, and that for three causes.

The first, the continuall Northeast and Northerly windes, which haue more power after a man is past to the Eastwards of Caninos, then in any place that I doe know in these Northerly regions.

Second, because of the great & terrible abundance of yce, which we saw with our eyes, and we doubt greater store abideth in those parts: I aduentured already somewhat too farre in it, but I thanke God for my safe deliuerance from it.

Third, because the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his stormes: and therefore I resolued to take the first best winde that God should send, & plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to see if we might do any good there, if God would permit it.

This present Saturday we saw very much yce, and were within two or three leagues of it: it shewed vnto vs as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might see from Northwest of vs to the Eastwards: and this afternoone the Lord sent vs a little gale of winde at South, so that we bare cleere off the Westermost part of it, thanks be to God. And then against night it waxed calme againe, and the winde was at Southwest: we made our way vntill Sunday noone Northwest and by West, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at Southwest: there was a billow, so that we could not discerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reasonable gesse.

24

25 Munday there was a pretty gale of winde at South, so that we went West and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minuts: we had little winde all day: at Westnorthwest sunne we sounded, and had 29 fathoms, blacke sandy ooze, & then we were South east 5 leagues from the Northeast part of the Iland Colgoiue.

26 Tuesday, the winde all Westerly, we plied to the winde wards.

27 Wednesday, the winde was also Westerly, and calme: we had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minuts, we being within 3 leagues of the North part of the Iland Colgoiue.

28 Thursday, we went roome about the Westermost part of the Iland, seeking where we might finde a place to ride in for a Northwest winde, but could finde none, and then we cast about againe to the seawards, and the winde came at Westsouthwest, and this morning we had plenty of snow.

29 Friday, the winde being at Southwest and by West, we plyed to the windewards.

Saturday, the winde being at South, we plyed to the Westwards, and at afternoone the mist brake vp, and then we might see the land seuen or eight leagues to the Eastwards of Canino: we

we ſounded a little before and had 35. fadomes and oze. And a while after we ſounded againe, and had 19. fadome and ſand: then wee were within 3. leagues and a halfe of the ſhoze, and towards night there came downe ſo much wind, that we were faine to bring our ſhip a trie, and laid her head to the Weſtwards.

Sunday, the winde became moze calme, and then it waxed very miſtie: At noone wee caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the wind being at South, and ranne eight howers on that booꝛd, and then we caſt about and caped Weſt ſouthweſt: we ſounded and had 32. fathom. s, and tough oaze like clay. 30

Munday we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that wee might kill ſome fiſh if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Nuſe, which Nuſes were there ſo plentie, that they would ſcarcely ſuffer any other fiſh to come neere the hookes: the ſaid Nuſes carie away ſundry of our hookes and leads. 31

A little after at a Weſt Sunne, the winde began to blow ſtoꝛmie at Weſt ſouthweſt, ſo that we were faine to worie and foꝛſake our fiſhing ground, and went cloſe by the wind Southweſt and Southweſt and by Weſt, making our way South ſouthweſt.

September.

TUeſday at a Weſt Sunne, we ſounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeſhels: I reckoned Caninoze to be 24. leagues Noꝛthnoꝛtheaſt from vs. 1

The eleuenth day we arriued at Colmogro, and there wee Wintered, expecting the approch of the next Sommer to proceed farther in our intended Diſcouerie foꝛ the Ob: which (by reaſon of our imploiments to Wardhouſe the next Spring foꝛ the ſearch of ſome Engliſh ſhips) was not accordingly perfoꝛmed. 11

A diſcourſe of the honourable receiuing into England of the firſt Ambaſſador from the Emperor of Ruſſia, in the yeere of Chriſt, 1556. and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queene Mary, ſeruing for the third voiage to Moſcouie. Regiſtred by M. John Incent Protonotarie.

IT is here recoꝛded by writing and autenticall teſtimonie, partly foꝛ memoꝛie of things done, and partly foꝛ the veritie to be known to poſteritie in time to come, that whereas the moſt high and mightie Euan Vaſiliuich Emperoꝛ of all Ruſſia, great duke of Volidemer, Moſcouia, and Nouogrode, Emperoꝛ of Caſſan, and of Aſtrachan, loꝛd of Piskie, and great duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permiskie, Viatskie, Boligarskie, and Sibieriskie, Emperoꝛ and great duke of many others, as Nouogrode in the nether countries, Charnogoskie, Rizanskie, Volodſkie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Roſtoskie, Yeraſlaueskie, Bialazarskie, Woodarskie, Opdorskie, Condinskie, and many other countries, and loꝛd ouer all thoſe partes, in the yeere of our Loꝛd God, ending the account of the Latin church, 1556. ſent by the ſea from the poꝛt of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, his right honoꝛable ambaſſadoꝛ ſirnamed Oſep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the moſt famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine & Brabant, counties of Haſpurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambaſſadoꝛ and Oꝛatoꝛ with certaine letters credenſly conceiued, together with certain preſents and gifts mentioned in the foote of this memoꝛial, as a manifeſt argument and token of a mutuall amitie and friendſhip to be made and continued betweene their maieſties and ſubiects reſpectiuely, foꝛ the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Oꝛatoꝛ was the 20. day of July, imbarked and ſhipped, in, and vpon a good Engliſh ſhip named the Edward Bonauenture, belõging to the Gouernour, Conſuls and company of Engliſh merchants, Richard Chanceler being grand Pilot, and Iohn Buckland maſter of the ſaid ſhip. In which was laden at the aduenture of the foꝛeſaid Ambaſſadoꝛ, and merchants at ſeuerall accounts, goods and merchandizes, viz. in waxe, traine oile, tallow, furres, felts, patne and ſuch like, to the ſumme of 20000. li. ſterling, together with 16. Ruſſies attendant vpon the perſon of the ſaid Ambaſſadoꝛ. Ouer and aboue ten other Ruſſies ſhipped within the ſaid Baie of S. Nicholas, in one other good ſhip to the ſaid company alſo belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the ſaid Oꝛatoꝛs and merchants to the value of 6000. li. ſterling, as by the muſles and letters of lading of the ſaid ſeueral ſhips (whereunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ſhips comming in good oꝛder into the ſeas, & trauerſing the Foure ſhips.

the same in their iourney towards the coast of England, were by contrary windes and extreme tempests of weather seuered the one from the other, that is to say, the said Bona Speranza with two other English ships also appertaining to the said company, the one surnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driuen on the coast of Norway into Dyenton water, where the sayd Confidentia was seene to perish on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie persons seemed to Winter there, whereof no certaintie at this present day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary, arriued in the Thames nigh London the eighteene day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and seuen. The Edward Bonauenture trauersing the Seas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of November of the aforesayd yeere of our Lorde, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and sixe, arriued within the Scottish coast in a Baie named Pettislego, where by outragious tempests and extreme stormes, the sayd ship being beaten from her ground tackles, was driuen vpon the Rockes on shore, where she brake and split in pieces, in such sort, as the grand Pilot vsing all carefulnesse for the safetie of the bodie of the sayde Ambassadour and his traine, taking the boate of the sayd ship, trusting to attaine the shore, and so to saue and preserue the body, and seuen of the companie or attendaunts of the sayde Ambassadour, the same boate by rigorous waues of the Seas, was by darke night ouerwhelmed and drowned, wherein perished not onely the bodie of the said grand Pilot, with seuen Ruffies, but also diuers of the Mariners of the sayd ship: the noble personage of the sayde Ambassadour with a few others (by Gods preseruation and speciall fauour) onely with much difficultie saued. In which Shipwracke not onely the sayde ship was broken, but also the whole masse and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and rauenous people of the countrey thereunto adioyning, rifled, spoyled, and caried away, to the manifest losse and vtter destruction of all the lading of the sayd ship, and together with the ship, apparell, ordinaunce and furniture belonging to the company, in value of one thousand pounds, of all which was not restored towards the costes and charges to the summe of 500. li. sterling.

The Edward Bonauenture arriued in Scotland, in the Baie of Pettislego, Nouember 7. 1556.

Rich. Chancelor drowned.

As soone as by letters addressed to the sayd companie, and in London deliuered the first of December last past, it was to them certainely knowen of the losse of their Pilote, men, goods and ship, the same merchaunts with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes maiesties most gracious and fauourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the counsell of Scotland for the gentle comforment and entertainment of the sayde Ambassadour, his traine and companie, with preseruation and restitution of his goods, as in such miserable cases, to Christian pitie, princely honour and meere Iustice appertaineth, but also addressed two Gentlemen of good learning, grauitie, and estimation, videlicet, Master Lawrence Hussie doctor of the Ciuile lawe, and George Gilpin with mony, and other requisites into the Realme of Scotland, to comforte, ayde, assist, and relieue him and his there, and also to conduct the Ambassadour into England, sending with them by poste a Taimach or Speachman for the better furniture of the seruice of the sayde Ambassadour, trusting thereby to haue the more ample and speedie redresse of restitution: which personages vsing diligence, arriued at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the sayde moneth of December, who first visiting the sayd Ambassadour, declaring the causes of their comming and Commission, shewing the letters addressed in his fauour, the order giuen them for his solace and furniture of all such things as hee would haue, together with their daily and readie seruice to attend vpon his person and affaires, repaired consequently vnto the Dowager Queene, deliuering the letters.

Whereupon, they receiued gentle answeres, with hope and comfort of speedie restitution of the goods, apparell, iewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene sent first certaine Commissioners with an Harold of Armes to Pettislego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all such persons (no degree excepted) as had any part of such goods as were spoyled and taken out or from the Ship, to bring them in, and to restore the same with such further order as her grace by aduise of her counsell thought expedient: by reason whereof, not without great labours, paynes and charges (after long time) diuers small parcels of Waxe, and other small trifling things of no value, were by the poorer sort of the Scottes brought to the Commissioners, but the Iewels, rich apparell, presents, gold, siluer, costly furres, and such like, were conueied away, concealed and vtterly embezelled. Whereupon, the Queene at the request of the sayd Ambassadour, caused diuers persons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called personally before her princely presence, to answer to the said spoile, & really to exhibite and bring in all such things as were spoiled and violently taken, & caried out of the same, wherof

whereof not onely good teſtimonie by writing was ſhewed, but alſo the things themſelues found in the handes of the Scottiſh ſubiects, who by ſubtile and craftie dealings, by connyuence of the commiſſioners, ſo vſed (or rather abuſed) themſelues towards the ſame Dyaton and his attendants, that no effectuall reſtitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendaunce and charges, the 14. day of February next enſuing, diſtruſting any reall and effectuall rendring of the ſayd goods and merchandizes and other the premiſſes, vpon leaue obtained of the ſayd Queene, departed towards England, hauing attending vpon him the ſaid two Engliſh gentlemen and others (leauing neuertheleſſe in Scotland three Engliſhmen to purſue the deliuerie of ſuch things as were collected to haue bene ſent by ſhip to him into England: which being in Aprill next, and not being imbarked for London, was not at this preſent day here arriued) came the 18. day of February to Barwike, within the dominion and Realme of England, where he was by the Queenes maieſties letters and commaundement, honourably receiued, vſed and intertained by the right honorable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the Eaſt marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the daily iourneis done ordinarily did lie, in ſuch order, maner and forme, as to a perſonage of ſuch eſtate appertaineth: he proſecuting his voiage vntill the 27. of February, approched the citie of London within twelue Engliſh miles, where hee was receiued with foure ſcore merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as well in order of men ſeruants in one vniforme liuerie, as alſo in, and vpon good horſes and geldings, who conducting him to a merchaunts houſe foure miles from London, receiued there a quantitie of golde, veluet and ſilke, with all furniture thereto requiſite, wherewith he made him a riding garment, repoſing himſelfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the laſt day of February, he was by the merchants aduenturers for Ruſſia, to the number of one hundred and foortie perſons, and ſo many or more ſeruaunts in one liuerie as aboue ſaid, conducted towards the Citie of London, where by the way hee had not onely the ſhooting of the Foxe and ſuch like ſhoes ſhewed him, but alſo by the Queenes maieſties commaundement was receiued and embraced by the right honourable Viſcount Montague, ſent by her grace for his intertainment: hee being accompanied with diuers luſtie knights, eſquiers, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horſes, led him to the South parts of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchaunts rich apparelled, was preſented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footecloth of Orient crimoſin veluet, enriched with gold laces, all furniſhed in moſt glorious faſhion, of the preſent, and gift of the ſayde merchaunts: whereupon, the Ambaſſadour at inſtant deſire, mounted, riding on the way towardes Smithfield barres, the firſt limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The lord Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their ſcarlet did receiue him, and ſo riding through the Citie of London in the middle betweene the ſayd lord Maior and Viſcount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable perſonages riding before, and a large troupe of ſeruaunts and apprentiſes following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and pleaſure of the people running plentifully on all ſides, and repleniſhing all ſtreetes in ſuch ſort as no man without difficultie might paſſe) into his lodging ſituate in Fanchurch ſtreete, where was prouided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, ouer and aboue the gallant furniture of the whole houſe, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all ſortes, to furniſh and ſerue him at all meales, and other ſeruices during his abode in London, which was, as is vnderwritten, vntill the third day of May: during which time, daily, diuers Aldermen and the graue perſonages of the ſayd companie, did viſite him, prouiding all kind of victuals for his table and his ſeruants, with all ſortes of Officers to attend vpon him in good ſort and condition, as to ſuch an Ambaſſadour of honour doth, and ought to appertaine.

His departure from Scotland towards England.

1557. Feb. 27.

His honorable receiuing into the Citie of London.

It is alſo to be remembred that at his firſt entrance into his chamber, there was preſented vnto him on the Queenes maieſties behalfe, for a gift and preſent, and his better furniture in apparell, one rich piece of cloth of tiſſue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of gold raiſed with crimoſin veluet, a piece of crimoſin veluet in grayne, a piece of purple veluet, a piece of Damaſke purfled, a piece of crimoſin damaſke, which honeſt thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreſhing and preparing himſelfe and his traine with thinges requiſite, hee abode expecting the king maieſties repaire out of Flaunders into England, whoſe highneſſe arriuing the one and twentie of March, the ſame Ambaſſadour the ſixt and twentieth of March, being the Annunciation our Ladie (the day he tooke his leaue from the Emperour his maſter) was moſt honourably brought to the King and Queenes maieſties court at Weſtminſter, where accompanied firſt with the ſayd Viſcount and other notable perſonages, and the merchants, hee arriuing at Weſtminſter bridge, was there receiued with fire torches, conducted into a ſtately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treaſurer, Priuie ſeale, Admirall, biſhop of Elie and other

coun-

counsellers, hee was visited and saluted: and consequently was brought vnto the Kings and Queenes maiesties presence, sitting vnder a stately cloth of honour, the chamber most richlie decked and furnished, and most honourably presented. Where, after that hee had deliuered his letters, made his Oration, giuen two timber of Sables, and the report of the same made both in English and Spanish, in most louing maner embraced, was with much honour and high entertainment, in sight of a great confluence of people, lordes and ladies estsoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by assignement of the Kings and Queenes maiesties, repaired, and conferred with him secretely two graue counsellers, that is, the lord bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretarie to their highnesse, who after diuers secret talkes and conference, reported to their highnesse their proceedings, the grauitie, wisedome, and stately behauiour of the sayd Ambassadour, in such sort as was much to their maiesties contentations.

A league and articles of amitie concluded and confirmed vnder the great seale of England.

Finally, concluding vpon such treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes maiesties most graciously vnder the great seale of England, to him by the said counsellers deliuered, doth appeare.

The foure and twentieth of Aprill, being the feast of S. George, wherein was celebrated the solemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Westminster, the same lord Ambassadour was estsoones required to haue audience: and therefore conducted from the sayd lodging to the court by the right noble the lordes Talbot and Lumley to their maiesties presence (where after his Oration made, and thankes both giuen and receiued) hee most honourably tooke his leaue with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, hee was with speciall honour ledde into the Chappell, where before the Kings and Queenes maiesties, in sight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a stately seate, wherein, hee accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lordes last aboue mentioned, and many other honourable personages, was present at the whole seruice, in ceremonies which were to him most acceptable: the diuine seruice ended, he estsoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and so repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people vniuersally, as before.

Foure goodly ships of the merchants prouided for Russia, 1557.

The time of the yeere hasting the profection and departure of the Ambassadour, the merchants hauing prepared foure goodly and well trimmed shippes laden with all kindes of merchandizes apte for Russia, the same Ambassadour making prouision for such things as him pleased, the same shippes in good order valed downe the River of Thames, from London to Grauesende, where the same Ambassadour with his trayne and furniture, was imbarked towards his voyage homeward, which God prosper in all felicitie.

It is also to bee remembred, that during the whole abode of the sayde Ambassadour in England, the Agentes of the sayde merchaunts did not onely prosecute and pursue the matter of restitution in Scotland, and caused such things to bee laden in an English shippe hired purposely to conuey the Ambassadours goods to London, there to bee deliuered to him, but also during his abode in London, did both inuite him to the Maior, and diuers worshipfull mens houses, feasting and banketting him right friendly, shewing vnto him the most notable and commendable sightes of London, as the kings palace and house, the Churches of Westminster and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and such like memorable spectacles. And also the said nine and twentie day of Aprill, the sayd merchaunts assembling themselues together in the house of the Drapers hall of London, exhibited, and gaue vnto the sayde Ambassadour, a notable supper garnished with Musike, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of Wine being drunke to him in the name and liew of the whole companie, it was signified to him that the whole companie with most liberall and friendly hearts, did frankelie giue to him and his, all maner of costes and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London, during his abode there, and vntill setting of saile aboord the ship, requesting him to accept the same in good part, as a testimonie and witnesse of their good hearts, zeale and tendernesse towards him and his countrey.

It is to be considered that of the Bona Speranza, no worde nor knowledge was had at this present day, nor yet of the arriuall of the ships or goods from Scotland.

The third of May the Ambassadour departed from London to Grauesend, accompanied with diuers Aldermen and merchaunts, who in good gard set him aboord the noble ship, the Primrose Admirall to the Fleete, where leaue was taken on both sides and partes after many embracements and diuers farewels not without expressing of teares.

Memorandum, that the first day of May the counsellers, videlicet, the bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes maiesties repayring to the lord

Ambassa-

ambaſſadour did not onely deliuer vnto him their highneſſe letters of recommendations vnder the great ſeale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but alſo on their maieſties behalfe, gaue, and deliuered certaine notable preſents to the Emperours perſon, and alſo gifts for the lord Ambaſſadours proper vſe and behoofe, as by the particulars vnder written appeareth, with ſuch further good words and commendations, as the more friendly haue not beene heard: whereby it appeareth howe well affected their honours bee to haue and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their ſubiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes maieſties haue ſhewed of their princely munificences and liberalities, ſo haue likewiſe the merchaunts and ſelowſhip of the Aduenturers, for and to Ruſſia, manifeſted to the world their good wils, mindes and zeales borne to this new commenſed voyage, as by the diſcourſe aboue mentioned, and other the notable acts ouer long to bee recited in this preſent memoriall, doth and may moſt clearely appeare, the like whereof is not in any preſident or hiſtory to be ſhewed.

Forſmuch as it may bee doubted how the Ship named the Edward Bonauenture, receiued ſhipwracke, what became of the goods, how much they were ſpoiled and decined, how little reſtored, what charges and expenſes enſued, what perſonages were drowned, how the reſt of the Ships either arriued or periſhed, or how the diſpoſition of almightie God hath wrought his pleaſure in them, how the ſame ambaſſadour hath bene after the miſerable caſe of ſhipwracke in Scotland vnreuerently abuſed, and conſequently into England receiued and conducted, there intertained, vſed, honoured, and finally in good ſafetie towards his returne and repaire furniſhed, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly diſmiſſed, to the intent that the truth of the premiſſes may bee to the moſt mightie Emperour of Ruſſia, ſincerely ſignified in eſchewment of all euents and miſfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambaſſadours perſon, traine and goods, this preſent memoriall is written and autentikly made, and by the ſayde Ambaſſadour his ſeruaunts, whoſe names bee vnderwritten, and mine in preſence of the Notarie, and witneſſes vndernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Giuen the day, moneth, and yeere vnderwritten, of which inſtrument into euery of the ſayde Ships, one teſtimoniall is deliuered, and the firſt remayneth with the ſayd compame in London.

Giftes ſent to the King and Queenes maieſties of England by *the Emperour of Ruſsia, by the report of the Ambaſſadour, and ſpoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.*

1 Firſt, fiue timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3 Item, foure liuing Sables with chaines and collars.
4 Item, thirtie Lularnes large and beautifull.
5 Item, fiue large and great ſkinnes very riche and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for worſhippe.
6 Item, a large and faire white Jerfawcon for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Goose, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of ſiluer, the hoopes guilt, vſed for a lure to call the ſayd Hawke.

Giftes ſent to the Emperour of Ruſsia by the King and Queens *Maieſties of England.*

1 Firſt, two rich pieces of cloth of Tiſſue.
2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4 Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5 Item, a notable paire of Bilgandines with a Murrian couered with Crimoſin veluet and gilt nailes.
6 Item, a Male and Female Lions.

Gifts

Giftes giuen to the Ambassadour at his departure, ouer and aboue such as were deliuered vnto him at his first arriuall.

1 First, a chaine of gold of one hundred pound.
2 Item, a large bason and ewer, siluer and gilt.
3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all such Russies as were attendant vpon the Ambassadour, at and before his departure out of England.

Isaak Pwesschenecke.
Demitre.
Gorbolones.
Symonde.
Yeroffia.
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord aboue mentioned, in the house of the worshipfull Iohn Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, situate within the famous Citie of London in the realme of England, the aboue named honourable Osep Gregorywich Napea, Ambassadour and Orator aboue mentioned, personally constituted and present, hauing declared to him by the mouth of the right worshipfull master Anthonie Hussie Esquier, the effect of the causes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Best his Interpreter sworne, recognized, and knowledged in presence of me the Notarie and personages vnderwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, as well for his owne person as for his seruants aboue named, who did not subscribe their names as is aboue mentioned, but onely recognized the same. In witnesse whereof, I Iohn Iarent Notarie Publike, at the request of the sayd master Anthonie Hussie, and other of the merchaunts haue to these presents vnderwritten, set my accustomed signe, with the Subscription of my name, the day and yeere aboue written, being present the right Worshipfull,

Andrew Iudde. } Knights.
George Barne. } Knights.
William Chester. } Knights. } Aldermen of London.
Rafe Greeneaway. } Knights. } Aldermen of London.
Iohn Mersh Esquier.
Iohn Dimmocke.
Blase Sanders.
Hubert Hussie, and
Robert Best aboue mentioned.

The voiage of the foresaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from Colmogro to Wardhouse, which was sent to seeke the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, & the Philip & Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

23 Vpon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed with the Searchehist from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compasse, 5. degrees, 10. minutes from the North to the East.

26 Wednesday we came to the Iland called Pozanka, which Iland is within foure leagues of the barre Berozoua, that lieth here as an East and by South Soone full sea.

29 Saturday in the morning wee departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berozoua Gooba, whereupon wee came to an anker at a low water, and sounded the saye Barre with our

two fathoms, and founde in the best vpon the shoaldest of the barre, 13. foote water by the rule. It highech vpon this barre, in spring streames 3. foote water: and an East moone maketh a full sea vpon this barre.

Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berozoua, and plied along by the shoare in fiue fadome, vntill I had sight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee cast about to the Northwarde, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coya Reca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and betweene them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coscaynos. Coscaynos and the middes of the Island called Mondeustoua ostroue, which is thwart of the barre of Berozoua lieth South, and by East, North and by West, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may say from the Seaboord part of the barre to Coscaynos, are 3. leagues and a halfe. 30. Coia Reca. Coscaynos.

Sunday at a Northeast and by East sunne, we were thwart of Coscaynos. 31.

Dogs nose lieth from Coscaynos Northnorthwest, and betweene them are 8. leagues: and Dogs nose sheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both sides of it: on the low point of Dogs nose there standeth a crosse alone. Dogs nose.

Iune.

FRom Dogs nose to fore nose, are 3. leagues, North and by West. 1.

The 2. day of June I went on shoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a shoare at this place, at an East moone full sea, and the shippe lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southsoutheast moone, so that it is to be vnderstoode, that when it is a full sea on the shoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compasse at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the East. 2. The variation of the Compasse 4. degrees.

This day the Northnorthwest winde put vs backe againe with Dogs nose, where a ship may ride thwart of a Salt house, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and haue Landlange in a North and by West winde: which Salt house is halfe a mile to the Southwardes of Dogs nose. 3.

Friday at a Southsouthwest Sunne, wee departed from this Salt house. It is to bee noted that foure miles to the Northwardes of Dogs nose, there growe no trees on the banke by the water side: and the bankes consist of fullers earth. Ouer the cliffes there growe some trees: so that Dogs nose is the better to be knowen because it is fullers earth, and the like I haue not seene in all that Countrey. 4.

I heard of Fore nose a league from the shoare, there are 15. fadome betwixt Fore nose and Zolatiska, there are 6. leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Fore nose. Forenose.

Sunday I sounded the barre of Zolatiska, which the Russes tolde me was a good harborow, but in the best of it I found but 4. foote water. 6.

Munday, I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecost fiue leagues South of vs. 7. Point Pentecost.

Wednesday I went on lande at Crosse Island, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 24. minutes. 9. Crosse Island.

We being one league Northeast of Crosse Island, I sawe the lande on the Eastside, which I iudged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then East Southeast of vs 9. leagues. Cape good fortune.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeast from Crosse Island.

There are 2. Islands 5. leagues Northnortheast from Cape grace, the Southermost of them is a litle long Island almost a mile long, and the Northermost a little round Islande, and they are both hard aboord the shoare. Cape grace.

Cape Race is from the Southermost Island North and by West, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that a halfe a league Northnorthwest, there is another point. Betweene which point and Cape Race, the Russes haue a Stanauish or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Westwards of the said point, there is a shoale bay. Cape Race.

Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, wee had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within halfe a league of the shoare in this latitude I found it to be a full sea at a North and by East moone. I had where we rode, two and twentie fadome, and the tallow which is taken vp is full of great broken shels, and some stones withal like vnto small sand conioyned together. 10.

From a South sunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by East, wee stoode

to the windwards haile the ebbe, with the shippes head to the Eastwards. And then when we cast her head to the Westwards, we sounded, and had 22. fadome broken shels, and gray sand: this pre-
Prest in Iune. sent day was very milke, with frost on the shrowds as the milke fell.

11. Friday in the morning at an East sunne, the milke shake vp a little, the winde being at North and by West a stiffe gale, our shrowdes and roapes ouer head being couered with frost, and like to be a storme: I thought it good to seeke an harborow, and so plied roome with the Islands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within these Islandes (thankes be to God) we found harborow for vs. It higheth at these Islands two fadome water: it floweth in the harborow at this place at a Southsoutheast moone ful sea: and a sea boord it floweth at a South-
Tri Ostroue. southwest moone a full sea. The Russes call this Island, Tri Ostroue.

You may come in betweene the little Island and the great Island, and keepe you in the mids of the Sounde, and if you borrowe on any side, let it bee on the greatest Islande, and you shall haue at a lowe water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, vntill that you be shot so farre in as the narrowest, which is betweene the Northermost point of the greatest Island, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right against it, and then hale to the Southwards with the crosse which standeth in the maine, and you shall haue at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire sande. And if you be disposed to goe through the Sounde to the Southwards, keepe the Northwest shoare aboorde, for on the Island side after you be shotte so farre in as the crosse, it is a shoale of rockes halfe the sound ouer: which rockes doe last vnto the Southerly part of the great Island, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be constrained to seeke a harborow for Northerly windes, when you come out of the sea hale in with the Southerly part of the great Island, giuing the Island a faire birth, and as you shoote towardes the maine, you shall finde roade for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, fiue, sixe and seuen fadome, at a lowe water.

Also within this great Island, (if neede bee) you may haue a good place to ground a shippe in: the great Island is almost a mile long and a quarter of a mile ouer.

16. This storme of Northerly winde lasted vntill the 16. of this moneth, and then the winde came
Ice. Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on shoare at the crosse, and tooke the latitude, which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. seconds: the variation of the Compasse 3. degrees and a
The variation. halfe from the North to the East.

17. Thursday being faire weather, and the winde at North, wee plied to the winde-wards with sailes and oares: wee stopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the shoare, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke sande, and bro-
18. ken shels. And when the flake came wee wayed and made aboorde to the shoare-wards, and lay within two cables length of the shoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke sande: a man may finde roade there for a Northwinde, and so to the Westwards.

Two leagues to the Southwarde of Corpus Christi point, you may haue Land range for a North and by Eastwinde, and from that to the Westwardes in 23. fadome almost a mile from shoare, and faire sande, and amongst the sande little pong small limpets, or such like as growe vp-
on muscles: and within two cables length and lesse of the shoare, are eighteene fadomes, and the sounding afore said, but the pong limpets more plentifull. It was a full sea where we roade, al-
most a mile from shoare, at a South and by West moone: two leagues to the Southwards of Corpus Christi point is the vttermost lande, which lande and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to the Westwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eastwards, and betweene them are
19. sixe leagues. Riding this day sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at North northwest, with milke and frost, at noone the sunne appeared through the milke, so that I had the latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

21. Sunday we were thwart of Corpus Christi point, two leagues and a halfe from shoare, al-
Corpus Christi point. ther more, where we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and broken cockle shels, with brannie sande, but the broken shels very thicke.

22. Tuesday in the morning wee were shotte a head of Cape gallant, which the Russes call Sos-
Cape Gallant. noze. And as we were shotte almost halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the winde came vp at the Northwest, and after to the Northwardes, so that wee were faine to beare roome to seeke a harbour, where we founde good harbour for all windes, and the least 7. fadome water betweene S. Iohns Islands, and the maine.

After that we came to an ancre, wee tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees 1. minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of snowe.

At a West sunne there came aboorde vs certaine Lappians in a boate, to the number of fif-
teene persons, and amongst them there were two women, and some of the men could speake the

Russe

Russe tongue: I asked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the nomber of 100. men, besides women and children, but a litle from vs in the riuer Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to seeke meate among the rockes, saying, If wee gette no meate, wee eate none. I sawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth grasse when she is hungrie. I sawe them also eate foules egges rawe, and the yong birdes also that were in the eggers.

I obserued certaine wordes of their language, which *I thought good to set downe for their vse, that hereafter shall haue occasion to continue this voyage.*

COwghtie coteat, what call you this.
Poddythecke, come hither.
Auanchythocke, get thee hence.
Anna, farewell.
Teyrue, good morrowe.
Iomme lemaufes, I thanke you.
Passeuellie, a friend.
Olmuelke, a man.
Captella, a woman.
Alke, a sonne.
Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyuie, a head.
Cyelme, an eye.
Nenna, a nose.
Nealma, a mouth.
Pannea, teeth.
Neughtema, a tongue.
Seaman, a beard.
Peallea, an eare.
Teappat, the necke.
Voapt, the haire.
Keat, a hand.
Soarme, fingers.
Iowlkie, a legge.
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke, wollen cloth.
Lein, linnen cloth.
Payte, a shirt.
Toll, fire.
Keatse, water.
Murr, wood.
Vannace, a boate.
Ariea, an oare.
Nurr, a roape.
Peyue, a day.
Hyr, a night.
Peynezea, the Sunne.
Manna, the Moone.
Laste, starres.
Conam volka, whither goe you.
Ottapp, sleepe.
Tallye, that.
Keiadde pieue, a weeke.
Isckie, a yeere.
Kesse, Sommer.
Talue, Winter.
Iowksam, colde.
Parox, warme.
Abrye, raine.
Youghang, yce.
Keatikye, a stone.
Sellowpe, siluer.
Solda, golde.
Tennae, tinne.
Veskue, copper.
Rowadt, yron.
Neybxs, a knife.
Axshe, a hatchet.
Leabee, bread.
Ieauegoet, meale.
Peencka, the winde.
Iowte, a platter.
Kemnie, a kettle.
Keestes, gloues.
Sapege, shoes.
Conde, a wilde Deare.
Poatsa, the labouring Deare.

Their wordes of nomber *are these as followeth.*

OFfte,	1.
Noumpte,	2.
Colme,	3.
Nellye,	4.
Vitte,	5.
Cowte,	6.
Kegdeem,	7.
Kaffts,	8.
Owghchte,	9.
Locke,	10.
Ostretumbelocke,	11.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	12.
Colmenonbelocke,	13.
Nellynombelocke,	14.

Vittie nombelocke,	15.	Nelly locke,	40.
Cowtnombelocke,	16.	Vitte locke,	50.
Keydemnombelocke,	17.	Cowtelocke,	60.
Kafts nombelocke,	18.	Keydemlocke,	70.
Owght nombelocke,	19.	Kaffstelocke,	80.
Coffteylocke	20.	Oughchetelok,	90.
Colmelocke,	30.	Tewet,	100.

25 Friday in the morning we departed from S.Iohns Island: to the Westwards thereof, a mile from the shoare, we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie sand.

Iuana Creos. Iuana Creos, is from Cape gallant Westnorthwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Island, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Iuana Creos, Northwest and by North, and almost the 3. part of a point to the Westwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

S. Georges Island. The Eastermost of S. Georges Islands, or 7. Islands, lyeth from Iuana Creos Northwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues and a halfe. The vttermost of the 7. Islands, & Cape cōfort lyeth Northwest, and by North, Southeast, and by South.

Cape Comfort Under the Southermost Island you shall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northwest to the Northeast. From the Southeast part of the 7. Islands, vnto the Northwest part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

S. Peters Islands. From the Northwest part of the Islands aforesaide, vnto S. Peters Islands, are 11. leagues Northwest.

26 S.Peters Islands rise an indifferent low point, not seeming to be an Island, and as if it had a castle vpon it.

S. Pauls Island. S.Pauls Islands lye from S.Peters Islands Northwest, and to the Westwardes, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within these Islands there is a faire sandie bay, and there may be founde a good roade for Northerly windes.

Cape Sower beere. Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Islands Northwest, and by West, and betweene them are 5. leagues.

Kildina. Cape comfort, which is the Island of Kildina, lyeth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues West Northwest, and it is altogether a bay betwene them seeming many Islands in it.

Cape Bonauenture. From Cape Bonauenture, to Chebe Nauoloche are 10. leagues Northwest, and a litle to the Westwards. Chebe Nauologe is a faire point, whereon standeth a certaine blacke, like an emptie butt standing a head.

Kegor. From Chebe Naualoch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northwest, and halfe a point to the Westwards. Kegor riseth as you come from the Eastwards like 2. round homets standing together, and a faire saddle betweene them.

27 It floweth where we road this Sunday to the Eastwards of Kegor, at a Southeast and by East moone, a full sea: we roade in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the shoare: at a Northwest Sunne the miste came downe so thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre within lent then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where wee had 33. fadome, and the founding like to the skaffe of a skalde head.

Domshaff.

Wardhouse. 28 Munday at afternoone, we came into ẏ Sound of Wardhouse, although it were very misie. Then I sent a man a shoare to know some newes, and to see whether they coulde heare any thing of our ‖ shippes.

‖ Which were the Bona Esperanza, the Bona confidentia and the Philip and Marie. Where of the two first were lost.

29 Tuesday I went on shoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himselfe was not as yet come frō Bergen: they looked for him euery houre, and they said that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northwest, and by North sunne, we departed from Wardhouse, toward Colmogro.

30 Wednesday we came to Kegor, where we met with the wind at East Southeast, so that we were faine to goe in to a bay to the Westwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. small ships, that shall not drawe past 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an East Northeast winde is the worst. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds frō the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we saw there a barke which was of ‖ Dronton, and three or foure Norway yeaghes, belonging to Northbarne: so when I came a shoare, I met first with the Dutchmen, amongst whome was the Borrow-masters sonne of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in Marche: and withall he shewed me that the Confidence was lost, and that hee had bought her sailes for his shippe. Then the Dutch-men caried mee to their Boothe, and made mee good cheere, where I

‖ Or, Trondon.

The Philip and Marie. The bona Confidentia cast away.

saw

haue the Lappians cheper of the saide Dutchmen, both siluer platters and dishes, spoones, gilt rings, ornament for girdles of siluer and gilt, and certaine things made to hange about the necke, with siluer chaines belonging to them.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie strong beere, I am certaine that our English double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would last.

Here I saw the Dutchmen also haue course cloth, both blewe, [illegible]ne and redde, and sad hoselech colour. And hither they bring also Otters cases and fore[illegible]both blacke and redde: our English fore cases are but counterfaits vnto them.

They would not let me vnderstand any of their prises, but as I other wise vnderstood, they barred 2. load of siluer for 100. of stockfish, and 2. loade is a boller. And the Dutch men told me, that they had made a notable good yeere this present yeere 1557. They tolde mee that they should be faine to goe to Wardhouse with one lading, and lay it on land there, and so come againe and fetch another. The Borrowmasters sonne told me, that he would go to Amsterdam with his lading of stockfish, who gaue me a barrel of strong beere, and brought in aboorde our shippe himselfe.

After this I went among the Russes and Kerils, who offred me fish to sel, and likewise the Lappians desired me to looke vpon their fish. I made them answere, that I had now no wares nor money to barter with them, and said that I came only to see if I might meete with our English ships. Then they desired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I said vnto them, if I should come the next yeere, I thinke here would not be fish ynough to serue the Dutchmen and vs also. They answered me, that if more ships did resort thither, there would more people labour to kil and make fish and further they said, that some of them came thither a fishing 8. weekes iourney with Deere, which Deere will trauaile more speedily then horses will.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils & Lappians, the Emperour of Russia his deputie (who was there together the tribute of the Lappians) sent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar salutations made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our shippes came thither. I answered him, because we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire that was kept there. Then said he, if you wil come hither, here would more people resort to kill fish, I thinke it good (said he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one English shippe should come thither.

Because I saw the seruants of the king of Denmarke there also gathering the tribute, I asked Vasille pheothrouiche the Russe deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to vs, if we should come to this Kegor. And he saide, no, they should not: for this lande is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

The Kerils and the Lappians solde no fish, vntil the said deputie had looked vpon it, and had giuen them leaue to sell. I asked him what wares were best for vs to bring thither, and he saide, siluer, pearles, cloth, blewe, red and greene, Meale, strong beere, wine, pewter, fore cases, and golde.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Russia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He tolde me that the Riuer Cola is little more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we should haue great plentie of salmon, if coyne were any thing cheape in Russia: for then poore men would resort thither to kill salmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it because they could not sell all their fish, and that they solde, was as pleased the Dutchmen, and at their owne price. I asked the Kerils at what price they sold their fish to the Russes, and they said good cheape: we sell 24. fishes for 4. altines, I thinke they solde litle aboue 20. pence, the 25. fishes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the best stockfish is made at Kegor. I saw at Vasillees tent 7. or 8. laurelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, [illegible] their budgets of arrowes, and likewise swords with other weapons: Otherwise I saw no weapons there.

I was also conueyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I saw a paire of bilboes: and I asked whether they were for the Lappians (if need were,) and they said no, but onely for their owne companie if they should chaunce to be vnruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be trusted, for they will steale as well as the Russes, if they may conueniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, because the winde was scant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I turned to the Eastwards of the point Kegor, and sent to land, and baked two batches of bread, in the ouens that the Kerils haue for their owne prouision.

Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners to be obserued *in and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1557. toward the Bay* of S. Nicolas in Russia, for this present Raze to be made and returne of the same by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right discharge, as in the Articles ensuing is deduced.

FIrst, it is accorded and agreed betweene the seuerall proprietaries and owners, masters and companies of the foure ships, surnamed the Primrose, the Iohn Euangelist, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Consuls, assistents and companie of the Marchants aduenturers, that the aboue named foure shippes, shall in good order and conduct, sayle, passe, and trauaile together in one fleete, ginge, and conserue of societie, to be kept and indissolubly to be seuered, but vnited within continuall sight, so farreforth as (by winde and weather) by possibilitie shall or may be without any separation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ship named the Primerost, shalbe Admirall of this fleete, and that Anthonie Ienkinson Gentleman, shalbe captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ships shall ensue and follow her in all courses, and that no course nor waying (in harborough especially) shall be made without the aduice, consent and agreement of the saide Captaine, the Master, his mate, and two other officers of the said shippe, or of three of them at the least.

3 Item, that the said Anthonie is and shalbe reputed & taken for Captaine generall of the said fleete together with all such orders, preeminences, priuiledges and preferments as by the order of seas is due and accustomed to a Captaine during his aboade and exercise of the same.

4 It is also ordeined, that if any one or mo of the said 3. shippes shalbe out of sight, either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the rest of the shippes shall tacke or take of their sailes in such sort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the consortement exactly in all poines.

5 It is also constituted, that if the ships shalbe seuered by misse or darke weather, in such sort as the one cannot haue sight of the other, then and in such case the Admiral shal make sound and neise by trumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwise or meanes, that the ships may come as nigh together, as by safetie and good order they may.

6 It is also to be obserued, that euery day once the other three shippes shall sende and come aboord the Admirall, and there consult and determine of such matter and things as shall be for the assurance of their Nauigation, and most expedition of the same.

7 Item, that notes & entries be dayly made of their Nauigations put in writing & memorie, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & caused to learne and obserue the same.

8 It is accorded that the said Captaine shall haue the principal rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but also all other the saylers, shalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reason appertaineth.

9 Also that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be spilt vpon the balast, or other place of the shippe, whereby any anoyance, stinke, or other vnsauorines shall growe in the shippe to the infection or hurt of the persons in the same.

10 Item, that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time dissship any artificer or English seruingman or apprentice out of the Primerose into any of the other three shippes, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke conuenient, and most meete to stande the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great respect be had to the gunners and cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eschewed and auoyded.

12 Item, that singuler care & respect be had to the poyse of the ship, as well in Nauigation as in harborow, & especially in lading and vnlading of the ships, that nothing be lacking or surcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred & made to agree in eschuement of such faults, as may ensue.

13 Special foresight is to be had, that at the Wardhouse no treacherie, inuasion, or other perill of molestation be done or procured to be attempted to our ships by any kings, princes or companies, that do mislike this newe found trade by seas to Russia, or would let and hinder the same, wherein no small boast hath bene made: which giueth occasion of more circumspection and diligence.

14 If the winde & weather will serue, it is thought good rather to go by the Wardhouse, then to come

come in and anere there, leſt any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted againſt vs, our goods and ſhippes as aboue.

15. It is thought good that Richard Iohnſon, late ſeruant to M. Chanceler, ſhal be ſent home in this next returne, to inſtruct the companie of the ſtate of the Countrey, and of ſuch queſtions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertiſements and reſolutions, in ſuch doubts as ſhall ariſe here: and that he ſhall haue the roome of the Captaine in ſuch ſort, as Maſter Ienkinſon is in this preſent cocket aſſigned vnto. And if Iohnſon can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the ſaid place, then any other perſon to be preferred thereunto, as by the diſcretion of our ſaid Captaine, with conſent of our Agents, ſhall be thought meete and apt to ſupply the ſame.

16. Prouided alway, that the ſhippes returning, be not diſfurniſhed of one ſuch able man, as ſhall occupie the Captaineſhip in like order, as is, and hath bene in ſuch caſe appointed, as reaſon and good order requireth.

17. Item that all other former orders, rules, and deuiſes, made and prouided for the good order of our ſhippes, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrarie or diuerſe, to theſe articles, and the contents of the ſame, ſhall be, and ſtand in full force and effect, to be in all reſpects obſerued and kept of all and euery perſon, and perſons, whome the ſame doth or ſhall touch or concerne.

In witneſſe of the premiſſes faithfully to be obſerued, and kept, the owners and Maſters of the ſaid foure ſhippes, together with the ſaid Captaine, to theſe ſeuenteene articles, contained in two ſheets of paper, haue ſubſcribed their hands. Giuen in London, the third of May, in the yeere of our Lord God, 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primeroſe.
Andrewe Iudde.
William Cheſter.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Caſteline.
¶ Owners of the Iohn Euangeliſt.
Andrew Iudde.
William Cheſter.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
Iohn Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

The firſt voyage made by Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, from *the Citie of London, toward the land of Ruſſia, begonne the twelfth* day of Maye, in the yeere, 1557.

FIrſt by the grace of God, the day and yeere aboue mentioned, I departed from the ſaid Citie, and the ſame day at Grauеſend embarked my ſelfe in a good ſhippe, named the Primeroſe, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe captaine of the ſame, and alſo of the other three good ſhippes, to ſay, the Iohn Euangeliſt, the Anne, and the Trinitie, hauing alſo the conduct of the Emperour of Ruſſia, his ambaſſadour, named Oſep Nepea Gregorewich, who paſſed with his companie in the ſaid Primeroſe. And thus our foure tall ſhippes being well appointed, as well in men and victuals, as other neceſſarie furniture, the ſame twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the ſaide Grauеſende, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Eaſterly, and faire weather, the 13. day we came a ground with the Primeroſe, vpon a ſand called the Blacke caſe, where we ſate faſt vntill the 14. day in the morning, and then God be praiſed, we came off: and that day we plied downe as farre as our Lade Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Eaſterly, and there remained vntill the 20. day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balſey ſlade, and ſo into Orwel wardes, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the ſaide Goldmore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the ſaide gate, and was like to be bilged and loſt. But by the aide of God, at the laſt ſhe came off againe, being very leake: and the 21. day the Primeroſe remaining at an anker in the wardes, the other three ſhippes bare into Orwel hauen, where I cauſed the ſaide Trinitie to be grounded, ſearched, and repaired. So we remained in the ſaid hauen, vntill the 28. day: and then the winde being veſterly, the three ſhippes that were in the hauen, weyed and came forth, and in comming forth, the

the Iohn Euangelist came on ground vpon a sand, called the Andros, where she remained one tide, and the next full sea she came off againe, without any great hurt, God be praised.

The 29. day in the morning, all foure ships were in the Wlands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordnesse, where we came to an anker, because the wind was northerly: And about sixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the Southwest, and we weyed anker, and bare cleare of the nesse, and then set our course north east, and by north, vntill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth sands. Then we winded North and by West, and North northwest, vntill the first of June at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued so, vntill the second day at noone: then the winde came at Northwest, with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped North Northeast, and Northeast, and by North, as the winde shifted, and so continued vntill the third day at noone: then the winde vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the winde vered to the Northwest againe, and blew a fresh gale, and so continued vntill the seuenth day in the morning, we lying with all our shippes close by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the winde coming more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coast of England againe, and fell ouerthwart Newe castel, but went not into the hauen, & so plied vpon the coast the eight day & the ninth.

June.

The tenth day, the winde came to the North Northwest, and we forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntill the seuenteenth day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and set our course North and by East, and so continued the same with a meary winde, vntill the 21. at noone, at which time we tooke the Sunne, and had the latitude in 60. degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went North Northeast, and North east, and by north, vntil the 25. day. Then we discouered certaine Islands, called Heilick Islands, lying from vs northeast, being in the latitude of 66. degrees, 40. minuts. Then we went north and by West, because we would not come too nigh the land, and running that course 4. houres, we discouered, and had sight of Rost Islands, ioyning to the maine land of Finmarke. Here the Sunne continueth in sight aboue the horizon, almost 2. moneths together, day and night. Thus continuing our course along the coast of Norway, and Finland, the 27. day we tooke the Sunne, being as far shot as Lofoote, and had the latitude in 69. degrees. And the same day in the afternoone, appeared ouer our heads a raine bowe, like a semicircle, with both ends vpward. Note that there is betwen the said Rost Islands, and Lofoote, a whirle poole, called Malestrand, which from halfe ebbe, vntil halfe flood, maketh such a terrible noise, that it shaketh the rings in the doores of the inhabitors houses of the said Islands, ten miles of. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pitiful cry. Moreouer, if great trees be caried into it by force of streames, & after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends & boughes of them haue bene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of hempe that is hurded. Note, that all the coll of Finmarke is high mountaines, and hils, being couered all the yeere with snowe. And hard aboord the shoare of this coast, there is 100. 120. 150. fadoms of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sayling forward, we fell with an Iland, called Zenam, being in ꝑ latitude of 70. degrees. About this Iland, we saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of 60. foote long: and being the ingendring time, they roared and cried terribly. From thence we fel with an Iland, called Kettelwicke. This coast from Rost vnto Lofoote, lieth north & south, and from Lofoote to Zenam, northeast & southwest, and from Zenam to Kettelwike, east northeast, & west southwest. From the said Kettelwike we sailed east & by north 10. leagues, & fell with a land, called Inger sound, where we fished, being becalmed, & tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coast, we fel with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the northermost land that we passe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71. degrees, & 10. minuts, and is from Ingersound East, and to the northwards 15. leagues. And being at this North Cape the 2. day of July, we had the sunne at north 4. degrees aboue the Horizon. The 3. day we came to Wardhouse, hauing such mists that we could not see the land. This Wardhouse is a Castle standing in an Iland 2. miles from the maine of Finland, subiect to the king of Denmarke, & the Easternmost land that he hath. There are 2. other Islands neere adioyning vnto that, whereon the Castle of Wardhouse standeth. The inhabitants of those 3. Islands, liue onely by fishing, & make much stockefish, which they vse with frost: their most feeding is fish vpon, and drinke they haue none, but such as is brought them from other places. They haue small store of cattell, which are also fed with fishe. From Wardhouse we sailed south southeast ten leagues, & fell with a Cape of land called Kegor, ꝑ northermost part of the land of Lappia. And between Wardhouse, & the said Cape, is a great Bay, called Dommes haff, in the south part whereof is a Monasterie of Monkes, of the Russes religion, called Peshinchow. Thus proceeding southwards, and sailing along the coast of the same lande of Lappia, winning Southeast, the fourth

Heilick Islands in 66. deg. 40. min.

Rost Islands.

A strange whirle poole.

Kettelwick Island.

Inger sound.

Wardhouse.

Castell fed with fish.

The Monasterie of Peshinchow.

day

day, through great mists and dangerous, we lost the companie of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, untill the 7. day, when we fell with a Cape or headland, called Suetinose, which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great stone, to the which the barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that unlesse they did so, their barkes or vessels should there perish, as it hath beene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke & misty. Note, that the 6. day we passed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his companie perished, which is called Arzina reca, that is to say, the river Arzina. The land of Lappia is an high land, having snow lying on it commonly all the yeere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they live in the summer time neere the sea side, and use to take fishe, of the which they make head, and in the winter they remoove up into the Countrey into the woods, where they use hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Foxes, and other beastes, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skinnes apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare, but their eies. They have none other habitation, but onely in tents, removing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting, which they exercise daily, as well men, as women, and kill such beasts as serue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coast, from Suetinoze aforesaid, the 9. day of July, we came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66. degrees, and 45. minuts, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land, there is 20. or 30. fadoms water, and sundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southwest, and Northeast. From this Cape we proceeded along, untill we came to Crosse Island, which is seuen leagues from the said Cape Southwest: and from this Island, we sir ouer to the other side of the Baye, and went south southwest, and fell with an headland, called Forenose, which is from the said Island 25. leagues. The entring of this Baye from Crosse Island to the nerest land on the other side is seuen leagues ouer. From Forenose proceeding forward the twelfth day of the said moneth of Julie, all our foure ships arrived in safetie at the roade of Saint Nicholas, in the land of Russia, where we ancored, and had sayled from London vnto the sayde roade seuen hundred and fiftie leagues. The Russian Ambassadour and his companie with great ioy greete to shore, and our shippes here forthwith discharged themselues: and being laden againe, and having a faire winde, departed towarde England the first of August. The third of the sayde moneth I with other of my companie came vnto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64. degrees, 25. minutes. I tarried at the sayd Colmogro vntill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate vp the great river of Dwina, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of a river called Pinego, leauing it on our left hand fifteene verstes from Colmogro. On both sides of the mouth of this river Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alabaster, great woods, and Pyne-apletrees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lyen there since Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a towne called Yemps, an hundred verstes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and ashes of Aspen trees. From thence I came to a place called Vstiug, an ancient citie the last day of August. At this citie meete two rivers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforesaid river of Dwina. The river of Iug hath his spring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, ioyning to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologhda. Thus departing from Vstiug, & passing vp the river Succana, we came to a towne called Toema. About this place the water is very shallow, and stonie, & troublesome for Barkes and boates of that countrey, which they call Nasshades, and Dosneckes, to passe that way: wherein marchandise are transported from the aforesayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. These vessels called Nasshades, are very long builded, broade made, and close aboue, flatte bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none yron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde serueth, they are made to saile. Otherwise they haue many men, some to hale and draw by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the saide boates, and some see with long poles. There are many of these Barks vpon the river of Dwina: And the most part of them belongeth vnto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the sayde boates with carrying of salt from the sea side into the sayde Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came vnto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the river passeth through the middest of the same. The houses are builded with trees of fiue trees, ioyned one within another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any yron or stone worke, couered with birch Barkes, and wood ouer the same: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery parish, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Sommer.

Arzina reca the river where Sir Hugh Willoughby was frozen.

The Lappians couered all sauing their eyes.

The Current at Cape Grace

The entring of the Bay of S. Nicholas is seuen leagues broade at the least.

August.

Pinego river.

The townes of Pymps.

Vstiug.

The description of their Nasshades.

Summer.

On the toppes of their houses they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are ofte plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59. degrees, 11. minuts, and is from Colmogro, 1000. verstes.

Good counsell for trauellers. All the way I neuer came in house, but lodged in the wildernesse, by the riuers side, and carried prouision for the way. And he that will trauell those waies, must carry with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and seethe meate, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, vnlesse it be in townes.

The first day of December, I departed from Vologhda, in posse in a sled, as the manner is in Winter. And the way to Moscua is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27. verstes, so to Olmor 25. verstes, so to Teloytske, 20. verstes, so to Vre 30. verstes, so to Voshansko, 30. verstes, then to Yeraslaue, 30. verstes, which standeth vpon the great riuer Volga, so to Rostoue, 50. verstes, then to Rogarin, 30. verstes, so to Peraslaue, 10. verstes, which is a great towne, standing hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnaye, 30. verstes, so to Godoroke, 30. verstes, so to Owchay, 30. verstes, and last to the Musko, 25. verstes, where I arriued the first day of December. December.

There are 14. posts, called Yannes, betweene Vologhda, and Musko, which are accompted 500. verstes asunder.

The 10. day of December, I was sent for to the Emperours Castle, by the saide Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretarie, who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were translated, I was answered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I desired.

The 25. day, being the day of the nativitie, I came into the Emperours presence, and kissed his hande, who sate aloft in a goodly chaire of estate, hauing on his heade a crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of golde in his hande, all apparelled with golde, and garnished with precious stones.

There sate distant from him about two yardes his brother, and next vnto him a boye of twelue yeeres of age, who was inheritor to the Emperour of Casan, conquered by this Emperour 8. yeeres past. Then sate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with golde, and stone. And after I had done obeisance to the Emperour, he with his owne mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging, till dinner time, which was at fiue of the cloche, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a faire great Hall, in the middest whereof was a pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were diuers tables set, and at the vppermost part of the hall, sate the Emperour himselfe, & at his table sate his brother, his Uncles sonne, the Petropolitane, the young Emperour of Casan, and diuers of his noble men, all of one side. There were diuers Ambassadors, & other strangers, as wel Christians, as Heathens, diuerslie apparelled, to the number of 600. men, which dined in the said hal, besides 2000. Tartars, men of warr, which were newly come to render themselues to the Emperour, and were appointed to serue him in his warres, against the Lyfflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was set at a little table, hauing no straunger with me, directly before the Emperours face. Being thus set, and placed, the Emperour sent me diuers boles of wine, and meade, & many dishes of meat from his owne hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table serued all in golde, and siluer, and so like wise on other tables, there were set boles of golde, set with stone, worth by estimation 400. pounds sterling one cup, besides the plate which serued the tables.

There was also a Cupboord of plate, most sumptuous, and rich, which was not vsed: among the which, was a peece of golde, of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with Towers, and Dragons heades, also diuers barrels of golde, and siluer, with Cables on the bungs, richly, and artificially made. The Emperour, and all the Hall throughout, was serued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called mee by name, and gaue mee drinke with his owne hande, and so I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the companie standeth vp, and at euery time, he drinketh or taketh of a dishe of meate, he bleseth himselfe. Many other things I saw that day, not here noted.

The 4. of Januarie, which was Twelfetide with them, the Emperour, with his brother, and all his Nobles, all most richly apparelled with gold, pearles, precious stones, & costly furres, with

a crowne vpon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in procession, with the Metropolitan, and diuers bishops, and priests. That day I was before the Emperour again, in Russe apparel, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancelor answered yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came he out of the Church, and went with the procession vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there standing bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie, and seruice, and did cast of the said water vpon the Emperours sonne, and the Nobilitie. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water, to carry home to their houses, and diuers children were thrown in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars christened: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best horses, to drinke at the said hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his pallace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and sate in a woodden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue 300. strangers, and I sate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread, and drinke sent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Musko is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of yron, which serue for summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperours lodging is in a faire, and large castle, walled foure square of bricke, high, and thicke, situated vpon a hil, two miles about, and the riuer on the Southwest side of it, and it hath 16. gates in the wals, and as many bulwarks. His pallace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going north and south, to the riuer side. In his pallace are Churches, some of stone, and some of wood, with round towers, fairely gilded. In the Church doores, and within the Churches, are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the saide Castle, and for sundry thinges, sundry markets, and euery science by it selfe. Also in the winter there is a great market without the Castle, vpon the riuer being frozen, and there is sold corne, earthen pots, tubs, sleds, &c. The Castle is in circuite 2900. pases.

The cuntrie is full of marish ground, and plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plentie of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as well of the Lyfflanders, Poles, Lettos, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, and Gentiles, called Samoydes, hauing thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great subiection: all matters passe his iudgement, be they neuer so small. The lawe is sharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himselfe listeth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. They vse the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many images, painted on tables, and specially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Priests be married, but their wiues being dead, they may not marrie the second time, and so become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrostide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many sortes of meates and drinkes, when they banket, and delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fishe. Before they drinke, they vse to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great talkers, & liers, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers, and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, and are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

At my being there, I heard of men, and women, that drunke away their children, and all their goods, at the Emperours tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impauned himselfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the high way, and beates him vpon the legges: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and hauing peraduenture compassion vpon him, giueth the monie, and so he is ransomed.

In euery good towne, there is a drunken Tauerne, called a Cursemay, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, & sometimes bestoweth for a yeere or two on some Duke or Gentleman, in recompence of his seruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the Towne, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then he being growen riche, is taken by the Emperour, and sent to the warres againe, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vse sadles made of wood and sinewes, with the tree gilded w damaske work, and the seate couered with cloth, sometimes of golde, and the rest Saphian leather, well stitched. They vse little drummes at their sadle bowes, by the sound whereof, their horses vse to runne more swiftly.

The Russe is apparelled in this manner: his vpper garment is of cloth of golde, silke, or cloth, long, downe to the foote, and buttened with great buttons of siluer, or els laces of silke, set on with brooches,

broches, the sleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Vnder that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing vp of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silke, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Vnder his shirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legges, a paire of hose without feete, & his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head he weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of siluer, gold, pearle, or stone, and vnder it a blacke Foxe cap, turned vp very broad.

When he rideth on horse backe to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same manner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of knives, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a fishe, called the Morse.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with sleds, in Towne and Countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man vpon it 400. miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and trauelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his house in the Winter, but vpon his sled, and in Summer vpon his horse: and in his sled he sits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawen with a horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tailes at his necke, & is conducted by a little boy vpon his backe: his seruants stand vpon the taile of the sled, &c.

The voyage, wherein Osepp Napea the Moscouite Ambassadour, returned home into his Countrey with his entertainment at his arriuall, at Colmogro: and a large description of the manners of the Countrey.

THe twelfth of Maye, in the yeere of our Lorde, 1567. there departed from Graueseride, foure good shippes well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Maye of S. Nicholas in Russia, with which shippes was transported, or caried home, one Osepp Gregoriwiche Napea, who was sent Messenger from the Emperour, and Great Duke of Moscouia. The foure shippes were these, whose names followe, viz.

The Primerose Admirall.
The Iohn Euangelist Vicеadmirall.
The Anne, and the Trinitie Attendaunt.

The 13. of July, the foresaide foure shippes came to an anker in the Maye of S. Nicholas, before an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the saide Messenger, Osepp Gregoriwich Napea, went a shoare, and as many English men as came to serue the Emperour, remained with him at the Abbey, for the space of five daies, vntill he had gotten all his things a shore, and laden the same in Barkes, to goe vp the riuer Dwina, vnto Vologhda, which is by water 1000. verstes, and euery verste is about three quarters of an English mile.

The 20. of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24. of the same, we came to Colmogro, where we remained eight daies: and the saide Messenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had presents innumerable sent vnto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke. Some sent white bread, some rie bread, and some buttered bread and pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fishes, swannes, geese, ducks, hennes, and all manner of victuals, both fishe, and flesh, in the best manner, that the rude people could deuise: for among them, such presents are highly esteemed.

Presents made in Russia, are all for the most part of victuals.

The 29. of July, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14. of August we came to Vstiog, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes, or boates.

The 27. of August, wee came to Vologhda, where we remained foure daies, leauing the barkes, and lading our chestes and things in small waggons, with one horse in a peere, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with these Telegoes, they caried our stuffe from Vologhda vnto the Musko, which is 500. verstes: and we were vpon the same way 14. daies: for we went no faster then the Teligoes.

There are three great townes betweene the Musko, and Vologhda, that is to say, Yereslaue, Rostaue, & Pereslaua. Vpon one side of Yereslaua, runneth a famous riuer, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caspian sea, and it deuideth it selfe, before it come into the Mare Caspium, in 50. parts, or more, and neere vnto the same sea, there standes a great Citie, called Boghare, the inhabitants of the which, are called by the same name.

The citie of Boghare.

The people of the saide Citie, doe traffike into the Citie of Musko: their commodities are spices,

spices, muske, ambergreese, rubarbe with other drugs. They bring also many furres which they buy in Siberia comming towards the Mosko, the said people are of the sect of Mahomet.

They arriued at Mosco.

The 12. of September we came vnto the citie of Mosko, where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large house, where euery one of vs had his chamber appointed.

The 14. of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediately after our comming wee were brought into his presence, vnto whom each of vs did his dutie accordingly, and kissed his right hand, his maiestie sitting in his chaire of estate, with his crowne on his head, and a staffe of goldsmiths worke in his left hand well garnished with rich and costly stones, and when we had all kissed his hand and done our duties, his maiestie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, and thereupon willed vs to dine with him: that day we gaue thanks vnto his maiestie, and so departed vntill the dinner was ready.

When dinner time approched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were set on one side of a table that stood ouer against the Emperours table, to the ende that he might well behold vs all: and when we came into the foresaid chamber, we found there readie set these tables folowing.

First at the vpper end of one table were set the Emperour his maiestie, his brother, and the Emperour of Cassan, which is prisoner. About two yardes lower sate the Emperour of Cassan his sonne, being a child of fiue yeeres of age, and beneath him sate the most part of the Emperours noble men.

And at another table neere vnto the Emperours table, there was set a monke all alone, which was in all points as well serued as the Emperour. At another table sate another kind of people called Chirkasses, which the Emperor entertaineth for men of warre to serue against his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforesayd were couered onely with salt and bread, and after that we had sitten a while, the Emperour sent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were giuen, and deliuered vnto euery man seuerally by these words: The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee bread this day, and in like maner three or foure times before dinner was ended, hee sent vnto euery man drinke, which was giuen by these words, The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee to drinke. All the tables aforesaid were serued in vessels of pure and fine golde, as well basons and ewers, platters, dishes and sawcers, as also of great pots, with an innumerable sort of small drinking pottes of diuers fashions, whereof a great number were set with stone. As for costly meates I haue many times seene better: but for change of wines, and diuers sortes of meads, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time so much voyd roume on the table, that one cuppe more might haue bene set, and as farre as I could perceiue, all the rest were in the like maner serued.

In the dinner time there came in fire singers which stood in the midst of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperour, who sang there before dinner was ended three seuerall times, whose songs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer putteth morsell of meate in his mouth, but he first blesseth it himselfe, and in like maner as often as he drinketh, for after his maner he is very religious, and he esteemeth his religious persons aboue his noble men.

This dinner continued about the space of fiue howers, which being ended, and the tables taken vp, we came into the midst of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperours maiestie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his owne handes a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantitie thereof, we were licenced to depart, and so ended that dinner. And because the Emperour would haue vs to be mery, hee sent to our lodging the same Euening 3. barrels of mead of sundry sortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogshead.

The 16. day of September the Emperour sent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horse to ride from place to place as we had occasion, for that the streetes of Mosko are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

M. Standish doctor of Phisike.

The 18. of September there were giuen vnto master Standish doctor in Phisike, and the rest of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and golde, and some of red Damaske, of which master Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the rest were furred some with white Ermine, and some with gray squirrell, and all faced and edged round aboue with blacke beauer.

The 1. of October in the morning we were commanded to come vnto ye Emperors court, & whē we came thether, we were brought vnto ye Emperor vnto whō we did our duties accordingly, whereupon he willed vs to dine with him that day, & so with thanks vnto his maiestie, we departed vntil

dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables couered with bread and salt as the first: and after that we were all set vpon one side of the table, the Emperours maiestie according to his accustomed maner sent vnto euery man of vs a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14. of September we were serued in vessels of gold, we were now serued in vessels of siluer, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold: they brought drinke vnto the table in siluer doles which contained at the least fiue gallons a piece, and euery man had a small siluer cuppe to drinke in, and another to dip out to take his drinke out of the great doll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with mead, which when we had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whensoeuer the Emperours pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, he doth send for them in the morning, and when they come before him, hee with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwayes obserueth.

The 10. of October the Emperour gaue vnto M. Standish 70. rubbles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupations, 30. rubbles a piece.

The 3. of Nouember we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were serued as before.

The 6. of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscouites hold: we were serued in siluer vessels, and euen in all points as before, and it was past 7. of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

Long dinners.

The Emperours maiestie vseth euery yeere in the moneth of December, to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of Mosko caried into the fields which is without the Suburbes of the citie, and there to haue it planted and bent vpon two houses of Wood filled within with earth: against which two houses, there were two faire white markes set vp, at which markes they discharge all their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may see what his Gunners can doe. They haue faire ordinance of hasill of all sorts, bases, faulcons, minions, sakers, culuerings, cannons double and treble, basiliskes long and large, they haue six great pieces whose shot is a yard of bright, which shot a man may easily discerne as they flee: they haue also a great many of lesser peeces or potguns, out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.

Ordinance in Russia.

The 12. of December the Emperours maiestie and all his nobilitie came into the field on horsebacke, in most goodly order, hauing very fine Iennets & Turkie horses garnished with gold & siluer abundantly. The Emperours maiestie hauing on him a gowne of rich tissue, & a cap of state on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones, his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. and before them there went 5000. harquebuzzers, which went by 5. and 5. in a ranke in very good order, euery of them carying his gunne vpon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foresaid ordinance was planted.

A peerelesse triumph.

And before the Emperours maiestie came into the field, there was a certaine stage made of small poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about three score yardes off from the stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foote thicke, and sixe foote high set vp, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles, and as soone as the Emperours maiestie came into the field, the harquebuzzers went vpon the stage of poles where they stried themselues in order. And when the Emperours maiestie was stried where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot of, the harquebuzzers began to shoot of at the banke of ice, as though it had been in any skirmish or battel, who ceased not shooting, vntil they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they shot of their wild fire vp into the aire, which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this, they began to discharge the small pieces of hasill, beginning with the smallest and so orderly bigger and bigger, vntil the last and biggest. When they had shot them all of, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them all of 3. times after the first order, beginning with the smallest, and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2. houses that they shot vnto, were beaten in pieces, and yet they were very strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30. foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the same order that he came forth into the field. The ordinance is discharged euery yeere in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperours maiestie, where by him, meat and drinke, we were serued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich place, we neuer saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperours presence, about 500. strangers, and two hundred Rusles, and all they were serued in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another vpon the tables. Besides this there were foure cupboordes garnished with goodly

goodly plate both of gold and siluer. Among the which there were 12. barrels of siluer, conteining about 12. gallons a piece, and at each end of euery barrell were 6. hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about 6. howers.

Euery yeere vpon the twelfe day they vse to blesse or sanctifie the riuer Moska, which runneth through the citie of Moskouia, after this maner. The hallowing of the riuer of Mosco.

First, they make a square hole in the ice about 3. fadoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the sides and edges with white boords. Then about 9. of the clocke they come out of the church with procession towards the riuer in this wise.

First and foremost there goe certaine yong men with Waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the crosse, then the images of our Ladie, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carrie vpon their shoulders: after the images follow certaine priests to the number of 100. or more: after them the Metropolitan who is led betweene two priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne vpon his head, and after his maiestie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the procession vnto the water, & when they came vnto the hole that was made, the priests set themselues in order round about it. And at one side of the same poole there was a scaffold of boords made, vpon which stood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours maiestie stood vpon the ice.

After this the priests began to sing, to blesse and to sense, and did their seruice, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a litle thereof in his handes, and cast it on the Emperour, likewise vpon certaine of the Dukes, and then they returned againe to the church with the priests that sate about the water: but ẏ preasse that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was wonderful to behold, for there came aboue 5000. pots to be filled of that water: for that Muscouite which hath no part of that water, thinks himselfe vnhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the preasse was a litle gone, the Emperours Iennets and horses were brought to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their horses thither to drinke, and by that means they make their horses as holy as themselues.

All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were serued in vessels of siluer, and in all other points as we had bene before time.

The Russes begin their Lent alwayes 8. weekes before Easter: the first weeke they eate egges, milke, cheese & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and such other things, one friend visiting another, & from the same Sunday vntil our Shrofsunday, there are but few Russes sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accounted for no reproch or shame among them. The Russes Lent.

The next weeke being our first weeke of Lent, or our cleansing weeke, beginning our Shrofsunday, they make and keepe a great fast. It is reported, and the people doe verily beleeue, that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the space of seuen dayes, and they say that there are many religious men which do the like.

The Emperours maiestie eateth but one morsell of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houses during that time, so that the streetes are almost void of company, sauing a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other sixe weekes they keepe as we do ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheese, egges or milke.

On Palme sunday they haue a very solemne procession in this maner folowing.

First, they haue a tree of a good bignesse which is made fast vpon two sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raisins, figs and dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midst of the same tree stand 5. boyes in white vestures, which sing in the tree before the procession: after this there folowed certaine yong men with waxe tapers in their hands burning, and a great lanterne that all the light should not goe out: after them followed two with long banners, and 6. with round plates set vpon long staues: the plates were of copper very ful of holes and thinne: then folowed 6. carying painted images vpon their shoulders, after the images follow certaine priests to the number of 100. or more, with goodly vestures, whereof 10. or 12. are of white damaske, set and imbrodered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as pease, and among them certaine Saphires and other stones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then commeth the Emperours maiestie and the Metropolitane, after this maner.

First there is a horse couered with white linnen cloth down to the ground, his eares being made long with the same cloth like to an asses eares. Vpon this horse the Metropolitane sitteth sidelong like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldsmiths worke vpon the couer,

which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a crosse of gold, with which crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30. men which spread abroad their garments before the horse, and as soone as the horse is past ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and run before, and spred them againe, so that the horse doth alway go on some of them. They which spred the garments are all priests sonnes, and for their labours, the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

The Emperour leadeth the Metropolitans horse in procession.

One of the Emperours noble men leadeth the horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe goyng on foote, leadeth the horse by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his handes he had a braunch of a Palme tree: after this followed the rest of the Emperours noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the castle, about the distaunce of two flights shot: and so returned agayne to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their seruice. Which being done, the Emperours maiestie and certaine of his noble men, went to the Metropolitans his house to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The rest of this weeke vntill Easter day they keepe very solemnely, continuing in their houses for the most part, and vpon Sunday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes vse to receiue the Sacrament, and so doth most part of his nobles.

Upon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vse euery yeere on good Friday to let loose a prisoner in the stead of Barrabas. The night following they go to the church where they keepe vntil the next morning, & at Easter they haue the resurrection, and after euery of the Lents they eate flesh, the next weeke following Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Easter which they alwaies obserue, and that is this: euery yeere against Easter to die or colour red with Brasill a great number of egges, of which euery man and woman giueth one vnto the priest of their Parish vpon Easter day in the morning. And moreouer the common people vse to carrie in their hands one of these red egges, not onely vpon Easter day, but also three or foure dayes after, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen haue egges gilded which they carrie in like maner. They vse it as they say for a great loue, and in token of the resurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meete during the Easter holydayes, they come and take one another by the hand: the one of them saieth, the Lord, or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so of a trueth, and then they kisse and exchange their egges both men and women, continuing in kissing 4. dayes together.

Kissing vsed in the Greeke church.

The 12. of Aprill being Tewesday in the Easter weeke, maister Jenkinson and maister Gray, and certaine other of vs Englishmen dined with the Emperour, where we were serued as we had bene before time. And after dinner the Emperours maiestie gaue vnto maister Jenkinson and vnto M. Gray, and so orderly vnto euery one of vs a cuppe of mead, according to his accustomed maner, which when euery man had receiued and giuen thanks, M. Jenkinson stepped into the midst of the chamber before the Emperours maiestie, and gaue thanks to his highnes for his goodnesse vnto him extended, desiring his grace to licence him for to depart, and in like maner did M. Gray. His maiestie did not onely licence them to depart, but also graunted vnto M. Jenkinson his letters vnder his great seale, vnto all princes through whose dominions M. Jenkinson should haue occasion to passe, that he might the sooner & quietlier passe by meanes therof. Which being granted, M. Jenkinson and Gray lowly submitted themselues, thanking his maiestie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cup of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleasure in Gods peace.

With these letters M. Jenkinson tooke his voiage the same Aprill to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were redie to depart towards England, the Chancellours sent vnto vs, and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they shewed vs a great number of the Emperours iewels, and rich robes, willing vs to marke and behold them well, to the ende that at our arriuall into England, we might make report what we had seene there.

The Emperours wardrobe.

The chiefest was his maiesties crowne, being close vnder the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workemanship of so much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious stones aboundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which stood a handfull higher then the top of the crowne vpon a small wier, it was as big as a good beane: the same crowne was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. rubbles.

We saw all his maiesties robes which were very richly set with stones, they shewed vs many other great stones of diuers kinds, but the most part of the were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they do more esteeme the greatnes of stones, then they do the proportion of them.

We sawe two goodly gownes which were as beautie as a man could easily carrie, all set with perles ouer & ouer: the garde or borders round about them were garnished with saphires and other

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goo ſtones abundantly. One of the ſame gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round, and orient: as for the reſt of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tiſſue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had ſufficiently peruſed all theſe thinges, they willed maſter Gray at his arriuall in England, to prouide if he could, ſuch iewels and rich clothes as he had ſeene there, and better if hee could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly beſtow his money vpon ſuch things.

So we tooke our leaue the ſame time, and departed towards Vologda immediately.

The maners, vſages, and ceremonies of the Ruſſes.

Of the Emperour.

THe Emperours name in their tongue is Euan Vaſiliuich, that is as much to ſay, as Iohn the ſonne of Vaſilie, and by his princely ſtate he is called Oteſara, as his predeceſſors haue bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word Oteſara his maieſties interpreters, haue of late dayes interpreted to be an Emperour, ſo that now he is called Emperour & great Duke of all Ruſſia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but onely Rueſe Velike, that is to ſay, great Duke. And as this Emperour which now is Euan Vaſiliuich, doeth exceed his predeceſſours in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen ſo much by report he doth exceed them in ſtoutnes of courage and valiantneſſe, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larkes. Oteſara Vaſilius.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the moſt part are theſe: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Liſland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a ſtoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vſeth great familiaritie, as well vnto all his nobles and ſubiects, as alſo vnto ſtrangers which ſerue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleaſure is that they ſhall dine oftentimes in the peere in his preſence, and beſides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloued of his nobles and commons, but alſo had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, ſo that I thinke no prince in Chriſtendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he giue any cuill or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maieſties preſence againe of a long time if he be not ſent for, but will faine him to be very ſicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or ſhauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperours diſpleaſure: for when they be in their proſperitie, they account it a ſhame to weare long haire, in conſideration whereof, they vſe to haue their heads ſhauen.

His maieſtie heareth all complaints himſelfe, and with his owne mouth giueth ſentence and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholy vnto the Metropolitane. Note.

His maieſtie retaineth and well rewarded all ſtraungers that come to ſerue him, and eſpecially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other paſtime, nor in hearing inſtruments of muſike, but ſetteth all his whole delight vpon two things. Firſt, to ſerue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuout in his religion, and the ſecond, how to ſubdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and ſiluer in his owne handes or treaſurie: but the moſt part of his brownot a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are ſo much combred therewithall, and he that is worth 2, 3, or 4. groces, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

THe Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Ladie and S. Nicholas, accepted: for the Emperours maieſtie iudgeth and affirmeth him to bee of higher dignitie then himſelfe: for that ſaith he, he is Gods ſpirituall officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his maieſtie ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horſe vpon Palme ſunday, and giuing him leaue

to sit on a chaire vpon the 12. day, when the riuer Mosko was in blessing, and his maiestie standing on the ice.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitan, he heareth the causes and giueth sentence as himselfe listeth, and is authorized so to doe, whether it be to whip, hang, or burne, his will must needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monkes, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great and rich monasteries, they keepe great hospitalitie, and doe releeue much poore people day by day. I haue been in one of the monasteries called Troietes, which is walled about with bricke very strongly like a castle, and much ordinaunce of brasse vpon the wals of the same. They told me themselues that there are seuen hundred brethren of them which belong vnto that house. The most part of the lands, townes, and villages which are within fortie miles of it, belong vnto the same. They shewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the church round about, & euen the roofe of the church was painted full of images. The chiefe image was of our Lady, which was garnished with gold, rubies, saphires and other rich stones abundantly. In the midst of the church stood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathome about in bignesse, there stands a kettle ful of waxe with about 100. waight, wherein there is alwaies the midst of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They shewed mee a coffin couered with cloth of gold which stoode vpon one side within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate nor drunke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleeued them) that hee healeth many diseases, and giueth the blind their sight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of beliefe because I saw him worke no miracle whilest I was there.

After this they brought me into their sellers, and made me taste of diuers kinds of drinkes, both wine and beere, mead and quassie, of sundry colours and kinds, such aboundance of drinke as they haue in their sellers, I doe suppose few princes haue more, or so much at once.

Their barrels or vessels are of an vnmeasurable bignes and sise: some of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads: they containe 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they haue none in their sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vaules which are full of those barrels which are seldome removed: for they haue trunkes which come downe through the roofe of the vaules in sundry places, through which they powre the drinke downe, hauing the caske right vnder it to receiue the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the staires.

The hospitalitie of their monasteries.

They giue bread, meat and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but also when they depart, to serue them by the way.

There are a great number of such monasteries in the realme, and the Emperours maiestie goeth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. dayes together.

The same monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Russia, and doe occupy buying and selling as much as any other men, and haue boates which passe too and fro in the riuers with merchandize from place to place where any other of their country doe trafficque.

They eate no flesh during their liues as it is reported, but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, it is lawfull for them to eate egges, butter, cheese and milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and in doe none other in all the land, but at that abbey only.

Want of preachers cause of great ignorance and blindnesse.

They haue no preachers no not one in all the land to instruct the people, so that there are many, & the most part of the poore in the country, who if one aske them how many gods there be, they will say a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the country and the Emperours maiestie himselfe, will bleed and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in so much that they will crie earnestlie vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. All men are bound by their law to haue those images in their houses, and ouer euery gate in all their townes and cities are images set vp, vnto which the people bowe and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or crosse they doe in like maner. And when they come to any house, they blesse themselues 3. or 4. times before they will salute any man in the house.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keepe them very daintely, & rich men decke them ouer and about, with gold, siluer and stones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The priests are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their vpper cappes, which is cloth of some sadde colour, being rounde, and reacheth into the

the eares: theyr crownes are shauen, but the rest of their hayre they let grow, as long as nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their shoulders: their beards they neuer shaue: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They minister the Communion with bread and wine, after our order, but he breaketh the bread, and putteth it into the cuppe vnto the wine, and commonly some are partakers with them: & they take the bread out againe with a spooue together with part of the wine, and so take it themselues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the same maner.

Theyr ceremonies are all as they say, according to the Greeke church vsed at this present day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and theyr owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their sacred burials, or churchyards.

All theyr churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they assemble, doe bow and knocke theyr heads, as I haue before said, that some will haue knobbes vpon theyr foreheads with knocking, as great as egges. Their seruice in their mother tongue.

All their seruice is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other prayers but this, Ghospodi Iesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe. That is to say, O Lord Iesus Christ, sonne of God haue mercy vpon vs: and this is their prayer, so that the most part of the vnlearned know neither Pater noster, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor scarcely vnderstand the one halfe of the seruice which is read in their churches.

Of their Baptisme.

When any childe is borne, it is not baptised vntill the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptised then, it must tary vntill the second Sunday after the byrth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth formost, carying the childe, and the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small table ready set, and on it an earthen pot full of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, settle themselues: then the clearke giueth vnto euery of them a small waxe candle burning, then commeth the priest, and beginneth to say certeine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers must answere word for word, among which, one is, that the childe shall forsake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesseth the water which is in the pot, and doth breath ouer it: then he taketh all the candles which the gossips haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them droppe into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe, and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a small tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the childes head.

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as annointing eares and eyes with spittle, and making certeine crosses with oyle vpon the backe, head, and brests of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Lady, &c. and speaketh vnto the images, desiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a payre of sheeres and clippeth the yoong and tender hayres of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, whereunto euery of the Godfathers and Godmothers lay a hand: then the priest chargeth them, that the childe be brought vp in the faith & feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege and bow to the images, and so they make an end: then one of the Godfathers must hang a crosse about the necke of the childe, which he must alwayes weare, for that Russe which hath not a crosse about his necke, they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that we are no Christians, because we do not weare crosses as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

Theyr matrimony is nothing solemnized, but rather in most points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wise following.

First, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man sendeth vnto the woman a small chest or boxe, wherein is a whippe, needles, thred, silke, linnen cloth, sheeres, & such necessaries as she shall occupy when she is a wife, and perhaps sendeth therewithall resons, figges or some such thinges, giuing her to vnderstand, that if she doe offend she must be beaten with the whippe,

whip, & by the needles, thred, cloth, &c. that ſhe ſhould apply her ſelfe diligently to ſowe, and do ſuch things as ſhe could beſt doe, and by the raiſins or fruites he meaneth if ſhe doe well, no good thing ſhalbe withdrawen from her, nor be too dere for her: and ſhe ſendeth vnto him a ſhirt, handkercher, and ſome ſuch things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they ſhall go towardes the church, the bride will in no wiſe conſent to go out at the houſe, but reſiſteth and ſtriueth with them that would haue her out, and faineth her ſelfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered cloſe, becauſe of her diſſimulation, that it ſhould not be openly perceiued: for ſhe maketh a great noyce, as though ſhe were ſobbing and weeping, vntill ſhe come at the church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they carry with them to the church a great pot with wine or meade: then the prieſt coupleth them together much after our order, one promiſſing to loue and ſerue the other during they liues together, &c. which being done they begynne to drinke, and firſt the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, haſting immediately to tread vpon it, and ſo doth ſhe, and whether of them tread firſt vpon it muſt haue the victory and be maiſter at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readieſt to ſet his foot on it, becauſe he letteth it fall himſelfe, then they go home againe, the womans face being vncouered. The boyes in the ſtreets cry out and make a noyce in the meane time, with very vnſeemely words.

When they come home, the wife is ſet at the vpper end of the table, and the huſband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they be all drunke, they perchance haue a minſtrell or two, and two naked men, whiche leo her from the churche, dance naked a long time before all the company. When they are weary of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to bed, the bridegrome putteth certeine money both golde and ſiluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and then ſtreteth downe in the chamber, croſſing his legges, and then the bride muſt plucke off one of his boots, which ſhe will, and if ſhe happen on the boot wherein the money is, ſhe hath not onely the mony for her labor, but is alſo at ſuch choyce, as ſhe need not euer from that day forth to pull of his boots, but if ſhe miſſe the boot wherein the mony is, ſhe doth not onely looſe the mony, but is alſo bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three dayes following, being accompanyed with certaine of their friends, and during the ſame three dayes he is called a duke, and ſhe a dutches, although they be very poore perſons, and this is as much as I haue learned of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongſt them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, ſhe will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, and the women ſay, that if they huſbands did not beat them, they ſhould not loue them.

They vſe to marry there very yoong, they lownes at 16 and 18 yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12 or 13 yeeres or yoonger: they vſe to keepe they wiues very cloſely, I meane thoſe that be of any reputation, ſo that a man ſhall not ſee one of them but at a chance, when ſhe goeth to church at Chriſtmas or at Eaſter or els going to viſit ſome of her friends.

The moſt part of the women vſe to ride a ſtride in ſaddles with ſtyrrups, as men do, and ſome of them on ſleds, which in ſummer is not commendable.

The women of Ruſſia paint their faces.

The huſband is bound to finde the wife coulers to paint her withall, for they vſe ordinarily to paint themſelues: it is ſuch a common practiſe among them, that it is counted for no ſhame: they greaſe their faces with ſuch coulers, that a man may diſcerne them hanging on they faces almoſt a ſlight ſhoot off: I can not ſo well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bag of meale. but they eye browes they couler as blacke as iet.

The beſt property that the women haue, is that they can ſowe well, and imbroder with ſilke and golde excellently.

Of their Buriall.

When any man or woman dyeth, they ſtretch him out, and put a new payre of ſhoes on his feet, becauſe he hath a great iourney to goe: then do they winde him in a ſheet, as we do, but they forget not to put a teſtimony in his right hand, which the prieſt giueth him, to teſtifie vnto S. Nicholas that he dyed a Chriſtian man or woman. And they put the coarſe alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they go towards the church, the friends and kinſmen of the party departed carry in they handes ſmall waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They

They that be hanged or beheaded, or ſuch like, haue no teſtimony with them: how they are receiued into heauen, it is a wonder, without their paſport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of ſuſtenance, which is a pitifull caſe to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a ſmall time, within theſe two yeeres, about 80 perſons yoong and olde, which haue dyed onely for lacke of ſuſtenance: for if they haue but ſtraw and water enough, they would make ſhift to liue: for a great many are forced in the winter to dry ſtraw and ſtampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the leaſt they eat it in ſtead of bread. In the ſummer they make good ſhift with graſſe, herbs, and roots: barks of trees is good meate with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I ſuppoſe, that liue ſo miſerably as do the poouertie in thoſe parts: and the moſt part of them that haue ſufficient for themſelues, and alſo to relieue others that need, are ſo vnmercifull that they care not how many they ſee die of ſamine or hunger in the ſtreets.

Bread made of ſtraw.

The vnmercifulneſſe of the Ruſſes toward the poore.

It is a countrey full of diſeaſes, diuers, and euill, and the beſt remedy is for any of them, as they holde opinion, to go often vnto the hot houſes, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which he heateth commonly twiſe euery weeke, and all the houſholde ſweat, and waſh themſelues therein.

Stooues or baths vſuall with the Moſcouites.

The names of certaine ſortes of drinkes vſed in *Ruſſia, and commonly drunke in the* Emperours Court.

Reported by Tho. Bailey.

THe firſt and principall meade is made of the iuyce or licor taken from a berry called in Ruſſia, Malieno, which is of a maruellous ſweet taſte, and of a carmoſant couler, which berry I haue ſeene in Paris.

The ſecond meade is called Viſnoua, becauſe it is made of a berry ſo called, and is like a blacke gooſe berry: but it is like in couler and taſte to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina, or Smorodina, ſhort, of a ſmall berry much like to the ſmall reyſon, and groweth in great plenty in Ruſſia.

The fourth meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is alſo a delicate drinke drawne from the roote of the Birch tree, called in the Ruſſe toong Berozeuitcs, which drinke the noble men and others vſe in Aprill, May, and June, which are the three moneths of the ſpring time: for after thoſe moneths, the ſappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinſon, made from the citie of *Moſco in Ruſſia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yere* 1558: written by himſelfe to the Merchants of London of the Moſcouie companie.

THe 23 day of Aprill, in the yeere 1558 (hauing obteined the Emperour of Ruſſia his letters, directed vnto ſundry kings and princes, by whoſe dominions I ſhould paſſe) I departed from Moſco by water, hauing with me two of your ſeruants, namely, Richard Johnſon and Robert Johnſon, and a Tartar Tolmach, with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28 day we came to a towne called Collom, diſtant from the Moſco 20 leagues, & paſſing one league beyond the ſaid Collom, we came vnto a riuer called Occa, into the which the riuer Moſco falleth, and loſeth his name: and paſſing downe the ſaid riuer Occa 8 leagues, we came vnto a caſtle called Terreuetriako, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the firſt day of May, we came vnto another caſtle called Peroſlaue, diſtant 8 leagues, leauing it alſo on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where Olde Rezan was ſituate, being now moſt of it ruined and ouergrowen, and diſtant from the ſaid Peroſlaue 6 leagues: the 4 day we paſſed by a caſtle called Terecouia, from Rezan 12 leagues, and the 6 day we came to another caſtle called Caſſim, vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named Vzzar Zegoline, ſometime Emperor of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now ſubiect vnto the Emperor of Ruſſia. But leauing Caſſim on our left hand, the 8 day we came vnto a fayre towne called Moreom, from Caſſim 20 leagues, where we tooke the ſonne, and found the latitude 56 degrees: and proceeding forward the

11 day

11 day, we came vnto another fayre towne and castle called Nyse Nouogrod, situated at the falling of the foresaid riuer Occa into the woorthy riuer of Volga, distant from the said Moron 25 leagues, in the latitude of 56 degrees 18 minuts. From Rezan to this Nyse Nouogrod, on both sides the said riuer of Occa, is raised the greatest store of waxe and hony in all the land of Russia. We tarryed at the foresayd Nyse Nouogrod, vntill the 19 day, for the comming of a captaine which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who being arriued, and hauing the number of 500 great boates vnder his conduct, some laden with victualles, souldiers, and munition: and other some with merchandize, departed altogether the said 19 day from the said Nyse Nouogrod, and the 22 we came vnto a castle called Vasiliagorod, distant 25 leagues, which we left vpon our right hand. This towne or castle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vasilius, and gorod in the Russe tongue, is as much to say as a castle, so that Vasiliagorod, is to say, Vasilius castle: and it was the furthest place that the sayd Emperor conquered from the Tartarres. But this present Emperour his sonne, called Iuan Vasiliwich, hath had great good successe in his warres, both against the Christians and also the Mahometists and Gentils, but especially against the Tartarres, inlarging his Empyre euen to the Caspian sea, hauing conquered the famous riuer of Volga, with all the countryes thereabout adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25 day of May aforesaid, we came to another castle called Sabowshare, which we left on our right hand, distant from Vasiliagorod 16 leagues. The country heerabout is called Mardouits, and the habitantes did professe the law of the Gentils: but now being conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are Christened, but lie in the woods and wildernesse, without towne or habitation.

Cazan. The 27 day we passed by another castle called Swyasko, distant from Shabowshare aforesaid 25 leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29 came vnto an Island one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a riuer called Cazanka reca, & entreth into the foresaid Volga. Cazan is a fayre towne, after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong castle, situated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber and earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath giuen order to plucke downe the olde walles, and to build them againe of free stone. It hath bene a city of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartarres, it was a kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9 yeeres past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but yoong is now baptised, and brought vp in his court with two other princes, which were also kings of the said Cazan, and being ech of them in time of their raignes in danger of their subiects through ciuil discord, came and rendred themselues at seuerall times vnto the said Emperor, so that at this present there are three princes in the court of Russia, which had beene Emperours of the said Cazan, whom the Emperour vseth with great honor.

We remained at Cazan till the 13 day of June, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Island called the Island of merchants, because it was woont to be a place where all merchants, as well Russes and Cazanits, as Nagayans and Crymmes, and diuers other nations did resort to keepe mart for buying and selling, but now it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco vnto Mare Caspium.

Thus proceeding forward the 14 day, we passed by a goodly riuer called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This riuer falleth out of the countrey of Perania into the riuer of Volga, and is from Cazan 15 leagues, and the countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan and the said riuer Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitantes be Gentils, and liue in the wildernesse without house or habitation: and the countrey on the other side of Volga ouer against the said riuer Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentils, halfe Tartarres, and all the land on the left hand of the said Volga from the said riuer vnto Astracan, and so following the North and Northeast side of the Caspian sea, to a land of the Tartarres called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whose inhabitantes are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Astracan, through ciuill warres among them, accompanyed with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort, that in the sayd yeere there was consumed of the people, in one sort and another, aboue one hu[illegible] thousand: the like plague was neuer seene in those parts, so that the said countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great pasture, remaineth now vnreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who haue had cruell warres a long time together.

The Nagayans when they florished, liued in this maner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murse. Towne or house they had none, but liued in the open fieldes, euery Murse or King

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hauing his Hoyſes or people about him, with their wiues, children and cattell, who hauing conſu- Hoyſes.
med the paſture in one place, remoued vnto another: and when they remoue they haue houſes like vnto tilt vpon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, and therin they haue their wiues, children, and all their riches, which is very little, is carried about, and euery man hath at the leaſt foure or fiue wiues beſides concubines. Vſe of money they haue none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other neceſſaries. They delight in no arte nor ſcience, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the moſt part they be paſturing people, and haue great ſtore of cattell, which is all their riches. They eate much fleſh, and eſpecially the horſe, and they drinke mares milke, where with they be oftentimes drunke: they are ſeditious and inclined to theft and murther. Come they ſowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Chriſtians for the ſame, and diſabling our ſtrengths, ſaying we liue by eating the coppe of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the ſame, allowing their great deuouring of fleſh, and drinking of milke to be the cauſe of their ſtrength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney.

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer againſt the riuer Cama vnto the towne of Aſtracan, is the land of Crimme, whoſe inhabitantes be alſo of the law of Mahomet, and liue for the moſt part according to the faſhions of the Nagapes, hauing continuall warres with the Emperour of Ruſſia, and are valiant in the field, hauing countenance, and ſupport from the great Turke.

The 16 day of June we paſſed by certaine fiſhermens houſes called Petowſe twentie leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fiſhing for ſturgion, and ſo continuing our way vntill the 22 day, and paſſing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforeſayd countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the ſayd riuer of Volga. The 28 day we came into a great hill, where was in times paſt a caſtle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iuſt midway betweene the ſayd Cazan and Aſtrachan, which is 200 leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51 degrees 47 minuts. Vpon all this ſhore groweth abundance of liquoriſh, whoſe root runneth within the ground like a vine. Liquoriſh in great plenty.

Thus going forward the fiue day of Julie we came to a place called Perouolog, ſo named becauſe in times paſt the Tartarres carryed their boates from Volga into the riuer Tanais, otherwiſe called Don, by land, when they would robbe ſuch as paſſed downe the ſayd Volga to Aſtracan, and alſo ſuch as paſſed downe by the riuer Tanais, to Aſophe, Caffa, or any other towne ſituated vpon Mare Euxinum, into which ſea Tanais falleth, who hath his ſpringes in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this ſtreight of Perouolog from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not ſo euill as it hath beene, by reaſon of the Emperour of Ruſſia his conqueſts.

Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wildernеſſe on both ſides, we ſaw a great heard of Nagayans, paſturing, as is aboueſayd, by eſtimation aboue a thouſand cammels drawing of carts with houſes vpon them like tentes, of a ſtrange faſhion, ſeeming to be a farre off a towne: that Lord was belonging to a great Murſe called Smille, the greateſt prince in all Nagay, who hath ſlaine and driuen away all the reſt, not ſparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of Ruſſia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone, ſo that now the Ruſſes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were woont to haue moſtell warres together.

The 14 day of July paſſing by an olde caſtle, which was Olde Aſtracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Aſtracan, which this Emperour of Ruſſia conquered ſixe yeres paſt, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Moſcouy vnto Aſtracan ſixe hundreth leagues, or there about. The towne of Aſtracan is ſituated in an Iſland vpon a hill ſide, hauing a caſtle within the ſame, walled about with earth and timber, neither fayre nor ſtrong, the towne is alſo walled about with earth: the buildinges and houſes (except it be the captaines lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) moſt baſe and ſimple. The Iſland is moſt deſtitute and barren of wood and paſture, and the ground will beare no corne: the ayre is there moſt infected, by reaſon (as I ſuppoſe) of much fiſhe, and ſpecially ſturgion, by which only the inhabitantes liue, hauing great ſtoreſtore of fleſh and bread. They hang vp their fiſh in their ſtreetes and houſes to dry for their prouiſion, which cauſeth ſuch abundance of flyes to increaſe there, as the like was neuer ſeene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the ſayd Aſtracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and ſpecially among the Tartarres called Nagayans, who the ſame time came thither in great numbers to render themſelues to the Ruſſes their enemies, and to ſeeke ſuccour at their hands, their countrey being deſtroyed, as I ſaid before: but they were but ill intertained or relieued, for there dyed a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iſlande through in heapes dead, and like to beaſtes, vnburyed, very pitifull to beholde: many of them Aſtracan.

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were also solde by the Rusles, and the rest were banished from the Island. At that time it had been an easie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Christian faith, if the Rusles themselues had beene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne. At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thousande, of their owne fathers and mothers, to say, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread worth fiue pence in England, but we had money ynough of victuailes at that time then of any such merchandize. This Astracan is the furthest holde that this Emperour of Russia hath conquered of the Tartars towardes the Caspian sea, which hee keepeth very strong, sending thither euery yeere prouision of men, and victuailes, and timber to builde the castle.

There is a certaine trade of merchandize there vsed, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come merchantes thither from diuers places. The chiefest commodities that the Rusles bring thither are reede hides, reede sheepe skinnes, woodden vessels, bridles, and saddles, kniues, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuailes. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten woll, with diuers kindes of wrought silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely from Shamackie do bring sowing silke, which is the coursest that they vse in Russeland, Cralko, diuers kindes of pide silkes for girdles, shirts of male, bowes, swoords, and such like things: and some yeeres come, and walnuts, but all such thinges in such small quantitie, the merchantes being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all those parts worth the following.

The length of the Island of Astracan.

This foresaid Island of Astracan is in length twelue leagues, and in breath three, and lieth East and West in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees nine minutes: we tarryed there vntill the first day of August, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in companye with certaine Tartars and Persians, we laded our goods, and imbarked our selues, and the same day departed I, with the said two Iohnsons hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation downe the said riuer Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entred into the Caspian sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the said riuer, being twentie leagues from Astracan aforesaid, in the latitude of fortie fiue degrees twentie seuen minutes.

Volga.

Volga hath seuentie mouthes or falles into the sea: and we hauing a large winde, kept the Northeast coaste, and the eleuenth day we sailed seuen leagues Eastnortheast, and came vnto an Island hauing an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the sea. From thence fifteen leagues, we fell with another Island called Bawhyata, much higher then the other. Betwixt these two Islands to the Northwards, is a great bay called the Blew sea. From thence we sayled East and by North twelue leagues, and hauing a contrary winde, we came to an anker in a fathom water, and so ridde vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great storme at Southeast, being a most contrary winde, which we ridde out. Then the winde came to the North, and we weyed, and set our course Southeast, and that day sayled eight leagues.

Baughlara.

Thus proceeding forwards, the seuenteenth day we lost sight of land, and the same day sailed thirtie leagues, and the eightenth day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a land called Baughleara, being seuentie foure leagues from the mouth of the foresayd Volga, in the latitude of fortie fiue degrees fiftie foure minuts, the coast lying nerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the poynt of this land lyeth buryed a holye Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of theyr lawe, where great deuotion is vsed of all such Mahometistes as doe passe that waye.

Serachike.

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and we winding Eastsoutheast, we sailed foure leagues, and passed by a great riuer called Yake, which hath his spring in the lande of Siberia, nigh vnto the foresayd riuer Cama, and runneth through the land of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And vp this riuer one dayes iourney is a towne called Serachicke, subiect to the aforesayd Tartar prince called Murse Smille, which is now in friendshippe with the Emperour of Russia. Here is no trade of merchandize vsed, for that the people haue no vse of money, and are all men of warre, and pasturers of cattell, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker against this riuer Yake, and all our men being on lande, sauing I, who lay sore sicke, and fiue Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because hee came from Mecka, there came vnto vs a boate with thirtie men well armed and appoynted, who boorded vs, and beganne to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiuing that, asked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that these rouers stayed, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their countrey, and out of liuing, and came to see if

there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barke? to whom this Axie most lowdly answered, that there were none, and swing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rouers beleeued, and vpon his woordes departed. Thus through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my companie and goods were saued, and our men being come on boorde, and the winde faire, wee departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the second of August sailed 16. leagues.

The 2. day wee passed ouer a bay of 6. leagues broade, and fell with a Cape of land, hauing two Ilands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: and doubling that Cape the land trended Northeast, and maketh another bay, into which falleth the great riuer Yem, springing out of the land of Colmacke.

The Countrie of Colmacke.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an ancre.

The 25. the winde came faire, and we sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Iland of low land, and there about are many flats and sands: and to the Northwards of this Iland there goeth in a great bay, but wee set off from this Iland, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds and flats, and ranne that course 10. leagues, then East Southeast 10. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and passing along the coast 10. leagues, the further we sailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we crossed ouer a bay, the Southshoare being the higher land, and fell with a high point of land, and being ouerthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this storme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we passed to a port called Mangoslaue. The place where wee should haue arriued at the Southermost part of the Caspian sea is 12. leagues within a bay: but wee being sore tormented, and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driuen vnto another land on the other side the bay, ouerthwart the said Mangoslaue being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the hauen, as of those barbarous fielde people where neuer barke nor boate had before arriued, not liked of vs.

But yet here we sent certaine of our men to land, to talke with the gouernour and people, as well for our good vsage at their handes, as also for prouision of camels to carry our goods from the foresaid Sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing fiue and twentie dayes iourney. Our messengers returned with comfortable woordes and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. wee discharged our barke, and I with my companie were greatly intertained of the Prince, and of his people. But before our departure from thence, wee founde them to bee very badde and brutish people, for they ceased not dayly to molest vs, either by fighting, stealing or begging, rayling the pitt of horse and camels, and victuals double, that the wont was there to bee, and forced vs to buy the water that wee did drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hier of camels, as for the price of such as wee bought, with other prouision, according to their owne demaunde: So that for euery camels lading being but 400. waight of ours, wee agreed to giue three hides of Russia, and foure wodden dishes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the foresaide people one ninth and two thirds, namely, 9 seuerall things, and twise 7. seuerall things: for money they vse none.

And thus being readie, the foureteenth of September wee departed from that place, being a Caruan of 1000. camels. And hauing trauailed fiue dayes iourney, wee came to another Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine Tartars a horsebacke, being well armed, and seruants vnto the said Prince called Timor Soltan, gouernour of the said Countrey of Mangoslaue, where we ment to haue arriued and discharged our barke if the great storme aforesaid had not disappointed. These foresaid Tartars stayed our Caruan in the name of their prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their said prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth, (after much dissension) I rode vnto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his fauour, and passport to trauaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commanding mee to be well feasted with flesh and mares milke: for bread they vse none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue mee for such things as hee tooke of mee, which might bee of value in Russe money, fifteene rubbles, but hee gaue mee his letter, and a horse worth seuen rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for hee was reported to bee a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderstoode his commaundement was, that I should haue bene robbed and destroyed.

This Soltan liued in the fieldes without Castle or towne, and sate at my being with him,

in a litle rounde house made of reeues couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Countrey, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with diuers other of his chiefe men: the Soltan with the Metropolitan demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things as vnto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So leauing leaue I departed and ouertooke our Caruan, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauelled 20. dayes in the wildernes from the sea five without seeing towne or habitation, carying prouision of victuals with vs for the same time, and were driuen by necessitie to eate one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like, and during the said 20. dayes we found no water, but such as we dyd we out of olde deepe wells, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the 5. day of October ensuing, we came vnto a guilphe of the Caspian sea againe, where wee founde the water very fresh and sweete: at this guilphe the Commers of the king of Turkeman met vs, who tooke custome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the saide king and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh our selues.

Note that in times past there did fal into this gulfe þ great riuer Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountaines of Paraponisus in India, and now commeth not so farre, but falleth into another riuer called Ardocke, which runneth towarde the North, and consumeth himselfe in the ground, passing vnder ground aboue 1000. miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.

Sellizure, or Shapyure.

We hauing refreshed our selues at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the 7. day arriued at a Castle called Sellizure, where the king (called Azim Can) remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his presence, to whome I deliuered the Emperours letters of Russia: and I also gaue him a present of a knife, who entertained me very well, and caused me to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feeding me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milke without bread. And the next day sent for me againe, and asked of me diuers questions, as well touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our Countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated vpon an high hill, where the king called the Can lyeth, whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and little trade of marchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where growe many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people doe eate after meate in steade of drinke. Also there growes another fruite called a Carbuse of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine corne called Iegur, whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluster of grapes; the water that serueth all that Countrey is drawen by diches out of the riuer Oxus, vnto the great destruction of the said riuer, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that lande is like to be destroyed, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the riuer of Oxus shall faile.

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the same we arriued at a citie called Vrgense, where we payde custome as well for our owne heads, as for our camels and horse. And hauing there sojourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauaile, the king of that Countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azym Can, returned from a towne called Corozan within the borders of Persia, which he lately had conquerred from the Persians, with whome he and the rest of the kings of Tartaria haue continuall warres. Before this king also I was commaunded to come, to whome I likewise presented the Emperours letters of Russia, and he intertained me well, and demaunded of me diuers questions, and at my departure gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

This Citie or towne of Vrgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long streete that is couered aboue, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there are but fewe marchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not tell aboue 4. carters. The cheefest commodities there solde, are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most small quantitie not worth the writing. All the land from the Caspian sea to this Citie of Vrgence,

prince, is called the lande of Turkeman, and is ſubiect to the ſaide Azim Can, and his brethren which be 5. in nomber, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little obeyed ſauing in his owne Dominion, and where hee dwelleth: for euery one will be king of his owne portion, and one brother ſeeketh alwayes to deſtroy another, hauing no natural loue among them, by reaſon that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of ſlaues, either Chriſtians or Gentiles, which the father doth keepe as concubines, and euery Can or Sultan, hath at the leaſt 40. or 50. wiues, beſides yong maydens and boyes, liuing moſt vicioully: and when there are warres betwixt theſe brethren, (as they are ſeldome without) hee that is ouercome if hee be not ſlaine, flieth to the fielde with ſuch companie of men as will followe him, and there lieth in the wilderneſſe reſorting to watering places, and ſo robbeth and ſpoyleth as many Caruans of Marchants and others as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this ſort his wicked life, vntill ſuch time as hee may get power and ayde to inuade ſome of his brethren againe. From the Caſpian ſea vnto the Caſtle of Sellizure aforeſaid, and all the Countreis about the ſaid ſea, the people liue without towne or habitation in the wilde fieldes, remouing from one place to another in great companies with their cattle, whereof they haue great ſtore, as camels, horſes, and ſheepe both tame and wilde. Their ſheepe are of great ſtature with great buttockes, hauing 60. or 80. pound in waight. There are many wilde horſes, which the Tartars doe many times kill with their hankes, and that in this order.

The haukes are lured to ſeaſe vpon the beaſtes neckes or heads, which with chafing of themſelues and ſore beating of the haukes are tired: then the hunter following his game, doeth ſlay the beaſt with his arrowe or ſword. In all this lande there groweth no graſſe, but a certaine bruſh or heath whereon the cattell feeding, become very fat.

The Tartars neuer ride without their bowe, arrowes, and ſword, although it be on hauking, or any other pleaſure, and they are good archers both on horſebacke, and on foote alſo. Theſe people haue not the vſe of golde, ſiluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other neceſſaries, they barter their cattell for the ſame. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor ſow, they be great deuourers of fleſh, which they eate in ſmall pieces, and eate it by handfuls moſt greedily, eſpecially the horſefleſh. Their chiefeſt drinke is mares milke ſowred, as I haue ſaid before of the Nagayans, and they wilde drunke with the ſame: they haue no riuers nor places of water in this countrey, vntil you come to the foreſaid gulfe, diſtant from the place of our lading 20. dayes iourney, except it be in wels, the water whereof is ſalt iſh, & yet diſtant the one from the other two dayes iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, ſitting with their leggs double vnder them, and ſo alſo when they pray. Arte or ſcience they haue none, but liue moſt idlely, ſitting mum in great companies in the fields, deuiſing, and talking moſt vainely.

The 26. day of Nouember, wee departed from the towne of Vrgence, and hauing trauailed by the riuer Oxus 100. mile, we paſſed ouer another great riuer called Ardocke, where we paid a certaine petie cuſtome. This riuer Ardocke is great, and very ſwift, falling out of the foreſaid Oxus, and paſſing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then conſumeth it ſelfe in the ground, and paſſing vnder the ſame about 500. mile, iſſueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I haue before declared.

The 7. of December following, wee arriued at a Caſtle called Kait, ſubiect to a Soltan called Sarumet Soltan, who ment to haue robbed all the Chriſtians in the Caruan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Vrgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefeſt counſailers, who willed vs to make him a preſent, which he tooke, and deliuered: beſides we paide at the ſaide Caſtle for cuſtome, of euery camel one red hide of Ruſſia, beſides petie gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at reſt, and our watche ſet, there came vnto vs foure horſemen, which we tooke as ſpies, from whome wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confeſſed that they had ſeene the tract of many horſemen, and no footing of camels, and gaue vs to vnderſtande, that there were rouers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Caruan, where there be many camels, and horſe-feeting newe without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we conſulted & determined amongſt our ſelues, and ſent a poſte to the ſaide Soltan of Kayte, who immediatly came himſelfe with 300. men, and met theſe foure ſuſpected men which we ſent vnto him, and examined them ſo ſtraightly, and threatened them in ſuch ſort, that they confeſſed, there was a baniſhed Prince with 40. men 3. dayes iourney forward, who lay in waite to deſtroy vs, if he could, and that they themſelues were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore vnderſtanding that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the Soltan himſelfe

returned backe againe, taking the 4. theeues with him. These souldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely, they set out before our Carauan, and hauing ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they meete vs comming towardes vs, as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had found the tract of horses not farre from vs, perceiuing well that wee should meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our selues for them, and asked vs what we would giue them to conduct vs further, or els they would returne. To whome we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would haue more, and so we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went backe to their Soltane, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had bene at Mecha) caused the whole Carauan to stay, and would make their prayers, and deuine howe wee should prosper in our iourney, and whether we should meete with any ill companie or no, to which, our whole Carauan did agree, and they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the saide sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the saide blood, vsing many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same deuined and founde, that wee should meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but should ouercome them, to which forcerie, I and my companie gaue no credite, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December in the morning, we escried foure off diuers horsemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rouers) gathered our selues together, being 40. of vs well appointed, and able to fight, and wee made our prayers together euery one after his lawe, professing to liue and die one with another, and so prepared our selues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in nomber 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the Captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our selues, or els to bee slaine, but wee desired them, wherewith they shotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning vntill two houres within night, diuers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunnes which I and my companie had and vsed, we had bene ouercome and destroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were also better archers then we; But after wee had slaine diuers of their men and horses with our gunnes, they durst not approche so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our selues vpon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and layde our horses and camels within the same to saue them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeues also incamped within an arrowe shotte also of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had drunke in 2. dayes before.

Thus keeping good watche, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeues sent a messenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine in their tongue, the Carauan Basha, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I sende a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderstanding as well himselfe as his companie, swore so lowde that wee might all heare. And then wee sent one of our companie (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order. Our Prince demaundeth of the Carauan Basha, and of all you that be Bussarmans, (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his handes as many Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers (meaning vs the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and to the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse crueltie then the Caphars, if hee ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Carauan Basha answered that hee had no Christians in his companie, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Lawe, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that wee were not afraide of his threatnings, and that should hee knowe when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the theeues (contrary to their othe) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victorie, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith we were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but hee being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared our selues to battel againe, which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement & asked much

of

of vs. And to be briefe, the most part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing lick to loose, & safe conduct to passe, we were compelled to agree, & to giue the theeues 20. ninthes (that is to say) 20. times 9. seuerall things, and a camell to carie away the same, which being receiued, the thieues departed into the wildernes to their olde habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the riuer Oxus, where wee refreshed our selues, hauing bene 3. dayes without water, and drinke, and carried there all the next day, making merry with our slaine horses and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the said theeues againe or such like, wee left the high way which went along the saide riuer, and passed through a wildernes of sand, and trauailed 4. dayes in the same before we came to water: and then came to a well the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horses and camels to eate.

The riuer of Oxus.

In this wildernes also we had almost fallen into the handes of theeues: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a little separated from the Carauan, wherewith there was a great shoute and cry, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and droue fore till wee came to the riuer Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the said riuer: and whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same theeues were farre from vs when the scoutes discouered vs, we knowe not, but we escaped that danger.

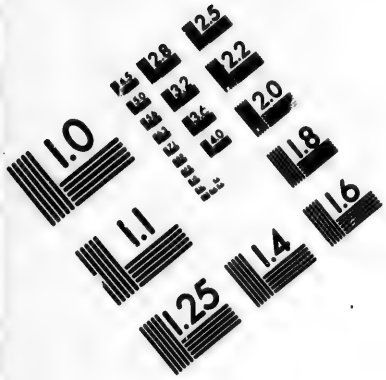
So vpon the 23. day of December wee arriued at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers gates into the same: it is deuided into 3. partitions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3. part is for Marchants and markets, and euery science hath their dwelling and market by themselues. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and specially bathstones so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the worlde: the maner whereof is to long to rehearse. There is a little Riuer running through the middes of the saide Citie, but the water thereof is most vnholsome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lieth commonly in the legge betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is plucke out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day she commeth out about an inche, which is rolled vp, and so worketh till shee be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & mares milke, and whosoeuer is found to breake that lawe is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans house, to searche if hee haue either Aquauitæ, wine, or brage, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoyle the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination hee shall not escape their handes.

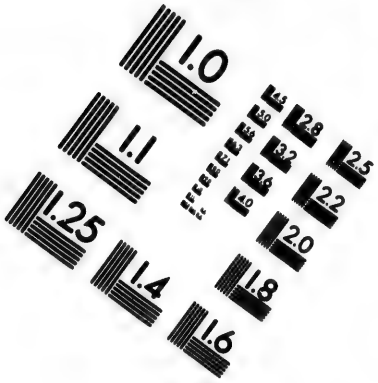
Boghar a citie of Bactria.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this lawe to be so streightly kept, and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depose the king, and place another at his will and pleasure, as hee did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour, by the meanes of the saide Metropolitan: for hee betrayed him, and in the night slewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Christians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subiect to the Persians, and doe now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruel warres continually with the saide Persians about their religion, although they be all Mahometists. One occasion of their warres is, for that the Persians will not cut the haire of their vpper lippes, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great sinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers, as they doe the Christians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but small, and he is most maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there solde, as wel by the craftes men as by the Marchants, to the great impouerishment of the people, whome hee keepeth in great subiection, and when he lacketh money, hee sendeth his officers to the shoppes of the saide Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he did to pay mee certaine money that hee owed me for 19. pieces of carsey. Their money is siluer and copper, for golde there is none currant: they haue but one piece of siluer, & that is worth 12. pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120. of them goeth to the value of the said 12. d. and is more cōmon paiment then the siluer, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his





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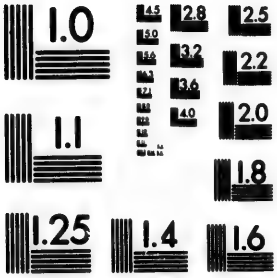

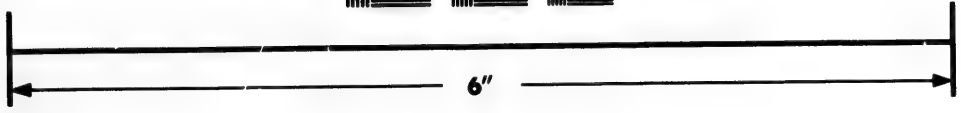

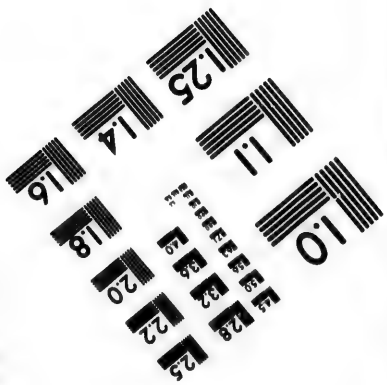

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moſt aduantage euery other moneth, and ſometimes twiſe in a moneth, not caring to oppreſſe his people, for that hee looketh not to raigne aboue 2. or 3. yeeres before hee be either ſlaine or driuen away to the great deſtruction of the Countrey and marchants.

The 26. day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the ſaid king, to whom I preſented the Emperour of Ruſſia his letters, who interteined vs moſt gently, and cauſed vs to eate in his preſence, and diuers times he ſent for me, and deuiſed with me familiarly in his ſecret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as alſo of our countreis, lawes, and religion, and cauſed vs to ſhoote in handgunnes before him, and did himſelfe practiſe the vſe thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he ſhewed himſelfe a very Tartar: for he went to the warres giuing me money, and ſawe mee not paide before his departure; And although in deede hee gaue order for the ſame, yet was I very ill ſatisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as paiment for the reſt contrary to my expectation, but of a begger, better paiment I could not haue, and glad I was ſo to be paide and diſpatched.

But yet I muſt needes praiſe and commende this barbarous king, who immediatly after my arriuall at Boghar, hauing vnderſtoode our trouble with the theeues, ſent 100. men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either ſlaine or taken the ſaide theeues. Who according to their commiſſion ranged the wildernes in ſuch ſort, that they met with the ſaid companie of theeues, and ſlewe part, and part flewe, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were ſore wounded in our ſkirmiſh with our gunners: And after the king had ſent for me to come to ſee them, hee cauſed them all 4. to be hanged at his palace gate, becauſe they were Gentlemen to the example of others. And of ſuch goods as were gotten againe, I had part reſtored me, and this good iuſtice I found at his handes.

There is yeerely great reſort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which trauaile in great Caruaant from the Countries thereabout adioyning, as India, Perſia, Balke, Ruſſia, with diuers others, and in times paſt from Cathay, when there was paſſage, but theſe Marchants are ſo beggerly and poore, and bring ſo little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3. yeeres to ſell the ſame, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of theſe foreſaide Countreys, are theſe following.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars doe roll about their heads, and all other kinds of whites, which ſerue for apparell made of cotton woolll and craſko, but golde, ſilver, precious ſtones, and ſpices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all ſuch trade paſſeth to the Ocean ſea, and the vaines where all ſuch things are gotten, are in the ſubiection of the Portingals. The Indians carie from Boghar againe, wrought ſilkes, redde hides, ſlaues and horſes, with ſuch like, but of carſeis and other cloths, they make litle accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of thoſe Countreis, which came from the furtheſt parts of India, euen from the Countrey of Bengala, & the Riuer Ganges, to giue them carſeis for their commodities, but they would not barter for ſuch commoditie as cloth.

The Perſians doe bring thither Craska, woollen cloth, linnen cloths, diuers kindes of wrought pide ſilkes, Argomacks, with ſuch like, and doe carrie from thence redde hides with other Ruſſe wares, and ſlaues which are of diuers Countreis, but cloth they will buy none, for that they bring thither themſelues, and is brought vnto them as I haue enquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie. The Ruſſes doe carrie vnto Boghar, redde hides, cheepeſt kinnes, woollen cloth of diuers ſorts, wooden veſſels, bridles, ſaddles, with ſuch like, and doe carrie away from thence, diuers kindes of wares made of cotton woll, diuers kindes of ſilkes, Craſca, with other things, but there is but ſmall vtterance. From the Countreis of Cathay is brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, muſke, rubarbe, ſatton, damaſke, with diuers other things: at my being at Boghare, there came Carauans out of all theſe foreſaid Countreis, except from Cathay, and the cauſe why there came none from thence, was the great warres that had dured 3. yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2. great Countreis and cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the ſaid Boghar and the ſaid Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles as Mahometiſts bordering to the ſaide Cities. The cities are called Taſkent and Caskayre, and the people that warre againſt Taskent are called Caſſaks of the law of Mahomet, and they which warre with the ſaid countrey of Caskayre, are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters. Theſe 2. barbarous nations are of great force liuing in the fieldes without houſe or towne, & haue almoſt ſubdued the foreſaide cities, & ſo ſtopped vp the way, that it is impoſſible for any Caruaan to paſſe vnpoſſed, ſo that 3. yeeres before our being there, no Caruaan had gone, or vſed trade betwixt the Countreis of Cathay, and Boghare, & when the way is cleare, it is 9. moneths iourney.

To

To ſpeake of the ſaid Countrey of Cathay, and of ſuch newes as I haue heard therof, I haue thought it beſt to reſerue it to our meeting. I hauing made my ſolace at Boghar, in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquiſition, the trade thereof, as alſo of all the other Countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and alſo the king being gone to the warres, and newes came, that he was ſled, and I aduertiſed by the Metropolitan himſelfe, that I ſhould depart, becauſe the Towne was like to be beſieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney ſome way, and determined to haue gone from thence into Perſia, and to haue ſeene the trade of that Countrey, although I had enformed my ſelfe ſufficiently thereof, as well at Aſtracan, as at Boghar: and perceiued well the trades, not to be much vnlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I ſhould haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occaſions: the one was, the great warres that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, where by the waies they were deſtroied: and there was a Carrauan deſtroyed with rouers, and theeues, which came out of India, and Perſia, by ſafe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part ſlaine. Alſo the Metropolitane of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperours letters of Ruſſia from me, without which I ſhould haue bene taken ſlaue in euery place: alſo all ſuch wares as I had receaued in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, and other his Nobles, in paiment of monie due vnto me, were not vendible in Perſia: for which cauſes, and diuers others, I was conſtrained to come backe againe to Mare Caſpium, the ſame way I went: ſo that the eight of March, 1559. we departed out of the ſaid Citie of Boghar, being a Carauan of 600. Camels, and if we had not departed when we did, I and my companie had bene in danger to haue loſt life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarc and came with an armie, & beſieged the ſaid Citie of Boghar, the king being abſent, and gone to the warres againſt another prince, his kinſman, as the like chancech in thoſe Countries, once in two or three yeeres. For it is matuell, if a king raigne there aboue three or foure yeeres, to the great deſtruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

Vrgence. The 25. of March, we came to the foreſaid towne of Vrgence, and eſcaped the danger of 400. rouers, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the moſt of them of kindred to that companie of theeues, which we met with going forth, as we perceiued by foure ſpies, which were taken. There were in my companie, and committed to my charge, two Amballadours, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were ſent vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia: and after hauing taried at Vrgence, and the Caſtle of Zellyſure, eight daies for the aſſembling, and making ready of our Caraian: the ſecond of Aprill we departed from thence, hauing foure mee Amballadors in our company, ſent from the king of Vrgence, and other Soltans, his brethen, vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia, with anſwere of ſuch letters as I brought them: and the ſame Amballadors were alſo committed vnto my charge, by the ſaid kings, and princes: to whome I promiſed moſt faithfully, and ſware by our lawe, that they ſhould be well vſed in Ruſsland, and ſuffered to depart from thence againe in ſafetie, according as the Emperour had written alſo in his letters: for they ſomwhat doubted, becauſe there had none gone out of Tartaria into Ruſſia, of long time before.

The 23. of Aprill, we arriued at the Mare Caſpium againe, where we founde our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke nor ſaile: neuertheleſſe we bought hempe with vs, and ſpunne a cable our ſelues, with the reſt of our tackling, and made vs a ſaile of cloth of cotton woll, and rigged our barke, as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time, being deuiſing to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arriued a barke, which came from Aſtracan, with Tartars, and Ruſſes, which had two ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we ſet ſaile, and departed, I, and the two Johnſons being Walter and Partners our ſelues, hauing in our barke the ſaid five Amballadors, and 25. Ruſſes, which had bene ſlaues a long time in Tartaria, nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to grete home, and theſe ſlaues ſerued to rowe when neede was. Thus ſailing ſometimes along the coaſt, and ſometimes out of ſight of land, the 13. day of Maye, hauing a contrarie winde, we came to an anker, being three leagues from the ſhoare, & there roſe a ſore ſtorme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne ſpinning, ſnake, and loſt our anker, and being off a lee ſhoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoiſed our ſaile, and bare roomer with the ſaid ſhoare, looking for preſent death: but as God prouided for vs, we came into a creeke full of oze, and ſo ſaued our ſelues with our barke, we liued in great diſcomfort for a time. For although we ſhould haue eſcaped with our liues the danger of the ſea, yet if our barke had periſhed, we knew we ſhould haue bene, either ſtarued, or taken ſlaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beaſtes, without houſe or habitation. Then when the ſtorme was ceaſed, we went out of the creeke again:

and

and hauing seene the lande with our Compasse, and taken certaine markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we rode at our anker, wee went directly to the place where wee rode, with our barke againe, and founde our anker which wee lost: whereat the Tartars much marueiled, howe wee did it. While wee were in the creeke, wee made an anker of woode of Cart wheeles, which wee had in our barke, which we threwe away, when wee had founde our ryght anker againe. Within two daies after, there arose another great storme, at the Northeast, and we lay a trie, being driuen farre into the sea, and much adoe to keepe our barke from sinking, the billowe was so great: but at the last, hauing faire weather, wee tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the lande laye from vs, wee fell with the River Yake, according to our desire, whereof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee shoulde haue bene driuen to the coast of Persia, whose people were vnto them great enemies.

The English flagge in the Caspian sea.

Note, that during the time of our nauigation, wee sette vppe the redde crosse of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was neuer seene in the Caspian sea before. We passed in this voyage diuers fortunes, notwithstanding the 28. of Maye, wee arriued in safetie at Astracan, and there remained till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare vs small boates, to goe vp against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadors of Tartarie, committed vnto me, to be brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia.

This Caspian sea (to say some thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breath 150. without any issue to other seas, to the East parte whereof, ioyneth the great desert Countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the Countreyes of the Chyrcasses, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the saide Caspian sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part, ioyne the Countries of Media, and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly riuers falling into it, and it auoideth not it selfe, except it be vnder ground. The notable riuers that fall into it, are first the great riuer of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marrish, or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Nouogrode, in Russia, and it is from that springe, to the sea, about two thousand English miles. It hath diuers other goodly riuers falling into it, as out of Sebaria, Yaick, and Yeim: Also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the riuers of Cyrus, and Arash, and diuers others.

As touching the trade of Shamakye in Media, and Tebris, with other townes in Persia, I haue enquired, and doe well vnderstande, that it is euen like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little vtterance, and small profite: and I haue bene aduertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Leuant seas. The fewe shippes vpon the Caspian Sea, the want of Harte and port Townes, the powertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Astracan, there were Marchants of Shamakye, with whome I offered to barter, and to giue them kersies for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their Countrey, as I offered them, which was sixe rubbles for a kersie, that I asked: and while I was at Boghar, there were there brought thither out of Persia, cloth, and diuers commodities of our Countreies, which were solde as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth daye of June, wee departed from Astracan, towardes the Musko, hauing a hundred Gunners in our companie, at the Emperours charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartarre Ambassadors, and me. And the eighte and twentieth daye of July following, we arriued at the Citie of Cazan, hauing beene vppon the waye from Astracan thither, sixe weekes, and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that waye there is no habitation.

His arrival at Musco the 2. of September.

The seuenth of August following, we departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the Citie of Morons, and then by land: so that the second of September, we arriued at the Citie of Musko, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maiestie, killed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria, which he accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaues: and that day I dined in his Maiesties presence, and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, & asked me diuers questions, touching the lands, & Countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Musko about your affaires, vntill the 17. day of Februarie, that your wares were sent downe: & then hauing licence of the Emperours Maiestie to depart, the 21. day I came to your house at Vologhda, and there remained vntill the breaking vp of the yeere:

and

and then hauing seene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the same, and arriued with all in safetie at Colmogro, the 9. of May, 1560. And here I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Russia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Mosco iii	55	10
Nouogrod the great	58	26
Nouogrod the lesse	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Astracan	46	31
At the entrance into the Caspian sea,	46	27
Vrgence in Tartarye 20. daies iourney from the Caspian sea.	42	18
Boghar a Citie in Tartarie, 20. daies iourney from Vrgence,	39	10
Mangusslaue beyond the Caspian sea,	45	00

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Russia, requesting licence, and safe conduct for Master Anthony Ienkinson, to passe through his kingdome of Russia, into Persia, to the Great Sophie.

ELizabetha Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, Sereniſſimo & potentiſſimo principi, D. Ioanni Basiliwiche, Imperatori totius Russiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, & omnium rerum prosperarum fœliciſſimum incrementum. Potentiſſime Princeps, res est nobis ad memorandum longè gratiſſima, illa vestræ Maiestatis, erga nos & nostros amicitia. Quæ tempore fœliciſſimæ memoriæ Regis Edwardi Sexti, fratris nostri chariſsimi, Dei benignitate inceptа, deinceps verò vestra non solùm singulari humanitate alta atque fota, sed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus beneuolentiæ vestræ officijs sic firmata est atque constabilita, vt iam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam vtriusque nostrum, ad publicam nostrorum vtrobique regnorum immensam commoditatem, ad priuatam singulorum vtrinque subditorum optatam spem, certámque fœlicitatem multis sit deinceps seculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc vestra bonitas, pleniſsimè sese effudit in omnes nostros subditos, qui sese in vllas imperij vestri partes vnquam receperunt, (pro qua ingentes nostras, vt par est, gratias vestræ Maiestati habemus, vestríſque viciſsim in omni opportunitatis loco libentiſsimè feremus,) tamen abundantia benignitatis vestræ, in accipiendo, támque humanitèr tractando nostrum fidelem & perdilectum famulum Antonium Ienkinſon, qui has perfert literas, seorsim nobis gratiſsima exiſtit. Nam præterquam quòd nullis non locis vestri Imperij & magna libertate, & summa humanitate vestræ serenitatis non permiſſu solùm, sed iuſſu etiam frueretur, vestra bonitas tamen non in hac domestica benigne faciendi ratione conquieuit, sed perlibenter & vltrò eundem nostrum hunc perdilectum famulum, varijs exteris principibus, quoquouersus ipse iter suum inſtituerat, literis suis, suo magno Imperiali sigillo consignatis commendauit. Quod beneficium illi vbiuis gentium, & viam sine vllo periculo, propter publicam vestram fidem, & aduentum cum magno fauore, propter vestram commendationem, optatè quidem, & fœliciter communiuit. Itaq; quemadmodum gemina hæc vestra beneuolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in vestro regno negotiantibus subditis nostris vniuerſis, tum iſta seorsim præſtita huic Antonio Ienkinſon, perfideli nostro famulo, nobis

nobis in mente, non solùm ad gratam perpetuámque memoriam, verùm etiam ad munus vel opportunam compensationem, firmissimè defixa est: ita, petimus à vestra Maiestate vt vtramque beneuolentiæ vestræ rationem & communem nostris vniuersis, & priuatam huic nostro dilecto famulo, vtrisque deinceps dignetur meri, atque conseruare. Neque nos quidem diffidimus, quin quem fauorem vestra Maiestas antea sua sponte Antonio Ienkinson, tum quidem priuato offendit, eundem nunc nostro regio nomine Antonio in nostram iam famulatum cooptato benignè velit dénuò declarare. Et propterea petimus à vestra Maiestate, vt dignetur iterum concedere eidem nostro famulo, literas suas commeatus, publicæ fidei, ac saluiconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præsidio, sit illi, familiaribus suis, & seruis, tutum, liberúmque, cum mercibus, sarcinis, equis, & bonis suis vniuersis, inuehendis euehendísque, per vestra regna, domicilia, atque prouincias, proficiscí, ire, transire, redire, abire, & istic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere quandocunque illi aut suis libitum fuerit. Et sicut non dubitamus, quin vestra Maiestas hæc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immensa bonitate suæ naturę benignè & largiter huic famulo nostro sit concessura, ita valdè optamus, adeóque petimus, vt vestra Maiestas eodem modo eundem nostrum famulum, vnà cum omnibus suis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris alijs principibus literis suis dignetur commendare, præsertim verò atque seorsim, Magno Sophi, Persarum Imperatori, in cuius etiam imperia & ditiones idem noster famulus gratia potissimè experiundi peregrina commercia, proficiscí vnà cum suis constituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia nostra postulata pro famuli spe, pro nostra expectatione, pro vestra bonitate, pro nostrorum vtrinque subditorum commoditate, fausta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam vestræ Maiestati, & nostris vtrobique perquam vtilia euasura. Deus vestræ Maiestatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima nostra Ciuitate Londini, Anno mundi, 5523. Domini, ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi, 1563. regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

¶ The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lorde Iohn Vasiliwiche, Emperour of all Russia, &c. greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. Right Mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maiestie towards vs, and our Subiects, is very pleasant to vs to be remembred, which being begunne by the goodnes of God, in the raigne of our most deere brother of happie memorie, King Edward the first, and afterwardes, though your not onely singular humanitie, fedde, and nourished, but also though your incredible goodnes increased, and augmented, is nowe so firmed, and established, with all manner of tokens of your beneuolence, that nowe wee doubt not, but that from hence foorth, during many ages, the same shall endure to the praise of God, to both our gories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate desired hope, and certaine felicitie of all our Subiects.

And although that this your goodnes hath bene aboundantly extended to all our Subiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reason is) your Maiestie right hartie thankes, and will againe shewe the like vnto yours, right willingly, whensoeuer opportunitie shall require: yet the aboundance of your benignitie both in receauing, and also in entertaining our faithfull, and beloued seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, the bringer of these our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankefull. For besides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Maiesties sufferance, but also by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendshippe, your goodnes not ceasing in this your domesticall disposition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne aboundant grace, commende the same our welbeloued seruant, by your letters, sealed with your Imperiall seale, to sundry forren Princes, vnto whome he was minded to iourney: which your magnificence did purchase vnto him happily, and according to his desire, both passage without all perill, though your notable credite, and also atchieuing of his iourney though your commendation.

Therefore like ae these your duplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our Subiectes, frequenting that your Realme, and also this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, is right assuredly fastened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall, and gratefull memoriall, but also for a mutuall, and meete

meere compenſation: ſo wee deſire of your Maieſtie, to vouchſafe from hence footh to conſerue and continue the geminate diſpoſition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our Subiects, and alſo priuately to this our beloued ſeruant. And we doubt not, but that at our requeſt, you will againe gratiouſly ſhewe vnto the ſame Anthonie, nowe admitted into our ſeruice, the like fauour as heretofore your Maieſtie of your meere motion, did exhibite vnto him, being then a priuate perſon. And therefore wee deſire your Maieſtie effectuouſly to graunt to the ſame our ſeruant, your letters of licence, paſſport, and ſafe conduct, through the tenor, authoritie, and helpe whereof, he, his ſeruants, together with their marchandizes, baggages, packes, and goods whatſoeuer, that ſhall be brought in, or carried out, by or through all your Empire, kingdome, dominions, and prouinces, may ſurely, and freely iourney, goe, paſſe, repaſſe, depart, and there tarry ſo long, as it ſhall pleaſe him: and from thence returne, whenſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to him, or his: and as wee doubt not, but that your Maieſtie in the goodnes of your nature, will gratiouſly and abundantly grant all theſe good offices of humanitie, ſo wee doe hartely deſire, that your Maieſtie will likewiſe vouchſafe to commende the ſame our ſeruant, together with all his goods, by your letters, to other forren Princes, and ſpecially to the Great Sophie, and Emperour of Perſia, into whoſe Empire, and Iuriſdictions, the ſame our ſeruant purpoſeth with his ſo to iourney, chiefly for triall of forreine marchandizes.

We therefore doe truſt, that all theſe our demands ſhall tende, and haue effect, according to the hope of our ſeruant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commoditie of both our Subiects, luckie to him, thankefull to vs, acceptable to your Maieſtie, and very profitable to our Subiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maieſtie, long and happie felicitie in earth, and euerlaſting in heauen. Dated in our famous Citie of London, the 25. day of the moneth of April, in the yeere of the creation of the world, 5523. and of our Lorde God Ieſus Chriſt, 1561, and of our raigne, the third.

The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Great Sophie of Perſia, *ſent by Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon.*

ELizabetha Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, &c. Potentiſſimo & inuictiſsimo Principi, Magno Sophi, Perſarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hyrcanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis & vltrà Tygrim fluuium, & omnium intra Mare Caſpium, & Perſicum ſinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori ſalutem, & rerum proſperarum fœliciſsimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum eſt, vt quas gentes, non ſolùm immenſa terrarum ſpacia, & inſuperabiles marium vaſtitates, ſed & ipſi etiam cœlorum cardines longiſsimè diſiunxerunt, ipſæ tamen literarum bono & mentis certa cogitata, & humanitatis grata officia, & intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda facilè inter ſe & opportunè poſſint communicare. Itaque cum perdilectus, & fidelis noſter famulus Antonius Ienkinſon, qui has literas noſtras perfert, cum bona venia, fauore, & gratia noſtra hoc Angliæ noſtræ regnum excedere, & in Perſiam vſque, veſtráſque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare conſtituerit, hoc illius inſtitutum perlaudabile quidem, grato noſtro animo proſequi, & promouere ſtuduimus: id quod eo nos libentius facimus, quoniam hoc eius propoſitum ex honeſto ſtudio commercij conſtituendi potiſſimùm cum veſtris ſubditis, aliiſque peregrinis hominibus, ad veſtra regna confluentibus, omninò exortum ſit. Propterea nobis & ſcribendum ad veſtram Maieſtatem, ab eaque petendum eſſe duximus, vt noſtro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo noſtro Antonio Ienkinſon, literas publicæ fidei, & ſalui conductus, quarum authoritate atque præſidio, licitum, liberúmque ſit illi, vnà cum ſuis familiaribus, ſeruis, ſarcinis, mercibus & bonis vniuerſis, per veſtra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque prouincias liberè, & ſine impedimento proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel ſuis lubitum fuerit. Si hæc ſancta hoſpitalitatis iura & dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, noſtra regna, noſtróſque ſubditos libentèr conſtitui, ſincerè coli, & conſtantèr conſeruari queant, ſperamus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, vt ab hijs paruis initijs, grandiora rerum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, noſtris ad ſumma commoda atque vſus, aliquando ſint oritura: ſi quidem, vt non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longiſſimè ſeparandos, quàm diuina ratio communis humanitatis, & mutuæ beneuolentiæ ad nos firmiſsimè

miſsimè

missimè coniungendos plus virium habuisse videatur. Deus salutem omnem, & fœlicem in terris, & perpetuam in cœlis, vestræ concedat Maiestati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri nostra vrbe Londino, 25. die Mensis Aprilis, anno mundi, 5523. Domini ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi, 1561. Regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

¶ *The same in English.*

This letter was also written in Hebrue, and Italian.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the Great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanes, Carmanarians, Margians, of the people on this side, and beyond the Riuer of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caspian Sea, and the gulph of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnes of the Almightie God, it is ordayned, that those people, which not onely the huge distance of landes, and the inuincible widenes of Seas, but also the very quarters of the heauens doe moste farre separate, and sette asunder, may neuerthelesse through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceaued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloued seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined with our license, fauour, and grace, to passe out of this our Realme, and by Gods sufferance to trauell euen into Persia, and other your Iurisdictions: wee minde truely with our good fauour, to sette forward, and aduance, that his right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprise is onely grounded vpon an honest intent, to establish trade of marchandize with your Subiects, and with other strangers trafficking your Realmes. Wherefore we haue thought good, both to write to your Maiestie, and also to desire the same, to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to our saide seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, good pasports, and safe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free, and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, seruants, cariage, marchandize, and goods whatsoeuer, through your Realmes, Dominions, Iurisdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, goe, passe, repasse, depart, and tarry so long as he shall please, and from thence to returne, whensoeuer he or they shall thinke good. If these holye duties of entertainment, and sweete offices of naturall humanitie, may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmely obserued betweene vs, and our Realmes, and Subiects, then we doe hope, that the Almightie God will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture, and honors, and also to the great commodities, and vse of our peoples: so it will be knowen, that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue so much force to separate vs, as the godly disposition of naturall humanitie, and mutuall beneuolence, haue to ioyne vs strongly together. God grant vnto your Maiestie, long, and happie felicitie in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous Citie of London, the 25. day of the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere of the creation of the world, 5523. and of our Lord Iesus Christ, 1561. and of our Raigne the third.

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Consuls, and *Assistants of the companie of Marchants, trading into Russia, the* eight day of May, 1561. to our trustie friende Anthonie Ienkinson, at his departure towards Russia, and so to Persia, in this our eight iourney.

FIrst you shall vnderstand, that we haue laden in our good shippe, called the Swallowe, one Chest, the keyes whereof wee doe here deliuer you, and also a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the saide Chest, and what euery thing did coste: and because, as you knowe, the saide Chest is of charge, wee desire you, to haue a speciall regarde vnto it, and when God shall sende you vnto Musko, our minde and will is, that you, with the aduise of our Agents there, doe appoynt some such presents for the Emperour, and his sonne, either wine, clothe of golde, scarlet, or plate, as to your good discretion shall be thought

thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto him the Queenes Maiesties letters, & our said present in the name of the company, we thinke it good that you make your humble suit vnto his Highnesse in our name, to get his licence or safeconduct for you and all other our seruants or Agentes at all times hereafter, with such wares and merchandize as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times shall thinke good, to passe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Persia, or other places, and also to returne vnto Mosco with such wares and merchandizes as you shall bring or find from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agentes there to make composition with the Emperor or his officers for some certaine custome or role vpon such goods as we shall passe that way, to the intent we might be the better fauoured, we referre it to your discretion, foreseeing that the opening of this matter be not preiudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the sale of our cloth of golde, plate, pearles, saphyres, and other iewels, we put our trust and confidence in you principally to sell them for ready money, time to good debters, or in barter for good wares, so that you make our other Agents priuy how & for what price you sell any of the premises, and also deliuer such summes of mony, billes or wares as you shall receiue, vnto our said Agents thinking good, further, that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels, or any part thereof will not be solde for profit before your departure from the Mosco, that then you cause them to be safe packed, and set order they may be sent hither againe in our shippes the next yeere, except you perceiue that there may be some profit in carrying some part of them into Persia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We haue also laden in the said Swallow and the other two ships, 80 fardles, conteining 400 kardes, as by the enuoys do appeare, which fardles be packed, and appointed to be carried into Persia: neuerthelesse if you chance to finde good sales for them in the Mosco, we thinke it were good to sell part of them there, and to carry the lesse quantity with you, because we be vncertaine what vent or sale you shall finde in Persia or other places where you shall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to passe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforesaid, and that you perceiue you may safely do the same, our minde is, that at such time as you thinke best and most conuenient for that your purpose, you do appoint so many, & such of our hyred seruants or apprentises as you thinke necessary & meet for our affayres, and may best be spared to go with you in your said voyage, wherof we would one to be such as you might make priuie of all your doings for diuers considerations and causes that may happen: which seruants & apprentises, we will and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs, not onely to go with you, and to do such things as you command them in your presence, but also to go vnto such countries or places as you shall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares, and there to remaine and continue so long as you shall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuse to do such things as you do appoint them, as aforesaid, or that any of them (be he hyred seruant or apprentise) do misuse himselfe by any maner of disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and fayre meanes be reformed, we will that you send him backe to the Mosco, with straight order that he may be sent from thence hither, and let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauior, to the intent that if he be a hyred seruant we may pay him his wages according to his seruice, and if he be an apprentise we may bind him according to his deserts.

We will also that you take with you such kartles, scarlet, & other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your iourney towardes Persia, either by the way of Astracan and Mare Caspium, or otherwise, as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into Persia, our minde is, that you repayre vnto the great Sophie with the Queenes Maiesties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caspian sea for you to trauell, and that you make him such a present as you shall thinke meete, and if you passe by any other kinges, princes, or gouernours, before or after you come to the presence of the Sophie, likewise to make them some present, as you see cause according to their estate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of priuilege or safeconduct of the said Sophie or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandize by vs hereafter to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such wares as we carry thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandizes whatsoeuer it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for vs at all times, to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandize into any part of India or other countryes thereunto adioyning, and in like maner to returne through his dominions into Russia or els where.

And for the sale of our karsies or other wares that you shall haue with you, as our trust is that you will doe for our most profite and commoditie: euen so we referre all vnto your good discretion, as well in the sale of our sayd goodes, as to make our returne in such thinges as you shall finde there, and thinke best for our profite. But if passage can not be had into Persia by Astracan, or otherwise, the next Summer, which shall be in the yeere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to sell our karsies, and other such wares as are appointed for Persia, in the Polse, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may sell them for any reasonable price, and then to employ your selfe with such other of our seruantes, as you shall thinke meete for the search of the passage by Noua Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Moulded alwayes, that if you doe perceiue or vnderstand, that passage is like to be had into Persia the Summer following, which shall be in the yeere 1563, and that you can not sell our karsies in the Emperours dominions, as aforesayd, at a reasonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the sayd Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards Persia, as aforesayd. If passage into Persia can not be obteined the next yeere, neither good hope of passage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time, good sale of our karsies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to see if you can practise to cary your sayd wares by safe conduct through Polonia, or any other wayes vnto Constantinople, or els where you think better sale may be had, then in Russia.

The passage of Noua Zembla.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderstand our meaninges in this intended aduenture: but how much as we do consider and know, that if we should prescribe vnto you any certaine way, or direct order what you should doe, we might so worke cleane contrary to our purpose and intent: therefore knowing your approoued wisedome with your experience, and also your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and bringing to good successe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affayres concerning the sayd aduenture wholly vnto your good discretion, praying God so to prosper you, as may be first for his glory, secondly to the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increase of your good name for euer.

And yet further desiring, and also most earnestly requiring you as you tender the state of our company, that you will haue a speciall regard vnto the order of our houses & our seruants, aswell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Mosco, and to see and consider if any misorder be amongst our seruants or apprentises, whereby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or losse of any part of our goods or priuiledge there, that you do not onely see the same reformed, but also to certifie vs thereof by your letter at large, as our trust is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnesse of such things as we do perfectly suppose you shall finde in the parties of Russia, we doe herewith deliuer you a quantitie of certaine pugges, whereby you may perceiue how to know the best, and also there is noted the prices of such wares and pugges as be heere most vendible: also we deliuer you heerewith one pound and one ounce weight in halfe, to the end, that you may thereby, and with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth heere. As for the knowledge of silks, we need not to giue you any instructions thereof, other then you know.

Weights and things deliuered to M. Jenkinson.

Also if you vnderstand that any commoditie in Russia, be profitable for vs to haue with you into Persia or other places, our minde is that our Agents shall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make prouision your selfe. And because the Russes say that in trauelling Eastwards from Colmogro thirtie or fortie dayes iourney, there is the maine sea to be found, we thinke that Richard Johnson might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Mosco time enough to go with you into Persia: for if it be true that he may trauell to the sea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the East from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.

The maine sea within thirtie dayes East-ward of Colmogro.

William Gerrard. Thomas Lodge. } Gouernours.

William Merrike.
Blase Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. Anthonie Ienkinſon, from the famous citie of London into the lande of Perſia, paſſing in this ſame iourney through Ruſſia, Moſcouia, and Mare Caſpium, aliàs Hircanum, ſent and imployed therein by the right worſhipfull Societie of the Merchants Aduenturers, for the diſcouerie of Lands, Iſlands, &c. Being begunne the foureteenth day of May, Ann. 1561: and in the third yeere of the raigne of the Queenes Maieſtie that now is: this preſent declaration being directed and written to the foreſayd Societie.

FIrſt imbarking my ſelfe in a good ſhippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Graueſend, hauing a fayre and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of our God, hauing in our ſailing diuerſitie of windes, and thereby forced to direct and obſerue ſundry courſes (not here rehearſed, becauſe you haue beene thereof heeretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of July, the yeere aforeſaid, I arrided in the bay of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia: and the ſixe and twentith day of the ſame moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worſhippes affayres, I departed from thence, paſſing through the countrey of Vago, and on the eighe day of Auguſt then following, I came to Vologda, which is diſtant from Colmogro ſeuen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boates, wherein was laden a cheſt of iewels with the preſent, by your worſhippes appointed for the Emperours Maieſties: which being arriued, and the cheſt receiued, I therewith departed toward the citie of Moſcouia, and came thither the twentith day of the ſame moneth, where I immediatly cauſed my comming to be ſignified vnto the Secretarie of the Imperiall Maieſtie, with the Queenes highneſſe letters addreſſed vnto the ſame his Maieſtie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his highneſſe hauing great affayres, and being at that preſent ready to be married vnto a Lady of Chirchaſſi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no ſtranger, Ambaſſadour, nor other, ſhould come before him for a time, with further ſtraight charge, that during the ſpace of three dayes that the ſame ſolemne feaſt was celebrating, the gates of the citie ſhould be ſhutte, and that no perſon, ſtranger or natiue (certeine of his houſholde reſerued) ſhould come out of their ſayd houſes during the ſayd triumph, the cauſe thereof vnto this day not being knowne.

The Queenes letters to the Emperor of Ruſſia.

The ſixt of September following, the Emperour made a great feaſt, whereunto were called all Ambaſſadours and ſtrangers being of reputation, and hauing affayres: amongſt whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretarie firſt to come, and to ſhew him the Queenes Maieſties letters, I refuſed ſo to doe, ſaying I would deliuer the ſame vnto the Emperours owne hands, and not otherwiſe: which heard, the Secretarie anſwered, that vnleſſe he might firſt peruſe the ſaid letters, I ſhould not come into the Emperours preſence, ſo that I was not at the feaſt. Neuertheleſſe, I was aduertiſed by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maieſtie, although the cauſe of my abſence was to his Maieſtie vnknowne. The next day following, I cauſed a ſupplication to be made, and preſented it to his highneſſe owne handes, and thereby declared the cauſe of my comming, ſignified by the Queenes Maieſties letters, and the anſwere of his ſayd Secretary, moſt humbly beſeeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the ſame her highneſſe letters, with ſuch honor and friendſhippe, as his letters ſent by Oſepp Napeya, were receiued by the handes of our late Souereigne lady Queene Mary, or els that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to diſmiſſe me, ſaying that I would not deliuer the ſaid letters but vnto his owne handes, for that it is ſo vſed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my ſuplication well digeſted, I was forthwith commanded to come with the ſayd letters before his Maieſtie, and ſo deliuered the ſame into his owne handes, (with ſuch preſents as by you were appointed) according to my requeſt, which were gratefully accepted, and the ſame day I dined in his Graces preſence, with great intertainment. Shortly after, I deſired to know whether I ſhould be licenced to paſſe through his highneſſe dominions into the land of Perſia, according to the Queenes Maieſties requeſt: hereunto it was anſwered, that I ſhould not paſſe thither, for that his Maieſtie ment to ſend an armie of men that way into the land of Chircaſſi, whereby my iourney ſhould

Requeſt to paſſe into Perſia through Moſcouia.

should be both dangerous and troublesome, and that if I should perish therein, it would be much to his Graces dishonour, but he doubted other matters although they were not expressed. Thus hauing receiued his answere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yeere, hauing in that time solde the most part of your karsies and other wares appointed for Persia, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I desired paspore, and post horses for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my paspore, ready to depart, there came vnto our house there Osip Nepeya, who perswaded me that I should not depart that day, saying that the Emperour was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardnesse of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the same Secretary and Osip Nepeya together, after many allegations and obiections of things, and perceiuing that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maiestie were spoken with againe touching my passage: wherewith I was content, and within three dayes after sending for me, he declared that the Emperors pleasure was, that I should not onely passe thorow his dominions into Persia, but also haue his Graces letters of commendations to forren princes, with certaine his affayres committed to my charge, too long here to rehearse: whereupon I appointed my selfe for the voyage, and the 15 day of March, the yeere aforesaid, I dined againe in his Maiesties presence in company of an Ambassadour of Persia and others, and receiuing a cuppe of drinke at his Maiesties hands, I tooke my leaue of his highnesse, who did not only giue me letters, as aforesaid, but also committed matter of importance & charge vnto me, to be done when I should arriue in those countries whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readinesse for the same voyage, I departed from the citie of Mosco the 27 day of Aprill 1562, downe by the great riuer of Volga, in company of the said Ambassador of Persia, with whom I had great friendship and conference all the way downe the same riuer vnto Astracan, where we arriued all in health the 10 day of June.

Osippe Nepeya Embassador from the Emperour of Russia to Q. Mary.

Astracan.

And as touching the situations of the cities, townes, castles and countryes, as well of Mahometans as also of Gentils adioyning to the same, wherby I passed from Mosco vnto Astracan, I omit in this breuiat to rehearse, for that I heretofore haue declared the same most amply vnto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arriued at Astracan, as is aforesaid, I repayred vnto the captaine there, vnto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maiesty, with great charge that he not only should ayd and succor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but also to safeconduct me with 50 gunners well appointed in two strooges or brigantines into the Caspian sea, vntill I had passed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rouers do accustome to haunt, & hauing prepared my barke for the sea, the Ambassador of Persia being before departed in a barke of his owne, the 15 day of July, the yeere aforesaid, I and my company tooke our voyage from the said Astracan, and the next day at a West sunne, passed the mouth of the said riuer being twentie miles distant, lying next Southeast. The 18 at a Southwest sunne, we passed by three Ilands being distant nine miles from the said mouth of Volga, and Southsouthwest from thence, sailing Southsouthwest the next day, at a West by North sunne we fell with the land called Challica Ostriua, being foure round Islands together, distant from the said three Islands fortie miles. From thence sailing the said course the next day, we had sight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tywmen, where pirats and rouers doe vse: for feare of whom we haled off into the sea due East fortie miles, and fell vpon shallowes out of the sight of land, and there were like to haue perished, escaping most hardly: then the 22 day we had sight of a goodly Island called Chatalet, distant from the said Challica Ostriua a hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a stiffe gale, we were not able to seize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the lee ward of the same sixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being distant from the maine land to the West ward of vs, which was called Skafcayll or Connyke, a countrey of Mahometans, about miles, and so riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouision, we lost one of them, the storme and sea being growne very sore, and thereby our barke was so full of leakes, that with continuall pumping, we had much a doe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with losse of our boate, and our selues thereby in great danger like to haue perished either in the sea, or els vpon the lee shoare, where we should haue fallen into the handes of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke: and surely it was very vnlike that we should haue escaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the storme continued seuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtith day of the same moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the West with fayre weather, our anker weyed, and our saile displayed, lying South, the next day hailing to the shore with a West sunne, we were nigh a lande called by the inhabitantes Shyruansha, and there we came againe to an anker, hauing the winde contrarie being distant from the sayd Shatalet

M. Jenkinsons voyage to Boghar.

He passeth the Caspian sea.

The countrey of Tywmen.

The Island of Chatalet.

The land of Shyruansha.

150 miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of August, then hauing a fayre winde, winding Southsoutheast, and sailing threescore miles, the next day at a Southeast sunne we arriued at a citie called Derbent in the king of Hyrcans dominion, where comming to land, and saluting the captaine there with a present, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking fresh water I departed. Derbent.

This citie of Derbent is an ancient towne, hauing an olde castle therein, being situated vpon an hill called Castowe, builded all of freestone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred against the Persians and Medians, and then he made a wall of a woonderfull heighe and thickenesse, extending from the same citie to the Georgians, yea vnto the principall citie thereof named Tewflish, which wall though it be now raced, or otherwise decayed, yet the foundation remayneth, and the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said Alexander should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily inuade. This citie of Derbent being now vnder the power of the Sophie of Persia, bordereth vpon the sea, adioyning to the foresaid land of Shalfcall, in the latitude of fortie one degrees. From thence sailing Southeast & Southsoutheast about 80 miles, the sixth day of August, the yeere aforesaid, we arriued at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke discharged: the goods layd on shore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouers, whereof there is great plenty, being field people, the gouernor of the sayd castrey named Alcan Murcy, comming vnto me, intertayned me very gently, vnto whom giuing a present, he appointed for my safegard fortie armed men to watch and ward me, vntil he might haue newes from the king of Shyruan. The 12 day of the same moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I should repayre vnto him with all speed: and for expedition, aswell camels to the number of fiue and fortie to cary my goods, as also horses for me and my company were in readinesse, so that the goods laden, and taking my iourney from thence the said twelft day, on the 18 of the same moneth, I came to a citie called Shamackye, in the said countrey of Hyrcan, otherwise called Shyruan, and there the king hath a fayre place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were discharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was sent for to come to the king named Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, distant from the said Shamackye twentie miles, to auoid the iniury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his presence, who gently interteyned me, and hauing kissed his handes, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to sit downe not farre from him. This king did sit in a very rich pauilion, wrought with silke and golde placed very pleasantly, vpon a hill side, of sixteene fathom long, and sixe fathom broad, hauing before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: wherof he and his nobilitie did drinke, he being a prince of a meane stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparelled with long garments of silke, and cloth of golde, imbrodered with pearles and stone: vpon his head was a tolipane with a sharpe end standing vpwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India silke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left side of his tolipane stood a plume of fethers, set in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and set with precious stones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pauilion was couered with rich carpets, and vnder himselfe was spred a square carpet wrought with siluer & gold, & therupon was laid two suitable cushions. Thus the king with his nobilitie sitting in his pauillion with his legs a crosse, and perceiuing that it was painefull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in, and did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner time then approching, diuers clothes were spred vpon the ground, and sundry dishes serued, and set in a ranke with diuers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 dishes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others spred, a banket of fruites of sundry kindes, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 dishes, were brought in: so that two seruices occupyed 290 dishes, and at the end of the said dinner & banket, the king said vnto me Quoshe quelde, that is to say, welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and tasting thereof, did deliuer me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were so good in our countrey or not: vnto whom I answered in such sort, that he was therewith contented: then he proponed vnto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countryes, and further questioned whether the Emperour of Almaine, the Emperour of Russia, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long heere to rehease, to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cause of my comming: vnto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England, vnto the great Sophie, to intreat friendshippe and free passage, and for his safeconduct to be granted vnto English

A mighty wall.

Or Tiphlis.

Fortie one degrees.

Shabran.

Alcan Murcy the gouernor.

King Obdolowcan.

The maiestie & attyre of king Obdolowcan.

The Queenes letters to the Sophie.

English merchants to trade into his Seignories, with the like also to be granted to his subiectes, when they should come into our countreyes, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commoditie of both theyr subiects, with diuers other woords, which I omit to rehearse. This said king much allowing this declaration, said that he would not onely giue me passage, but also men to safeconduct me vnto the sayd Sophie, lying from the foresaid citie of Shamakye thirtie dayes iourney, vp into the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin: so departing from the king at that time, within thee dayes after, being the foure and twentie day of August the yeere aforesayd, he sent for me againe: vnto whom I repayred in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bedde (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being a hundred and fortie in number, he sleepeth most in the day) did giue one commandement that I should ride an hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court: and that they should shew me so much game and passime as might be, which was done, and many cranes killed: we returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone. The king then risen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his sight two gentlemen incountred me with two garmentes of that countrey fashion, slide downe to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent vnto me from the king, and, after that they caused me to put off my vpper garment, being a gowne of blacke velues furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments vpon my backe, and so conducted me vnto the king, before whom doing reuerence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence, he at that time being very merry, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the maner of theyr hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophie, who dismissing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambassadour (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gaue me at my departure a fayre horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamakye againe, where I remayned vntill the first of October, to prouide camels, horses, and other necessaries for my sayd intended iourney.

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

The description of Hyrcania.

But now before I proceed further, I purpose to write something of this countrey of Hyrcan, now called Shyruan, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of Hyrcan in times past was of great renowme, hauing many cities, townes, and castles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquitie were of great power, able to make warres with the Sophies of Persia: but now it is not onely otherwise (for that the cities, townes and castles be decayed) but also the king is subiect to the sayd Sophie, (although they haue theyr proper king) and be at the commandement of the sayd Sophie, who conquered them not many yeeres passed, for they dissentie in religion, and caused not onely all the nobilitie and gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but also ouer and besides, raced the walles of the cities, townes, and castles of the said realme, to the intent that there should be no rebellion, & for theyr great terrour, caused a turret of free stone and flints to be erected in the sayd citie called Shamakye, and in a ranke of flints of the sayd turret, did set the heads of the sayd nobilitie and gentlemen, then executed: this citie is distant from the sea side, with camels seuen dayes iourney, but now the same being much decayed, and chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another citie called Arrash, bordering vpon the Georgians, is the chiefest and most opulent in the trade of merchandize, and thereabouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silke, and thither the Turkes, Syrians, and other strangers do resort and traffike. There be also diuers good and necessarie commodities to be prouided and had in this said realme: videlizet, galles, rough and smooth, cotten woll, allome, and raw silke of the naturall growth of that countrey. Besides, there all kinde of spices and drugges, and some other commodities, which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the lesse quantitie, for that they be not assured to haue vent or veterance of the same: but the chiefest commodities be there, raw silkes of all sortes, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the sayd citie of Shamakye, there was an olde castle called Gulliston, now beaten downe by this Sophie, which was esteemed to be one of the strongest castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could winne it. And not farre from the said castle was a Nunnery of sumptuous building, wherein was buried a kinges daughter, named Amalecke Channa, who slew her selfe with a knife, for that her father would haue forced her (she professing chastitie) to haue married with a king of Tartary, vpon which occasion the maidens of that countrey doe resort thither once euery yeere to lament her death.

Danger by diuersitie in religion.

Barbarous crueltie.

The citie of Arrash.

The commodities of this countrey.

The strong castle of Gullistone defaced.

Also in the said countrey there is a high hill called Quiquiffs, vpon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoste, hauing vpon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a horse, and a tayle like a cowe. It is further said, that this

this monſter kept a paſſage thereby, vntill there came an holy man (termed Haucoire Hamſhe) a kinſman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the ſaid hil, and combatting with the ſaid Giant, did kil him not onely him in chaines, but alſo his woman called Lamiſache, with his ſonne named Aſterbi: which victorie they of that countrey haue this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is reported) ſauoureth ſo ill, that no perſon may come nigh vnto it. But whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the diſcourſe of the proceeding in my voiage towards the great Sophie. The 6. of October in the yeere aforeſayd, I with my company departed from Shamachie aforeſayd, and hauing iourneied three ſcore miles, came to a towne called Yauate, wherein the king hath a faire houſe, with orchards and gardens, well replenished with fruites of all ſorts. By this towne paſſeth a great riuer called Curre, which ſpringeth in the mountains of the Georgians, and paſſing through the countrey of Hircania aforeſaid, falleth in to the Caſpian or Hircan ſea, at a place betweene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bacowe, ſituate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence iſſueth further, paſſing through a fruitfull countrey, inhabited with paſturing people, which dwell in the Summer ſeaſon vpon mountaines, and in Winter they remoue into the valleys without reſorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remoue, they do iourney in Carrauans or troopes of people and cattell, carrying all their wiues, children and baggage vpon bullocks. Now paſſing this wild people ten dayes iourney comming into no towne or houſe, the 16. day of October we arriued at a citie called Ordowill, where we were lodged in a hoſpitall builded with faire ſtone, and erected by this Sophies father named Iſmael, onely for the ſuccour and lodging of ſtrangers and other trauellers, wherein all men haue victuals and feeding for man and horſe, for 3. dayes, and no longer. This foreſayd late prince Iſmael, lieth buried in a faire Meskie, with a ſumptuous ſepulchre in the ſame, which he cauſed to be made in his life time. This towne Ordowill is in the latitude of 38. degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderaugan, wherein the princes of Perſia are commonly buried, and there Alexander the great did keepe his court when he inuaded the Perſians. Foure daies iourney to the Weſtward is the Citie Tebris, in old time called Tauris, the greateſt citie in Perſia, but not of ſuch trade of merchandize as it hath bene, or as others be at this time, by meane of the great inuaſion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almoſt to the ſayd Citie of Tauris, which the ſayd Turke once lacked, and thereby cauſed the Sophie to forſake the ſame, and to keepe his court ten dayes iourney from thence, at the ſayd Citie of Casbin.

The towne of Yauate.

The citie of Ordowil or Ardoul.

The citie Tebris or Tauris

The 27. day wee departed from Ordowil aforeſaid, trauelling for the moſt part ouer mountaines all in the night ſeaſon, and reſting in the day being deſtitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vſe for fewell the dung of horſes and camels, which we bought deare of the paſturing people. Thus paſſing ten dayes iourney the yeare aforeſayd, the ſecond day of Nouember we arriued at the foreſayd Citie of Casben, where the ſayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shallie Murzey ſonne to Obdolowcan king of Shiruan aforeſayd, to ſend for me to his houſe, who aſked me in the name of the ſayd Sophie how I did, and whither I were in health, and after did welcome me, and inuited me to dinner, whereat I had great entertainment, and ſo from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I ſent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our moſt gracious Soueraigne lady the Queenes moſt excellent maieſtie of the Realme of England, vnto the ſayd Sophie, and that the cauſe of my comming was expreſſed in the ſame letters, deſiring that at conuenient time I might come into his maieſties preſence, who aduertiſing the Sophie thereof, ſhortly after anſwered mee that there were great affaires in hand: Which being finiſhed, I ſhould come before his preſence, willing mee in the meane time to make readie my preſent if I had any to deliuer.

M. Anth. Fenkinſons arriual at the Sophies court. 2. Nouember, 1562.

At this time the great Turkes Ambaſſadour arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was ſent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the ſame great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a preſent in gold and faire horſes, with rich furnitures and other gifts eſteemed to be worth fortie thouſand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with ioyfull feaſts, triumphs and ſolemnities, corroborated with ſtrong othes, by their lawe al Alkaron, for either to obſerue the ſame, and to liue alwayes after as ſworne brethren, ayding the one the other againſt all princes that ſhould warre againſt them, or either of them. And vpon this concluſion the Sophie cauſed the great Turkes ſonne named Baiſet Soltan, a valiant prince, (who beyng fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remayned in his court the ſpace of foure yeeres) to bee put to death. In which time the ſayd Turkes ſonne had cauſed mortall warres betwixt the ſayd

The Turkes Ambaſſadour to the Sophie.

princes,

pyinces, and much preuailed therein: The Turke demaunded therefore his sonne to bee sent vnto him, and the Sophie refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turkes will, the Sophie sent him his head for a present, not a little desired, and acceptable to the vnnaturall father. Discourling at my first arriuall with the king of Shiruan of sundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the sayd king named Obdolocan, demaunding whether that wee of England had friendship with the Turkes or not, I answered that we neuer had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer vs to passe through their countrie into the Sophie his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre distant from vs, which are in great league with the sayd Turkes, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the same for rawe silkes, which (as wee vnderstand) come from thence: and that if it would please the sayde Sophie and other pyinces of that countrey, to suffer our merchaunts to trade into those dominions, and to giue vs passeport and safe conduct for the same, as the sayde Turks hath graunted to the sayde Venetians, I doubted not but that it should grow to such a trade to the profite of them as neuer before had bene the like, and that they should bee both furnished with our commodities, and also haue vtterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perswading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king vnderstanding the matter liked it marueilously, saying, that hee would write vnto the Sophie concerning the same: as he did in very deede, assuring me that the Sophie would graunt my request, & that at my returne into him he would giue me letters of safe conduct, and priuiledges. The Turkes Amballadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre which was like much to haue furthered my purpose, but it chaunced otherwise. For the Turkes Amballadour being arriued, and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Amballadour, that my comming thither (naming mee by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should bee good for him to perswade the Sophie not to fauour me, as his highnesse ment to obserue the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants, the same Amballadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour hee departed out of the Realme with the Turkes sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

The Turkes merchaunts withstand M. Ienkinson.

Shaw Thomas the Sophies name.

The 20. day of Nouember aforesayd, I was sent for to come before the sayd Sophie, otherwise called Shaw Thomas, and about three of the clocke at after noone I came to the court, and in lighting from my horse at the court gate before my feete touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian tongue (Basmackes) such as hee himselfe weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feete, for without the same shoes I might not be suffered to tread vpon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, vnbeleeuer, and vncleane: esteeming all to bee infidels and Pagans which doe not beleeue as they doe, in their false filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezallie. At the sayde court gate the things that I brought to present his maiestie with, were deuided by sundry parcels to sundry seruitors of the court, to carry before me, for none of my companie or seruaunts might be suffered to enter into the court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his maiestie with such reuerence as I thought meete to bee vsed, I deliuered the Queenes maiesties letters with my present, which he accepting, demaunded of me of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to do: vnto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble realme of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of the sayd Realme for to treate of friendship, and free passage of our merchaunts and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carrie away theirs to the honour of both pinces, the mutuall commoditie of both realmes, and wealth of the subiects, with other words here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well said he, we haue none within our realme that vnderstand those tongues. Whereunto I answered that such a famous and worthie Prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our countries, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, King Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contemnation, not dispraysing the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then hee reasoned with me much of religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an vnbeleeuer or a Muselman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Vnto whom I answered, that I was neither vnbeleeuer nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that sayd hee vnto the king of Georgians sonne,

The Queenes letters deliuered.

The Sophies questions.

ſonne, who being a Chriſtian was fled vnto the ſayd Sophie, and hee anſwered that a Chriſtian was he that beleeueth in Ieſus Chriſtus, affirming him to bee the ſonne of God, and the greateſt prophet: Doeſt thou beleeue ſo ſayd the Sophie vnto me? Yea that I doe, ſayd I: Oh thou vnbeleeuer ſayd he, we haue no neede to haue friendſhip with the vnbeleeuers, and ſo willed mee to depart. I being glad thereof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after mee followed a man with a Baſanet of land, ſifting all the way that I had gone within the ſaid pallace, euen from the ſayd Sophies ſight vnto the court gate.

The curteſie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the ſayd night Shally Murzey ſonne to the king of Hircane aforeſayd, who fauoured mee very much for that I was commended vnto him from his father, willed me not to doubt of any thing, putting me in hope that I ſhould haue good ſucceſſe with the Sophie, and good intertainment.

Warres intended againſt the Portingals.

Thus I continued for a time, daily reſorting vnto me diuers gentlemen ſent by the Sophie to conferre with me, eſpecially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Ruſſia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and ſo with the Portingals ſhippes. Vnto whom I anſwered, that I durſt not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friends, fully perceiuing their meaning: for I was aduertiſed that the ſayde Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged me that I had bene come for a ſpie to paſſe through his dominions vnto the ſaid Portingals, thinking them and vs to bee all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented.

After this the ſayd Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counſell concerning me, who perſwaded, that he ſhould not entertaine me well, neither diſmiſſe mee with letters or gifts, conſidering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemie to the great Turke his brother, perſwading that if hee did otherwiſe, and that the newes thereof ſhould come to the knowledge of the Turke, it ſhould be a meane to breake their new league and friendſhip lately concluded: diſſwading further becauſe hee had no neede, neither that it was requiſite for him to haue friendſhip with vnbeleeuers, whoſe countreys lay farre from him, and that it was beſt for him to ſend mee with my letters vnto the ſayde great Turke for a preſent, which he was fully determined to haue done at ſome meete time, meaning to ſend his Ambaſſadour vnto the ſayd great Turke very ſhortly after.

The king of Hircans ſecond letters in M. Jenkinſons behalfe.

But the king of Hircanes ſonne aforeſayd, vnderſtanding this deliberation, ſent a man in poſt vnto his father, for to declare and impart the purpoſe vnto him, who as a gracious prince, conſidering that I had paſſed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie all that which hee vnderſtood of his ſayd determination, and that it ſhould not ſtand with his maieſties honour to doe me any harme or diſpleaſure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, ſeeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by conſtraint, and that if hee vſed me euill, there would few ſtraungers reſort into his countrey, which would be greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perſwaſions: which after that the ſayd Sophie had well and thoughtly pondered and diſgeſted (much eſteeming the ſame king of Hircane, beyng one of the valianteſt princes vnder him and his nigh kinſeman) changed his determined purpoſe, and the 20. day of March, 1562. he ſent to me a rich garment of cloth of gold, and ſo diſmiſſed me without any harme.

Conference with Indian merchants.

During the time that I ſoiourned at the ſayd citie of Casbin, diuers merchaunts out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of ſpices: whereunto they anſwered that they would bring of all ſortes ſo much as wee would haue, if they were ſure of vent, whereof I did promiſe to aſſure them, ſo that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had.

M. Jenkinſons returne.

The ſame twentieth day of March I returned from the ſayd citie of Casbin where I remayned all the Winter, hauing ſent away all my cammels before, and the thirteth day I came to the ſayde Citie of Ordowill, and the fifteenth of Aprill vnto Zauant aforeſayde, where king Obdolowcan was at that preſent, who immediately ſent for mee, and demaunding of mee many queſtions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene vtterly caſt away, and ſent to the great Turke for a preſent by the Sophie, though the euill perſwaſion of his wicked counſell, and that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principall procurers and mouers thereof: but the Sophie himſelfe meant mee much good at the firſt, and thought to haue giuen me good entertainement, and ſo had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to

haue

haue bene concluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuertheleſſe, ſayd hee, the Sophie hath written vnto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my countrey, and ſo hee intreated mee very gently, in whoſe court I remayned ſeuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of ſafe conductes and priuiledges in your names to be free from paying cuſtome, which I deliuered vnto your ſeruaunts Thomas Alcocke and George Wben, at their departure towards Perſia for your affaires: and his highneſſe did giue mee two garments of ſilke, and ſo diſmiſſed me with great fauour, ſending with me his Ambaſſadour againe vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia, and committed the chiefeſt ſecrete of his affayres vnto mee, to declare the ſame vnto the Emperours maieſtie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of Aprill, I came to the Citie of Shamachie, and there remayning certaine dayes for prouiſion of cammels downe to the Sea ſide, I ſent from thence before, men to repayre my barke, and to make her in a readineſſe. And during my abode in Shamachie, there came vnto me an Armenian ſent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable eſtate of the ſame king, that being enclоſed betwixt thoſe two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the ſayd great Turke and the Sophie, he had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Chriſt and as I was a Chriſtian, that I would ſend him comfort by the ſayd Armenian, and aduiſe how hee might ſend his Ambaſſadour to the ſayd Emperour of Ruſſia, and whether I thought that hee would ſupport him or no: and with many other words required mee to declare his neceſſitie vnto the ſame Emperour at my returne: adding further that the ſayd king would haue written vnto mee his minde, but that he doubted the ſafe paſſage of his meſſenger. Vnto whom I did likewiſe anſwere by worde of mouth, not onely perſwading him to ſend his Ambaſſadour to Ruſſia, not doubting but that hee ſhould finde him moſt honourable and inclined to helpe him, but alſo I directed him his way how the ſayde king might ſend by the countrey of Chircaſſi, though the fauour of Teneruke king of the ſayd countrey, whoſe daughter the ſayd king had lately married. And thus diſmiſſing the ſayd Armenian, within two dayes after I ſent Edward Clearke your ſeruaunt vnto the Citie of Arraſh, where the moſt ſtore of ſilkes is to bee had, giuing him Commiſſion to haue paſſed further into the ſayd countrey of Georgia, and there to haue repaired vnto the ſayde king. And after my commendations premiſed, and my minde declared to haue purſued for ſafeconduct of the ſame prince for our merchaunts to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to haue returned againe with ſpeede. The ſame your ſeruaunt iourneying to the ſayde Citie of Arraſh, and there finding certaine merchants Armenians, which promiſed to goe to the ſayde citie of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Chriſtian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and vnderſtanding that hee could not paſſe further without great ſuſpicion, anſwered that hee came thither to buie ſilkes, and ſhewed the king of Hircanes letters which hee had with him, and ſo returned backe againe, and the 15. of Aprill came to Shamachie: from whence I departed the ſixteene of the ſame moneth, and the one and twentie thereof comming to the Sea ſide, and finding my barke in a readineſſe, I cauſed your goods to bee laden, and there attended a faire wind.

Priuiledges obtained of Abdolowcan, which are hereafter annexed.

An Armenian ſent to maſter Ienkinſon frō the king of Georgia.

Teneruke king of Chircaſſi.

But before I proceede any further to ſpeake of my returne, I intend with your fauours ſomewhat to treate of the countrey of Perſia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

The deſcription of Perſia.

This land of Perſia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as Gilan, Coraſan, Shiruan, and many others hauing diuers Cities, Townes and Caſtles in the ſame. Euery prouince hath his ſeuerall king, or Sultane, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefeſt Cities be theſe: Teueris, Casbin, Keſhan, Yeſſe, Meskit, Heirin, Ordowill, Shamachie, Arraſh with many others. The countrey for the moſt part toward the Sea ſide plaine and full of paſture, but into the land, high, full of mountaines, and ſharpe. To the South it bordereth vpon Arabia and the Eaſt Ocean. To the North vpon the Caſpian ſea and the lands of Tartaria. To the Eaſt vpon the prouinces of India, and to the Weſt vpon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes landes. All within theſe dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, ſonne to Iſmael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth, is nothing valiant, although his power bee great, and his people martiall: and though his puſillanimitie the Turke hath much inuaded his countries, euen nigh vnto the citie of Teueris, wherein he was woont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forſaken the ſame, is chiefly reſident at Casbin aforeſayd, and alwayes as the ſayd Turke purſueth him, hee not being able to withſtand the Turke in the field, truſting rather to the mountaines for his ſafegard, then to his fortes and caſtles, hee hath cauſed the ſame to be raſed within his dominions, and his ordinaunce to bee molten, to the intent that his enemies purſuing him, they ſhould not ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſame.

The chiefe cities of Perſia.

This

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reasonable stature, hauing fiue children. His eldest sonne he keepeth captiue in prison, for that hee feareth him for his valiantnesse and actiuitie: he professeth a kind of holynesse, and saith that he is descended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezallie: and although these Persians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartares bee, yet honour they this false fained Murtezallie, saying that he was the chiefest disciple that Mahomet had, cursing and chiding daily three other disciples that Mahomet had called Ouear, Vsiran, and Abebecke, and these three did slay the sayd Murtezallie, for which cause and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartares mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or lesse, Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I shall not need at this present. These persons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, esteeming themselues to bee best of all nations, both for their religion and holines, which is most erroneous, and also for all other their fashions. They be martiall delighting in faire horses and good harnesse, soone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treate of this nation, and now I returne to discourse the proceeding of the rest of my voyage.

The differences of religion.

My Barke being readie at the Caspian Sea side as aforesayd, hauing a faire winde, and committing our selues vnto God the 30. day of May, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie three, wee arriued at Astracan, hauing passed no lesse dangers vpon the Sea in our returne, then we sustained in our going foorth, and remayning at the sayd Astracan, vntill the tenth day of June, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto me for my safegard vp the riuer Volga, the fifteenth of Julie I arriued at the Citie of Cazan, where the captaine entertained me well, and so dismissing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the citie of Mosko, where I arriued the 20. day of August 1563. in safetie, thankes be to God, with all such goods, merchaundizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours stocke and account, as also of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treasurie before it was opened, which I did, and deliuered those parcels of wares which were for his maiesties account, videlicet, precious stones, and wrought silkes of sundry colours and sortes, much to his highnesse contentation, and the residue belonging to you, viz. Craskoe, and raw silkes, with other merchandizes (as by account appeareth) were brought vnto your house, whereof part there remained, and the rest was laden in your ships lately returned.

The 30. of May 1563.

Shortly after my comming to the Mosko, I came before the Emperours maiestie, and presented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie, whose highnesse conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge, and my proceedings therein it pleased him so to accept, that they were much to his contentation, saying vnto me, I haue perceiued your good seruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the same, wishing that I would trauell againe in such his other affaires, wherein he was minded to employ me: to whom I answered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my seruice was so acceptable vnto his highnesse, acknowledging all that I had done, to bee but of duetie, humblie beseeching his grace to continue his goodnesse vnto your worships, and euen at that instant I humbly requested his maiestie to vouchsafe to graunt vnto you a new priuiledge more ample then the first, which immediately was graunted, and so I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a briefe note how I meant to haue the same priuiledges made, I repaired daily to the Secretarie for the perfecting of the same, & obtained it vnder his maiesties broad seale, which at my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the custodie of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copie whereof, and also of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of Hircan, I haue alreadie deliuered vnto you. Soiourning all that Winter at Mosko, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours maiestie, I sent away your seruaunt Edward Clearke hither ouerland with aduise, and also made preparation for sending agayne into Persia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your seruaunts Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of June last, I departed in poste from the sayd Mosko, and comming to Colmogro and so downe to the Sea side, I found your ships laden and readie to depart, where I embarked my selfe in your good ship called the Swallow, the 9. of July, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie foure, and hauing passed the Seas with great and extreme daungers of losse of shippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September last (God bee praysed) wee arriued here at London in safetie.

New priuileges obtained hereafter following.

28. Sept. 1564.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiaunt souldier, which aduentureth both same, member and life, to serue faithfully his soueraigne, esteemeth not the perils and daungers passed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon desireth any thing more, then that his seruice bee well

well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiuing your fauourable beneuolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, doe thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed: beseeching almightie God so to prosper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enioy the same to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her bighnesse realme, and to the ample benefite and abundant enriching of you and your succession, & posteritie for euer.

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by Obdolowcan king of Hircania to the companie of English merchants Aduenturers for Russia, Persia, and Mare Caspium, with all the landes and countries adioyning to the same, obtained by M. Anthonie Ienkinson at his being there about the affaires of the sayd company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shiruan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earnest suite and request of our fauored and welbeloued Anthonie Ienkinson Ambassadour, haue giuen and granted vnto the right worshipfull sir William Garret, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their companie of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or send their factors in trade of merchandize into our countries, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, either for readie money or barter, and to tarie and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe away when they list, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of bodie or goods.

And further our commandement and pleasure is, that the said English merchaunts with their company, shal pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factors shal buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of them, do disturbe, molest, force or constraine the said English merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of custome or duetie for any wares they bring in or carie out of our dominions contrary to this our commandement, and the same be known vnto vs, then wee will that the said customers and officers shall loose and be put out of their said offices, with our further displeasure, and the sayd English merchants to haue restored all such money and wares as our customers haue taken of them for our said custome. And whensoeuer the said English merchants or their factors shall bring any maner of wares meet for our treasurie, then our treasurer shal take the sayd wares into our treasurie, and shal giue vnto the said English merchaunts, either ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their said wares. And whereseuer this our letter of priuiledges shall be seene and read within our dominion, wee straightly will and commaund that it take effect, and be obeied in all points. Dated at our place of Iauat, the day and yeere aboue written, and sealed with our princely seale, and signed by our secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

The second voyage into Persia made by Thomas Alcocke which was slayne there, and by Richard Cheinie seruant to the worshipfull companie of Moscouie merchants in An. 1563. written by the said Richard Cheinie.

IT may please your worships to vnderstand, that in the yeere 1563. I was appointed by M. Anthonie Jenkinson, and M. Thomas Glouer your Agent in Russia, to go for Persia in your worships affaires, one Thomas Alcocke hauing the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worships seruants being ioined with him in your businesse, hauing with vs, as they said, fiftéene rubbles. And if it shall please you I cannot tel certainely what summe of money we had then of the Emperours: for I receiued none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worships had there, for the bookes were kept so priuilie, that a man could neuer see them. The 10. of May, anno 1563. we departed from a towne called Yeraslaue vpon our voyage towards Persia. The 24. of July we arriued at Astracan: and the second of August we departed from Astracan, and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the Caspian sea, and the 11. day of the said moneth we arriued at our port in Media: and the 21. of the said August we arriued at Shammakie, where as the king Obdolowcan lay in the field. We were well entertained of heathen people, for the third day after our

28 rubbles is a marke English.

our arriuall at Shammakie wee were called before the king: wee gaue him a present, and hee entertained vs very well.

At our comming to the Court we were commaunded to come before the king, who sate in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a crolle, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being couered with carpets: wee were commaunded to sit downe, the king appointing euery man his place to sit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Russelands Marchants to rise vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcocke departed from Shammakie towards Casbin, leauing me at Shammakie to recouer such debts as the dukes of Shammakie ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there, I could recouer but litle. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arriued at a towne called Leuuacta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes iourney from the towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriuing there, departed from Sammakie, finding him there in safetie with all such goods as hee had with him. During his abode there for seuen dayes hee made suite to the king for such money as the dukes ought him. But the king was displeased for that the Emperour of Russelands Marchant had slaine a Boser man at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke seeing the king would shewe vs no fauour, and also hearing from Shammakie, that the Russes sent their goods to the sea side, for that they feared that the king of Persia should haue knowledge of the death of the Boserman, willed mee to depart to Shammakie with all such goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leauing him at the Court.

Casbin.

Leuuacta.

A Boserman is a Renegado.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at Shammakie, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was slaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan vnderstanding of his death, demaunded whether he had euer a brother. Some said I was, some saide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worships had no other seruant there but mee among those heathen people. Who hauing such a summe of goods lying vnder my handes, and seeing how the Russes sent their goods with as much hast as they might to the sea side, and hauing but foure men to sende our wares to the sea side, I vsed such diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was slaine, I sent in company with the Russes goods, all your worships goods with a Mariner, William August, and a Swethen, for that they might the safer arriue at the seaside, being safely layde in. All which goods afterwards arriued in Russeland in good condition, M. Glouer hauing the receipt of all things which I sent them out of those parties into Russeland. Concerning my selfe, I remained after I had sent the goods into Russeland sixe weekes in Shammakie, for the recouerie of such debts as were owing, and at last with much trouble recouered to the summe of sixteene hundreth robles or there about, which M. Glouer receiued of mee at my comming to Mosco, and all such goods as I brought with mee out of Keselhash, as by a note of my hande that hee hath shall appeare. Also hee hauing the receipt of all such goods as I sent into Russeland by these two aboue named, hee then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubles, one Richard Iohnson twentie rubles, one Thomas Petre fiftie rubbles, one Euan Chermisin a Tartar seuentie rubles. All these had their returne. M. Glouer allowed himselfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Persia in your worships affaires.

Thomas Alcocke slaine in the way betweene Leuuacta and Shammakie.

Keselhash, or Jeselhash.

And whereas he saith, the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can see, knowing what the wares coste in those parties, hee had treble. If they gaue him so much wares, all charges turned to your worships, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I haue sowen the seede, and other men haue gathered the haruest: I haue trauailed both by land and by water, full many a time with a sorowfull heart, aswell for the safegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the best, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God, to deliuer mee out of those miseries which I suffered for your seruice among those heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetie which I haue done, as a true seruant ought to doe, I beseech your worships, (although I haue but small recompence for my seruice,) yet let me haue no wrong, and God will prosper you the better.

Also, to informe your worships of your Persian voyage what I iudge: it is a voyage to be followed. The king of Gillan, where, as yet, you haue had no traffique, liueth all by marchandise: and it is neere Casbin, and not past sixe weekes trauaile from Ormus, whereas all the spices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may bee established: But your worships must sende such men as are no riotous lewers, nor drunkerds. For if such men goe, it will bee to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Iohnson went to Persia, whose iourney had bene better stayed then set forward. For whereas before we had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in al respects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be counted worse then the Russes.

Gillan in Persia.

Againe, if such men trauaile in your affaires in such a voyage, you shall neuer knowe what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men imploy themselues to seeke the trade, that are inclined to such vices? or how can God prosper them in your affaires. But when a trade is established by wise and discreete men, then will it be for your worships to trafique there, and not before: for a voyage or market made euil at the first, is the occasion that your worships shal neuer vnderstand what gaines is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

The thirde voyage into Persia, begun in the yeere 1565. by *Richard Iohnson, Alexander Kitchin,* and Arthur Edwards.

¶ *A letter of Arthur Edwards to M. Thomas Nicols, secretarie to* the worshipfull companie trading into Russia and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Persia.

Ieraslaue a towne vpon the Riuer of Volga.

MAster Nicols, my bounden duetie remembred, with desire of God for the preseruation of you and yours: you shall vnderstande that the second of March I was sent by M. Thomas Glouer (your Agent) vnto Ieraslaue, appointed to receiue such goods as should come frō Vologhda, as also such kinde of wares as should be bought and sent from Mosco by your Agent, & M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Persia. And further, I was to prouide for biscuit, beere, beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needefull according to aduise. Thus I remained here vntill the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to see vs set forwards on our voyage, and then hee departed towardes Colmogro, hauing

Richard Johnson chiefe of the third voyage into Persia.

appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Persia) Richard Iohnson. For my part I am willing, as also haue bene and shall be content, to submit my selfe vnder him, whome the Agent shall appoint, although hee were such a one as you shoulde thinke in some respects vnmeete. Three two packes of carseis are all of that kinde of cloth that wee shall haue with vs. The other 18. packes that should haue gone, were solde in Mosco. What other goods are shipped for our voyage, you shall vnderstand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honest man) was appointed Agent for Persia, as one for those parts more fit then any I doe knowe here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this present life the 16. of March last past. I wished of God for my part he had liued: for my desire was in his companie to haue trauailed into

30 barks of 30. tunnes made at Ieraslaue 1564. to passe the Caspian sea.

Persia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of Volga and the Caspian sea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the most. It is handsomly made after the English fashion: but I thinke it to litle for your goods and prouision of victuals. If the worshipfull companie would sende hither a Shipwright, being skilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, hauing but 6. foote water at the most when it is laden, I thinke it should bee profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the same, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to giue great fraight to lade their goods with vs, whereby your charges would be much lessened: And so it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be saued, and your seruants and goods in farre greater assurance; for their boates here are dangerous to saile with and to passe the Caspian sea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well enough hauing one to instruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for those that goe for your voyage of Persia, are yet vnknowen vnto mee; wherefore I can not (as I would at this present) write to you thereof. For (as you doe knowe) it was the Gouernours minde I should be acquainted with greater affaires then these. How beit I doubt not but I shalbe informed of them that are appointed, and al things shall be bought when they shall see time and haue more leasure.

Thus (in hast as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the handes of Almightie God, who preserue you in perfect health with increase of worship.

From Ieraslaue the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to commaunde here or els where during life,
Arthur Edwards.

An other letter of the said M. Arthur Edwards, written the 26. of April 1566. in Shamakie in Media to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Lodge knight and Alderman: And in his absence to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the right worshipfull companie trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and East parts, touching the successe of Richard Iohnson in the thirde voyage into Persia.

Worshipfull sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preseruation of you and and yours in perfect health with increase of worship. It may please you that my last letter I sent you was from Astracan the 26. of July 1565. From whence Richard Iohnson, my selfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30. of the same. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23. of August before wee came to our desired porte named Nazauoe. There, after wee had gotten your goods on lande, with much labour and strength of men, as also windlesses deuised and made, wee haled your barke ouer a barre of beach or peeble stones into a small Riuer, sending your shippes apparell with other things to an house hired in a village thereby. And assoone as wee might get camels, being the fift of September wee departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamakie the 11. of the same: and the 17. day following wee presented vnto Abdollocan the King of this Countrey one timber of sables, one tunne or nest of siluer cuppes parsill gilt, three morses teeth, 4. arshines of skarlet, three pieces of carseis, with 40. redde foxes.

They departed from Astracan the 3. of July 1565.

September.

Presents to the king Abdolocan.

He receiued our presents with giuing vs thankes for our good wills, demaunding if M. Ienkinson were in good health, and whether he would returne into these parts againe. Hee willed vs also himselfe to sit downe before him the distance of a quoits cast from his tent, where hee sate with diuers of his counsaile and nobilitie, sending vs from his table such meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with vs, hee saide if hee might perceiue or knowe any maner of person to doe vs any wrong, hee woulde punish them in example of others, whereby wee should liue in quietnesse, and haue no cause to complaine, giuing vs a litle house for the time, vntill a better might be prouided in such place as wee should thinke most meete, neuer willing vs to rise or depart, vntill such time as wee of our selues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, he willed vs to put our whole mindes and requests in writing, that hee might further vnderstand our desires. But while we were about to doe so, God tooke this good king our friende out of this present life the 2. of October past. The want of him hath bene the cause that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but wee shall recouer all such summes of money as are owing vs for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are past hope of recouerie, which had not bene lost if the king had liued. Wee trust in the place of him, God will sende as friendly a king towards vs: who by report (and as wee be credibly informed,) shall be his sonne named the Mursay: who since the death of his father, at our being with him, promised to shewe vs more friendship then euer we found: God graunt the same.

A house giuen our men in Shamakie by the King.

The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565.

Mursay the newe king of Media.

Great troubles haue chaunced in these parts. Of those which were of the olde kings counsaile or bare any rule about him in these quarters, some are in prison, some are pinched by the purse, and other sent for vnto the Shaugh. These troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not solde, as they might to more profite. Your Agent Richard Iohnson bought foure horses, minding to haue sent to Casbin, Alexander Kitchin, whome God tooke to his mercie the 23. of October last: and before him departed Richard Dauis one of your Mariners; whose soules I trust the Lord hath receiued to his mercie. We are now destitute of others to supply their roomes. Foure Mariners were fewe ynough to saile your barke, whereof at this present wee haue but one, whose name is William Smith, an honest yong man, and one that doeth good seruice here. For want and lacke of Mariners that should knowe their labours, wee all were like to bee cast away in a storme. For all the broad side of our barke laye in the water, and wee had much a doe to recouer it: but God of his mercie deliuered vs. Mariners here, may doe you good seruice all the winter otherwayes: and Marchants here will be the gladder to shippe their goods in vs giuing good fraight. One Marchant at this present is content to pay twentie robles for twentie camels lading fraight to Astracan. Such barkes as must passe these seas, may not drawe aboue fiue foote of water, because that in many places are very shallowe waters. Wee minde hereafter to make the Russian boates more strong, and they shall serue our turnes very well.

The death of Alexander Kitchin the 23. of October 1565.

The Caspian sea very shoals in diuers places.

And whereas some inrunes past tooke great paines, trauaile, and care, and could not haue their desire in the getting of the Shaughes letters or priuiledge, Howe, I trust (with Gods helpe) they may bee obtained: which being had, will bee beneficiall to the companie, and great quietnesse to those that shall remaine here, although heretofore thinges haue chaunced ill, as the like in other Countreis hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, wee shall liue in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly growe into a great trade for silkes both rawe and wrought, with all kinde of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to master Anthonie Ienkinson is well knowen; Who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly aduertised the Companie thereof.

The murthering of Thomas Alcocks.

The trueth of the slaughter of Thomas Alcocks your seruant is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whome your saide seruant was earnest in demaunding of your debts: vpon whose wordes he was so offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, false knaues laye in waite, thinking hee had much about him, and so slewe him. I doubt not though this misfortune hath chaunced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloued when wee shall be more knowen.

Honest Marchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to growe in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, & haue spoken in our fauours to the chiefest of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whome your Agent and I are entred into friendship, who is at this time in great fauour with the Shaugh. Hee hath here and in other places of these parts, set a good stay in things since the kings death: he is well knowen to M. Ienkinson, his name is Cozamomet. Also another duke named Ameddin-becke is our great friende: And his sister is the Shaughes wife. These two haue promised your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priuiledge, but also that I shall haue the debts paide mee of those that went from hence to Casbin, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was vpon short warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent M. Richard Iohnson, all excuses layde apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen: with charge, when God should send me to Casbin, to vse my discretion with their aduise, for the recouering of your debts and priuiledge. I shall haue with mee one interpretour and two bought seruants; one of which partly vnderstandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust whatsoeuer should become of me. I haue receiued 6. tumens in readie money: 200. shaughes is a tumen, reckoning euery shaugh for 6. pence Russe. I haue further receiued two timbers of sables, one to be solde, the other to bee giuen to Thomas the Shaugh: and haue order further to giue as I shall see good to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion serueth. And for as much as I am commaunded to goe, I shall willingly doe my best, putting my trust in God that hee will sende mee well to speede in this iourney.

Cozamomet a noble man that fauoured our nation.

The value of a tumen.

For all kinde of wares bought or solde, you shall throughly be aduertised by your Agent Richard Iohnson, whose reckonings or accompts at no hande I might see or be priuie vnto. Your earseis were good and well sorted, they are and will be solde from 150. shaughs to 160. the piece. Two hundreth pieces were solde vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece: but more would haue bene giuen, if circumspection had bene vsed. They were solde to those noblemen aforesaid, when as yet it was not knowen that I should haue gone with them. They may stande vs much in steade, as they haue promised vs their good wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England, 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26. batmans being in euery packe: The batman being 7. li. which may be 6. li. and a halfe of English waight: being bought here for 66. to 70. shaughes the batman. It is fine and good: litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had being at Grousin, we could not send thither: for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall haue lidgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may bye it at the first hand of the Countrey people that bring it to sel hither, and to other places. I would to God the companie coulde finde the meanes to haue a vent to make sales for the one halfe that wee may bye here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thousande pounds yeerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, hee and others sawe therefo great abundance, that by report of diuers, you may bestowe (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thousande pounds: besides silke of all colours died in graine, bounde vp in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here solde for 23. shaughes, at 6. d. the shaugh may be 11. s. 6. pence.

What a batman is.

Varas a great mart for silke.

From Astracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) shall serue our purpose best to goe vnto. Allam is there good

Gilan 7. dayes sayling from Astracan. Alam.

good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamakie, and solde here for 2. bills their batmã, which may be 5. pence in our money: and so I haue bought to be sent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is raw silke ynough for the companies stocke. I beleeue, if any great shop of wares be sent from you, that must be the place: and frõ thence a man may trauaile in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better sales, at which place your commodities are to be solde. For there be the chiefe and best marchants, and diuers other cities round about, as viz. Teueris, Ardaoulle, and Cayshan, being the heart of the Countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and marchants are better vsed. Concerning this point I haue inquired of diuers marchants both Russes and others that haue bene in those parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and yet true the same to be true, and that all kinde of wares come from thence into these parts. And from Casbin to Ormus is about 30. dayes trauailing with camels. I haue written the prices of wares in my letter to the gouernour both for spices and some drugs, which I doe know.

Gilan 4. dayes iourney from Casbin.

From Casbin to Ormus a moneths trauaile with camels.

Also you shall vnderstand here is plentie of yelow for bowstaues. I caused three horse loades to be bought vs for to know the trueth: but they were cut out of season this moneth of Aprill the sappe being in them. Three moneths I neuer left speaking to the Countrey men to bring some. Your Agent will send some home for example.

This day being the 26. of Aprill I departed towards Casbin: God giue mee a good houre and well to speede, with a merrie heart in returning againe, as my hope is I shall. I haue written my minde to M. Glouer your Agent what Russian wares I thinke best to be bought for this Countrey: and to send some one hither that hath the Russe tongue: for we haue need. And the companie shall doe well hereafter in taking of seruants to be sent hither, to see that they be such as haue discretion and be something broken in the world, and seene in the trade of Marchandise: and one, (if they can get some such) as can speake the Portingall tongue, may doe them as good seruice, as those that shall be here two yeeres before him: for then wee may bye a slaue that can speake this language and the Portingal tongue also, which shall then interprete vnto vs in all your secret doings, not making the Russes priuie: for they are sorie that we doe trade into these parts. For wee are better beloued then they are: because they are giuen to be drunkards they are much hated of these people. It is to be wished that none should serue your worships in these parts that be giuen to that kinde of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor should be able to rule and gouerne himselfe, that no dishonestie should be imputed to him and vs. By his euill vsage hee payd here 24. robles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy that hee was charged to haue conuayed away from a Tesicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to sweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he should not pay it. If he were honest he might doe your worships good seruice because of his Russian tongue.

The secret doings of the Moscouie companie.

Your London reds are not to be sent hither: for they will not giue aboue 18. shaughes their arshine. Here be reds of more orient colour being Venice die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common people specially were carseis: and the Marchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You shall doe well to sende fiue or sixe broad clothes, some blackes, pukes, or other sadde colours, that may be affoarded at 20. shaughes the arshine and not aboue. It is here reported that King Philip hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrowe at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe Captaines.

Orient reds of Venice die.

Thus writing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my scribled letter, and after you haue red it that M. Nicols may haue a sight thereof.

By your seruant to commaund,
Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Persia, *with their prices there.*

1. CArseis are solde there for 180. shaughes. So that a carsey is solde there in Persia for 4. li. 10. s. For euery shaugh is 6. d. English. And euery bill is 2. d. halfe penie English, and in Russe money 3. d.

A shaugh is 6. d. English.

2. Tinne is solde in Persia for 14. and 18. shaughes the batman. The batman containing as I haue mentioned before.
3. Byall is at 10. and 12. shaughes the batman.
4. Reede cloth fine at 25. and 30. shaughes the yard.
5. Copper at 20. and 25. shaughes the batman.

Commodities to be brought out of Persia *for England.*

1. Raw silke at 60. shaughes the batman.
2. Pepper at 32. shaughes the batman.
3. Ginger at 18. and 20. shaughes the batman.
4. Mace at 30. shaughes the batman.
5. Brimstone at 4. shaughes the great batman. ‡ The great batman is 12. li. Engl.
6. Allam at 2. bills and a halfe the batman, and lesse.
7. Rice at halfe a bill the batman.
8. Galles at halfe a bill the batman.
9. Cloues at 40. shaughes the batman.
10. Yew for bowe staues, &c

A letter of M. Arthur Edwards, written the 8. of August 1566. *from the towne of Shamakie in Media, to the right worshipfull the* Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, and generalitie of the companie of Russia, &c. Shewing his accesse vnto the Emperour of Persia, his conference with him, his obteining of a priuiledge: with diuers other good obseruations.

His arriuall at Casbin the 25. of May.

RIght worshipfull (sirs) my bounden duetie remembred, with most humble commendations and like requist to God for the preseruation of your good healthes with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to vnderstand, that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of Aprill of this present yeere by Richard Iohnson at my departure towards Casbin: to which Citie I came the 25. of May following, not slacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the speedie bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whose Maiestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twise to come neerer him, demaunding what were my requests: and hauing heard them, he promised me his gratious letters. Afterwardes he called me twise againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes Maiestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired: And then of other Countreis adioyning to vs and their commodities, as also of K. Philip, what ouerthrow he gaue the Turkes at the siege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Russeland and Moscouia, and in what space wee might saile out of England into Russeland, & how many weekes trauaile it is from Colmogro to Astracan: And then came to discourse of Russeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring vnto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worships should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially, which maydens doe make (as he said: He named it Karengi, I thinke it is Westerne dosens died into scarlets. Time will not permit me to write at large the coference which I had with his Maiestie. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of: to wit of London clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example being well shorne and dyest. Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne: but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be liuely to the sight, and some blackes for womens garments, with some Orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes: and they that know the wearing are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making: for they finde it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the threede it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being crompliffed, a yard and a halfe broad, and solde here from 24. to 30. shaughes their arshine, being longer by two inches then the Russe arshine is. I wish also that you send some good chamlets & velvets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds: because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours: some cloth of gold, tissue & bocky, some velvets wrought with gold, with sattens and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some Westerne carleis, to wit, dosens, which bee thicked well, and close shutte in the weauing, being died into fine reds, and some skarlets: for I thinke

All sorts of cloth to be sent especially Westerne dosens died into scarlet.

Idem clothes much talked of in Persia.

Much Venice cloth worne in Persia.

thinke there is no such cloth for their cappes.

Your Worships shall vnderstand, that after my first departure from the presence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priuiledge in writing, that I might haue it in readines, at such time as I should againe be called before the presence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of June last. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments to mine Interpretour, and one of your seruants. And then I receaued your letters, of priuiledge, according to my desire, sealed and firmed with the Shaughes owne hand. Praised be God, who hath brought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The first admission to the Shaughes presence, the 29. of June, 1566. at which time he receaued the priuiledge.

The 29. of June, is one of their chiefe festiuall daies, so that all his Nobilitie was there present, with two Ambassadors in companie with his Maiestie, who said vnto me, that if my letters were not to my minde, in time to come they should be mended. Wherupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his Highnes most humble & hartie thankes, saying, that with as much speede as might be, our Queenes Maiestie should vnderstand of his goodnes towards her Marchants, which I thought would write their letters of request vnto his Highnes, in such forme & order, as by them should be thought meete and requisite for their good assurance, in the trade of marchandizes: who replied with these wordes: when we shall see their reasonable requests, we will shewe them our further good will, and so I departed.

The Shaughes promise to increase the priuiledge.

Since the receauing of the Shaughes letters, I haue eaten in companie of good Dukes, and others, who before would not come neere me. And euery day some would come to my shoppe, and eate and drinke with me, out of mine owne dishe. Likewise in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I sate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with me vnbidden, when I wished them further off: for I spared them that, which gladly I would haue eaten my selfe. I doubt not but we shall liue here from henceforth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly vsed with the best.

I was asked by the Shaugh, if you were able to bring him yeerely one hundred thousand peeces of kerkes, and clothes. And I answered him, saying, your Worships were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand. Whereat his Highnes reioyced: for the Turkes Ambassador the last yeere, as diuerse haue told mee, did put the Shaugh in despaire, saying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his Countrey.

Aleppo a Citie of great trade.

There is a Citie in Turkie, named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, besides other that come yeerely, & there buy wools, gals, tallow, saffron, skinnes, cotton woll, and other wares, and great store of spices. Also the Armenians yeerely receaue at the Venetians hands, kersies in barter for rawe silkes, giuing sometimes 60. peeces of kersies for 70. batmans of silke of this Countrey, and 40. peeces for Grousine silke. And kersies solde commonly for ready mone in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the peece, (the ducket being here worth 12. shillings) may call the first penny 132. and 144. Shaughes a kersie. By report it is one moneths trauell from this towne of Shamakye to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, fiue daies iourney: and from Tripolis to Venice, by water, a moneths or fiue weekes sailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice, may easily be trauelled in lesse then three moneths. Therefore I wish your Worships to procure some trustie and assured friend there, to whome from hence letters may be sent. For I can haue them here to put in suerties to deliuer my letters, and to bring answere. If I had any other here with mee, I would nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

Armenians barter with the Venetians

The distance from Shamakye to Aleppo.

The Armenians and other, are desirous to barter with vs, giuing silke for kersies, and also will serue vs of all kinde of spices, we giuing them sufficient warning to fetch it in the Indias, and will deliuer it vs in Shamakye, at these prices.

Armenians & other, desirous to barter silke and spices for kersies.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughes: euery Shaugh is fiue pence.

Maces large for 40. Shaughes, and 45. the batman,

Cloues for 40. Shaughes the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughes the batman.

Sinamon for 40. Shaughes the batman.

I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in spices, with druggs, and other like, in time.

From Casbin to Ormus, is fiue weekes trauell, and from hence to Casbin is 16. daies with camels laden: but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in seuen or eight daies. And I thinke to Ormus, and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion, with cattell vnladen. But here in all places as men trauell, they must carry their owne prouision on horses, which they are to buy: and thus they trauell but a foote pase.

The

The Shaugh desirous to bargaine for our commodities.

The Shaugh himselfe is desirous to bargaine with you, who will giue monie, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bying such wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceaue, bying from Aleppo yeerely foure, fiue, and sixe thousand peeces of kersies and clothes, besides those which other men bringe. If your Worships might procure and finde vent or sales for rawe silke, and silke died in graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made, then you might sende a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindred by the Venetians, if they may: for I know it will grieue them, that you doe trade into these partes: for in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in Aleppo, and other places adioyning. You shall vnderstand that 60. bastmans of silke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians, yeerely carrieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with kersies, and Venice clothes. And 18. peeces of kersies, are a Mules lading. But I wish you not to sende aboue 2000. peeces of kersies, although I haue bene willed to write for more. If I might haue had any vnderstanding what your Worships had written for in your letters sent this yeere, I should in this my letter haue bene better able to haue answered you. They which be now in Astracan, might haue written some thing vnto me hither, if it had pleased them, or else haue sent me such letters of mine, as I hope some of my friendes haue written to me: for here are arriued 8. weekes past, two boates with wares, and Russes, by whome they might haue written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promised the Russes to write, but promise was not kept. I would be sorie that any boate should depart out of these parts, and not write vnto them, waping how all things stande. I heare they haue bought a boate, which cost 40. roobles, and shipped certaine wares to come hither. God send them in safetie. I doe tary their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to Astracan in those boates which departed hence lately.

2000. peeces of kersies to be sent into Persia.

We departed from Casbin the 15. of July.

The fifteenth of July last, I departed from Casbin, and came to this Towne the 29. of the same. And the fourth of August, I founde meanes to arrest the fallest knaue in this Countrey, to wit, the Customer, for 22. tumens, and 100. shaughes, (200. shaughes is a tumen.) I haue caused him to put in suerties for his sooth comming at all times: what end I shall haue with him God knoweth: the debt will be recouered, but not yet: for he must pay the Shaugh 1000. roobles. These parts as yet are in no stay, for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule, which I thinke shall be the Mursey. Within 5. or 6. daies, we shal know, for it is time, because men are in feare to trauell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I should soone get in your debts, for they dare not disobey the Shaughes letters, or priuiledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts shal be paid, but also that we shall be taken heede to, so as we need not to doubt, God willing, in time to come, to be here as wel vsed as we are in Russeland. The bils of debts that Richard Iohnson left with me, had neither the parties name, nor summe of money in two of them, and in other bils, but his owne name. If I had not vsed discretion, in causing to be written in our priuiledge, that such debts as are owing, should be paide any of vs in the absence of the other, some men would not haue paid one penny, but onely to Richard Iohnson, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bils. I receiued in Casbin of Forackan, in part of 29. tumens, 300. shaughes in money: the rest he will deliuer me here in silke, and this is all that I haue receaued to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelue tumens, I make accompt, that if I could ride to speake with him, I should be paid in money and wares. Touching Ackones money, by meanes of Duke Amedenbecke, who first owed the debt, because they meant not to pay a penny, he did rather seeke to hinder my suit, then to farther mee: but I founde out a present remedie: for God sent me friendes that were alwaies about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my suite, and brought me to the presence of the Shaugh, before that Cosomomet sawe the Shaughes eies. But Cosomomet in the ende was my friende: for he was sent for, and declared vnto the Shaugh, what good Marchants we were, vsing trueth in all our doings, and howe wee were in great fauour with the Emperour of Russia, and what good commodities we might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was sent for to the Shaugh, about the affaires in those partes: for no man was able to aduise the Shaugh of the state and affaires of those Countries, so much as he was. He owed your Worships seuen tumens, and 48. shaughes, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands: for he was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giuing great guifts since his comming, which he twise declared vnto mee. I feeling his griefe, became Phisicion, to ease his paine, and forgaue him his debt aboue saide, in recompence of tenne peeces of kersies, that were promised him by Richard Iohnson, and mee, to giue him at the comming of our goods, in consideration that hee should with speede doe what laye in him, to dispatche mee away:

Richard Johnsons great negligence.

Cosomomet was Arthur Edwards friend to the Shaugh.

way: for I perceaued he procured other, that did helpe me in my sute, to delay me of, till time he had his purpose. I neuer was in quiet, till I had the Princes priuiledge, & had got me out of Casbin: for victuals, and all other things are very deere there, because they are brought thither from far off. As for all other smal debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Marchants are come hither, we shal seeke to get them in as we may. I wish your Worships to send some bollion to be coined here, it will please the prince there, & be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by 2. and 3. shaughes the batman, then it was the last yeere. You shal vnderstand that I haue written 2. letters of all my proceedings, which I sent from Casbin long since, to wit, the 24. and 29. of June last, by one of your seruants to Gilan, there to take ship and to goe to Astracan, and to deliuer the same vnto your factors, which might haue bene to their quietnes and mine, long ago. But I am right sorie to heare since my comming hither, that he hath plaied the loitering marchant in Gilan, not going in those boates that went first, but taried for the last boates. But I will reach him, to the example of other, how he shal make haste hereafter in such affaires. The kersies which you sent last, being bought of Master Quarles, were good and full lengths, and well sorted. The Princes Ambassador of Gilan was in Casbin, at my being there. I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may go to Gilan, to obtaine for your Worships the like priuiledge at the kings hand there also. For I haue something moued the matter, being put in such comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with small charges: which I had done at this time, if I had had other here with me to put in trust: for from Casbin to Gilan, is but 5. daies riding, which Contrey may be profitable to your Worships. There is in that Prouince, good store of silke, better cheape, and better in goodnes, then this Countrey silke is. Also great store of Allam, being there sold this townes batman, for one bist and a halfe. I haue made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to Colmogro, & from thence fraight into England, at three pounds the tunne, all charges accompted, will not stand you in aboue 18. and 20. shillings the hundreth. You may haue yeerely by report, two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England, I heare not of. As for gals here to be bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from Aleppo, & sold here not vnder 3. or 4. shaughs their batman, being sixe pounds English weight. Graine that you dye scarlet withall, is worth the batman ready money, 200. shaughes, reckoning the shaugh for 6. pence Russe, it may be 6. robbles their batman. Your Worships may send some portion of money, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13. shillings a pound the berries, so you shall gaine both in the price, and waight. If one Englishman more had bene here with me, to whome I might haue deliuered our bils of debts, and other things, whatsoeuer should haue chanced of me, I would then haue become seruant to mine Interpretor, and so haue gone to Ormus, and Aleppo, which both ioyne on the borders of this Countrey, being the chiefe Marte Townes, whereunto from all places Marchants resort. And thus would I haue spent 4. or 5. moneths in trauelling for farther knowledge of things, for to haue certified your Worship of. I hope in God to vse things in such order, that yeerely you shall haue returne of your goods from hence, as you haue foorth of Russeland, and in those shippes. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, prouide to make sales in time, and with speede receaue silke at the Shaughes hand, and other mens, that it may be sent from hence to be in Astracan at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be sent to Colmogro in three moneths and lesse, & there to be ready with the rest of your goods, by the ende of June, for your shippes to receaue, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to passe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly setled in these parts, and better knowen. Moreouer, you shall vnderstand, that at my last being in the presence of the Shaugh, it was saide to me, that Master Anthonie Ienkinson did proffer to take all the rawe silke in those parties, deliuering cloth, and other commodities for the same. I assure you, there is in those parts to be had three or fowre thousand horses lading, euery horse loade being 50. or 60. batmans, beside silke of Grosine. Great aboundance of silke at times is sent out of these parts, to wit, 4. or 5. hundred horse loades at a time, by the Turkes, who bring great store of siluer to be coyned, to wit, Dollars at ten shaughes the peece. The Hungarie Ducket is at 12. shaughs. And hauing monie in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy silke the better cheape, when the Countrey men bring it first to be solde. If your Worships may bargaine with the Venetians, to take silke at your hands, or otherwise deale with them, I do not mistrust but to haue at ye Shaughs hand, sixe batmans of silke for two peeces and a halfe of kersies. Your good aduise herein, and in other matters, I trust you will write with conuenient speede. Master Anthony Ienkinson hath deserued great commendation at all your Worships hands: for the good report of his well and wise doings in those parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and some good helpe to me in my proceedings. To this day I neuer heard from any of our Marchants. God grant me in health to see your Worships: for I haue had a carefull trauell, with many a sorrowfull day, and vnquiet

Victuals and al things deere at Casbin.

The Ambassador of the prince of Gilan

Gilan but fiue daies riding from Casbin.

Gals.

Graine.

Ormus. Aleppo.

M. Anthony Ienkinsons offer to the Persian.

M. Anthony Ienkinson commended.

vnquiet sleepes. Neither had I the companie of one English person, to whom sometimes I might haue eased my pensiue heart, as God well knoweth, who hath deliuered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God grant you in health and wealth, long to liue.

Your humble seruant at commandement during life,
Arthur Edwards.

Another letter of Arthur Edwards, written in Astracan, the 16. *of Iune*, 1567. *at his returne in his first voyage out of Persia*, to the right Worshipfull companie, trading into Russia, Persia, and other the North and Northeast partes.

The Shaughs letters to the Moscouie company.

IT may please your Worships, that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your priuiledge, but also the Gouernours names, with the Consuls, Assistants, and generallitie. Also such commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters, directed to your Worships, to be sent him, with other notes, which I thought good to be remembred, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written, granted, and giuen in the names of these sixe persons following, to wit, sir William Garrard, sir William Chester, gouernours, sir Thomas Lodge, Master Anthony Ienkinson, Master Thomas Nichols, and Arthur Edwards.

1. First it is granted, that you shall pay no manner of customes, or tolles, any kind of wayes, now, nor in time comming, vnto his heires after him. And that all English Marchants, such as you shall appoint nowe, and hereafter, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions, and other Countreyes adioyning, in the trade of marchandise, to buy and sell all manner of commodities, with all manner of persons.

2. Item that in all places where any of our Marchants shall haue their resort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers, and Iustices shall take heede vnto vs, being our aide and defence against all euill persons, punishing those that shall doe vs any wrong.

3. Item that for all such debts as shall be owing by any manner of person, iustice shall be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4. Item that no manner of person, of whatsoeuer estate or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any guifts, without any leaue and good will.

5. Item if by chance medley any of our Marchants or seruants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subiects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true iustice to be ministred, and being any of vs, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge, and aduise.

6. Item that all such debts as are nowe owing, or hereafter shall be, are to be paide vnto any of vs, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead, or aliue.

7. Item that no person returne any kinde of wares backe againe, being once bought or solde.

8. Item that when God shall send your goods to shoare, presently his people shall helpe vs a land with them.

These articles before written, I trust in God, will content your mindes, vntill your farther letters be hitherto written vnto the Prince: who I am assured will grant your farther reasonable requests, which his Maiestie hath promised. For I moued the question, declaring vnto him, that I thought your Worships would write your letters of requests, to craue his farther good will, as should be thought meete for your better assurance in the trade of marchandize: you will hardly beleeue what long and gratious talke he had with me, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange vnto the people, and other Marchant strangers. For betwixt euery question that his Maiestie moued, when I had answered him, he would talke with his Nobles, and other his seruants, hauing some knowledge of our Westerne partes and commodities, and then againe would demand other questions. He caused his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in al of his foure letters giuen me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkish tongue to be sent you.) On the backe side of one, he hath written what wares his Maiestie would haue you to sende him. He held me one houre within night, before I departed from him.

These be the names of the wares or commodities which on the

backe

backeside of one of his letters, the Shaugh hath written to you to be sent him.

First some clothe of golde, with cloth of tyssue, and cloth of bodky, as Veluets wrought with golde.

Item good veluets, to wit, cremosins, purples, reds, greenes, and blackes. These colours his Maiestie requireth: for they are most worne. And though there be some of these wares made in his Citie of Cassan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to those that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in these wares: yet for diuers considerations, as also to satisfie the Princes minde, I wish you to send some, and those that be especiall good.

Item good damasks and satins, of all sortes, with an hundred peeces of good chamlets, which are worth here 80. shaughes the peece, at fiue pence the shaugh, and those silkes to be of those colours aboue written, to wit, cremosins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with some light watcher colours.

Item three or foure complete harnesses that will abide the shot of a handgunne, with tenne or twelue targets of steele, being good.

Item ten or twelue good shirts of male, being very good, or else none, that may abide the shot of an arrowe, and two buffe ierkins.

Item ten or twelue peeces of Westerne kersies, being thickers well and close shut in the weauing, and died into scarlets, and fine reds. I thinke there will be no such cloth for Noblemens caps. The Prince named them "karangies, saying, that maidens did make them, and is desirous of them.

"By the word Karangies, I thinke they meane kersies.

Item fiue peeces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with some other for Noblemen, of a lower price.

Item twentie handguns being good, some of them with fire lockes, and also fiue good dags, with lockes to trauell withall.

Item 100. bushes for garments, (none made of swines haire,) for guifts, and other wise to be solde.

Item fiue stone bowes that shoote lead pellets.

Item a mill to grinde corne in the field as they goe, finely deuised: for Cozomomet willed me to write for one to be sent, to giue the Prince.

Item the Prince requireth of all sortes and colours of London clothes. I wish you to sende no lesse then 40. or 50. for I knowe they will be solde to profite, especially such cloth as may be afforded for 20. shauges the arshine, which is longer by two of mine yncbes then Russia arshine is. Let there be fine scarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blackes, browne blewes, foure or fiue of euery sort, for the Prince, and other Lordes: the rest of other colours liuely to the sight, as London russets, tawnies, Lion colours, good liuely greenes, with other, as you shall thinke good: for the Prince desireth to see of all sortes, which will be an occasion, that the Venetians and Turkes shall be in lesse estimation then they are: for they themselues doe feare, and secretly say the same. And truely the Princes subiects intend to enter into trade with vs for spices, and other commodities, that they were woont to sell vnto the Venetians, and Turkes.

Thus I committe you all to God, who send you health, with increase of Worshipp. Written in Astracan, the 16. of June, 1567.

By your seruant during life to command
Arthur Edwards.

Distances of certaine places in Russia.

The way from S. Nicholas Bay to Mosko.

	verstes.
To Colmogro	100
To Vstiug	500
To Tokma	250
To Vologhda	250
All by the riuer of Dwina	1100

	verstes
To Yeraslaue	180
To Rostoue	60
To Peraslaue	60
To Mosko	120
By land East and West	440

The way from Mosco to Smolensko.

To

To Moramis 300
To Smolensko 200

The way from Mosco to Nouogorode.

To Ottuer is 180
To Torzhoke 60
To Wisnouolloko 60
To Nouogorode 150
Southeast and Northwest } 450

The way from Nouogorode to Narue.

To Teseua 50
To the Friers 60
To Yria Niagorod 40
To Narue 15
Southwest and Northeast } 165

From Nouogorod to Vobsky, is 180. verstes by East.

The way from Vobsky to Rie in Liefe land.

To Newe house 50
To Gouen on the borders
To Wenden
To Trecado
To Newslot
To Rie
verstes All is 200.

The way from Mosco to Astracan.

To Costrom
To Nisnouogorod
To Cazan
To Astracan in all is } verstes, 2800

The way from Vologhda to Narue.

To Belozerco 140
To Batag 80
To Witergen 40
To Ladiskie 60
To Onego lake 180
To Oher 90
To Narue 180
Southwest Northeast } verstes 770

To goe with a small boate within the land from S. Nicholas to Wardhouse.

To Newnox riuer.
To Ousca Gouba
To Lobshanga
To Oust Nauelockie
To Orlouanos
To Soluca Monasterie.
To Candeloxe
To Oust Colla
To Zhemaker
To Poganna Volockie
To Chibe Nauolocke
To Kegor
To Wardhouse in all 800. verstes Northwest and Southeast.

The way from Colmogro to Mizemske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keepe their Marte.

To Vst Pinnago
To Palango
To Leunona
To Vescom
To Soyaua
To Coula
To Nendega
To Lampas
To Sloboda
All is 230. verstes.

The way to Vromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the losh hides are gotten.

To Lampas
To Pogorel
To Zapolle
To Vromo
All is 115. verstes, Northeast and Southwest.

The way and distances from S. Nicholas, to the Caspian sea.

IF you goe streight from S. Nicholas, to the Caspian sea, you must goe to Vologhda by water, as by the easiest passage, and that is accomplished passing day & night, in 14. daies, & 14. nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100. verstes it is.

By horse and sleds in eight daies you may passe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous, by meanes of marshes and bogs, and not safely then to be passed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraslaue, 180. verstes ouer land. This Yeraslaue standeth vpon the riuer of Volga, 180. verstes I say distant from Vologhda.

To the Caspian sea are 2700. verstes from Yeraslaue.

So from S. Nicholas to the Caspian sea, are } iii. M. viii. C. lxx. verstes.

The iourney from S. Nicholas to Yeraslaue is accomplished in fourteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. } xvi. dayes.

From thence to Astracan men trauell by water in 30. daies and 30. nights.

So betweene S. Nicholas and the Caspian sea, are } 46. daies iourney.

Then

There paſſe downe Volga euery Sommer, 500. boates great & ſmall, from all the vpper parts of the riuer, whereof ſome be of 500. tunne. They goe for minerall ſalt and for Sturgeon.

The ſalt lieth in rocks (and is whitiſh red, and in fine ſand) as it were 30. miles from Aſtracan toward the Caſpian ſea. They dig it themſelues and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a pennie a paude, viz. 40. pound waight.

The Sturgion which they call Ocetera, is taken fiftie miles on this ſide Aſtracan. Along the riuer the ſpace of 20. miles, they make their bootes in plaine grounds, and fiſh for the ſpace of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of Auguſt, and hauing ſalt they vſe to ſalt them. Fiſhing for Sturgion for 3. moneths.

The riuer there is 5. or 6. miles broad, but with ſome Iſlands.

The riuer below Yeraſlaue where it is moſt narrow, is a mile broad from ſide to ſide.

The riuer runneth vpon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the riuer ſides, ſaue about the townes of the fiſhing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Vſtiug, runneth all on chalke and ſand: the fiſh are ſweet and fat. The Mene a fiſh with a great head a foote long, breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Betweene Vobska and Nouogrode, the ſpace of 180. miles, groweth flaxe: the whole ſoile in length is ſo imploied, and as much in breadth: this is vpon a flat ſoile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko vpon the Polith border, 300. miles in compaſſe: much of the ſoile is ſo imploied.

Of this hempe, they lying in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we ſet in worke in making of cables aboue 100. men.

The Ruſſians doe ſpinne and hachell it, and the Engliſhe tarre it in theyrd and lay the cable. And one cable of thoſe is worth two of Danzicke, becauſe the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten ſtuffe, which in fowle weather is found of no ſtrength. The Engliſhmen in making of cables for 6. on worke a 100. men in Ruſſia.

Soſnoua, a tree that cureth the wolfe with the ſhauings of the wood, groweth in theſe parts, and of the barkes they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boates. Soſnoua tree. excellent for the cure of the wolfe.

The Samoeds lacking linnen, make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree. The wood of this tree is as beawie as hollie, and the ſhautings tough.

Roſe Iſland in S. Nicholas baie, is full of Roſes damaſke and red, of violets and wilde Roſemarie: This Iſland is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good paſture, and hath the name of the roſes.

The ſnow here about the midſt of May is cleared, hauing bene two moneths in melting, then the ground is made die within 14. dayes after, and then the graſſe is knee high within a moneth. Then after September the froſt commeth in, the ſnow is a yard deepe vpon plaine ground. The Iſland hath firre and birch, and a faire freſh ſpring neere the houſe built there by the Engliſh.

Certaine notes gathered by Richard Iohnſon (which was at Boghar with Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon) of the reports of Ruſſes and other ſtrangers, of the wayes from Ruſſia to Cathaya, and of diuers and ſtraunge people.

The firſt note giuen by one named Sarnichoke a Tartarian ſubiect to the Prince of Bogarskie, which are alſo Tartars borderng vpon Kizilbaſh or Perſia, declaring the way from Aſtracan, being the furtheſt part of Ruſſia, to Cathaya as followeth.

FIrſt from Aſtracan to Serachicke by land, trauailing at leaſure as merchants vſe with pares, is 10. dayes iourney.

From Serachicke to a towne named *Vrgenſhe, 15. dayes. *Or, Vrgenue.

From Vrgenſhe to Bogarskie, 15. dayes.

From Bogharskie to Caſhar, 30. dayes.

From Caſhar to Cathaya, 30. dayes iourney.

By the ſame partie a note of another way more ſure to trauell, as he reporteth.

FRom Aſtracan to Turkemen by the Caſpian ſea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From Turkemen by land ſpecially with camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Vrgenſhe.

From Vrgenſhe to Bogharskie, 15. dayes.

Note. At this citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of those partes and the Cathaians.

Also the toll there is the 40. part to be paid for merchandizes or goods.

From thence to Cashar or Caskar is one moneths iourney, and from Cashar or Caskar (being the frontier of the great Can, hauing many townes and foytes by the way) is also a moneths trauell for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further as he hath heard (not hauing bene in those partes himselfe) ships may sayle from the dominions of Cathaia vnto India. But of other waies, or how the Seas lie by any coast he knoweth not.

The instruction of another Tartarian Merchant dwelling in the citie of Boghar, as he hath learned by other his countrymen which haue bene there.

Or Serachick. FIrst from Astracan by sea to *Serachocke, is 15. dayes (affirming also that a man may trauel the other way before written by Turkemen.)

From Serachocke to Vrgenshe is 15. dayes.

From Vrgenshe to Boghar also 15. dayes.

Note. These last 30. daies iourney is without habitation of houses, therefore trauellers lodge in their owne tents, carying with them to eate their seuerall prouisions: and for wineste there be many wels of faire water at equal baiting places not farre distant daily to be had.

Or Taskent. From Boghar to *Taskan easie trauelling with goods, is 14. dayes by land.

From Taskan to Occient 7. dayes.

From Occient to Caskar 20. daies. This Caskar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reshircan.

From Caskar to Sowchick, 30. daies iourney, which Sowchick is the first border of Cathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5. dayes iourney, & from Camchick to Cathay is two moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate and well replenished with innumerable fruits, and the chiefe citie in that whole land is called * Cambuloo, which is yet 10. daies iourney from Cathay.

Or Cambalu.

Beyond this land of Cathay which they praise to be ciuil and vnspeakably rich, is the country named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay the most part thereof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also as the Tartares report, is christian, or after the maner of christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in trauelling through the waies aforesaid, but wolues white and blacke. And because that woods are not of such quantitie there, as in these partes of Russia, but in maner rather skant then plentifull, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but some other beasts, (as namely one in Russe called Barse) are in those coasts. This Barse appeareth by a skinne of one seene here to sell, to be neere so great as a big lion spotted very faire, and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Note, 20. dayes iourney from Cathay is a countrey named Angrim, where liueth the beast that beareth the best muske, & the principal therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are tawnie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion frō women, they haue certaine tokens of iron, that is to say: the men weare the same round like a bolle vpon their shoulders, and women on their priuie partes. Their feeding is rawe flesh in the same land, and in another called *Titay, the Duke there is called Can, they worship the fire, and it is 34. daies iourney from great Cathay, and in the way lieth the beautifull people, eating with knifes of gold, and are called Comorom, and the land of small people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

Hadenilla speaketh hereof.

Or Titay.

Small people.

The instructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and also another way neere the sea coast, as followeth, which note was sent out of Russia from Giles Holmes.

Pechora but six dayes iourney by land or water frō Ob. FIrst from the prouince of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora trauelling with olens or harts, is sixe dayes iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of Ob.

The Ob is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Russe miles ouer. And from thence three dayes iourney on the right hand is a place called Chorno-lese, to say in English, Blacke woods, and

and from thence nerre hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his description after the Irish fashion.

From Pechey-cony to Ioulc Calmachey 3. dayes iourney, and from thence to Chorno Callachay 3. dayes tending to the Southeast.

These two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, and vpon the sea coasts beyond the same, taken out of the Russe tongue word by word, and trauelled by a Russe borne in Colmogro, whose name was Pheother Towtigin, who, by report, was slaine in his second voyage in one of the sayd countreys.

VPon the East part beyond the countrey of Vgori, the riuer Ob is the most Westermost part thereof. Vpon the sea coast dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomzey, whose meat is flesh of olens or harts, and fishe, and doe eate one another sometimes among themselues. And if any merchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their children for their sakes to feast them withall. And if a merchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and so doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewise. They be euill of sight, and haue small noses, but they be swift and shoote very wel, and they trauaile on harts and on waggons, and their apparell is Sables and Harts skinnes. They haue no merchandise but sables onely. Trauelling on harts & boges.

2 Item, on the same coast or quarter beyond those people, and by the sea side also doeth dwell another kind of Samoeds in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they liue in the sea, and do not come or dwell on the vile land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kind of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish, and their merchaundise are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Russes call Pleis) and harts skins and fawnes skins.

The relation of Chaggi Memet a Persian Merchant, to Baptista Ramusius and other notable citizens of Venice, touching the way from Tauris the chiefe citie of Persia, to Campion a citie of Cathay ouer land: in which voiage he himselfe had passed before with the Caruans.

From Tauris to Soltania.	6	dayes iourney.
From Soltania to Casbin.	4	
From Casbin to Veremi.	6	
From Veremi to Eri.	15	
From Eri to Boghara.	20	
From Boghara to Samarchand.	5	
From Samarchand to Caskar.	25	
From Caskar to Acsu.	20	
From Acsu to Cuchi.	20	
From Cuchi to Chialis.	10	
From Chialis to Turfon.	10	
From Turfon to Camul.	13	
From Camul to Succuir.	15	
From Succuir to Gauta.	5	
From Gauta to Campion.	6	

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the prouince of Tangut, from whence the greatest quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

The way discouered by water by vs Thomas Sowtham, and Iohn Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro, vnto the citie of Nouogrode in Russia, conteining many particulers of the way, and distance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. Anno 1566.

WE departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coast to a place called Soroka, & in the said barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct vs to the place before rehearsed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or there about, wherewith we sailed downe the riuer of Dwina, the wind being then calme, vnto a monasterie called S. Michael where we were constrained to anker because of a contrary wind which there met vs.

It hath in the 3. quarters of an English mile.

From Colmogro to this monasterie are 50. versts or miles of Russia, at which place we tarried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind somewhat faire, we set saile and departed thence.

21 We departed from the monasterie of S. Michael, hauing the wind somewhat faire, and moued at Rose Iland, ouer and against the monasterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles distant from the monasterie of S. Michael. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tarie there all that day.

23 We departed from the monasterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the euening, and came to an anker at the beacons, and continued there vntil halfe an houer past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West vntil 5. of the clocke in the morning, when as we came to an anker against Newnox towne, where we continued vntil the 25. day.

At this towne of Newnox Richard Chancelor in his first voyage, with his company & shippe bound were released.

The said towne of Newnox is from the monasterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

25 We departed from Newnox hauk at one of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course North west and by West.

The point of Tolsticke which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox hauen, and the headland of Seuesmskie, lie next Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in the afternoone, being from Newnox hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth by reason of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Seuesmskie in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course Northwest and by West.

The said land of Seuesmskie and the headland going into Owna riuer, lieth East & by South west, and by North, and betweene them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Iland called Sogisney passing betwixt it and the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from Owna riuer.

Being past the said Iland 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Iland of Sogisney, where we remained vntil the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogisney aforesaid at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East northeast, and our course was Southwest & by west, passing by an Iland called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogisney, and keeping on our course, wee came by the headland of an Iland called Abdon, being from the Iland of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rockes: and if the great prouidence of God had not preserued vs, wee had there perished, being fallen amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfectest, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But whosoeuer will trauell that way, must either keepe hard aboord the shore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coast within the rockes, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and so goe a seaboord all: for there are ledges of rockes that lie fiue miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rockes two miles in a boord of vs, so that we were inclosed with them, and sate vpon the highest of them: but it pleased God to make it calme, and giue vs the day also, or els we had miscaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Iland of Abdon, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our course West, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, wee arriued at a monasterie named Soloffekay, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monasterie we continued vntill the 31. day of this moneth. Wee had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monasterie, their leter and house seale, and a seruaunt of theirs to conduct vs safely through the dangerous riuer of Owiga.

The

The people of all those parties are wilde, and speake another kind of language, and are for the most part all tenants to the monasterie. The effect of the letter was, that they should bee readie to helpe and assist vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needfull, as in deed they did, as hereafter shall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monasterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then chosen: for 15. dayes before our arriuall there, the Abbot was sent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is: The number of monkes be longing to the monasterie are at the least 100.

31 Wee departed from the monasterie of Soloffekay, as is aforesayd, to a faire stone house of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monasterie, lying from it South and by West.

2 We departed from the Stone house at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our course was West for 60. versts, and then passing betwixt diuers and sundry rocks, with many small Islands round about vs for the space of 20. miles, keeping most commonly the same course still, wee then shaped a new course, and yet sundry times shifting, but we alwayes kept the Southwest, and neerest of all South southwest, vntill we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer Owiga, where we were to beare in, West and by North. August.

From the riuer Owiga, to the Islands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles. The riuer Owiga.

We arriued about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the riuer of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forsooke our barke or Lodia, and continued there in making prouision for small boates to carie vs vp the riuer vntill the 3. day of the same.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boates and 12. men to rowe, and set the foresaid boates vp the riuer of Owiga, which we hired.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Ostroue, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka at a place where the water falleth from the rockes, as if it came steepe downe from a mountaine, we were constrained to take out our goods and wares out of the said boats, and caused the to be caried a mile ouer land, & afterwards also had our boats in like sort caried or drawn ouer land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monasterie aforesaid. The fall of a riuer.

And when our boates were come to the place where our wares were laied, wee launched our boates and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where wee continued and remained that night.

We departed from Ostroue in the morning before Sunne rising, rowing, and setting vp the riuer 5. miles, where wee came to a place, whereas wee were againe constrained to take out our wares and to carie them and our boates three miles ouer land, so that with rowing, drawing, and setting wee went this day 7. mile more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne rising, and at 6. of the clocke in the afternoone we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday, 30. miles, where wee remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and all that day what with setting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for we twise vnladed our wares, and drew our boats ouerland, in one place a mile & an halfe, in an other place as it were the eight part of a mile, and so we came to a place called Voyets, where we caried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and so came to an Ozora or lake called after the name of the riuer, and vnto a place called Quequenich, we rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clocke in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there wee remained all night to hire men and boates to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the seruant which wee had at the monasterie, being sent by the monkes to goe thus farre with vs. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that should conduct vs, and giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in safetie, at a place being a litle towne called Pouensa, then hee departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines, for so he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8 We departed from Quequenich at Sunne rising, and all that day rowed vpon the lake amongst many Islands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Islands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the euening wee came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich. A lake very ful of Islands.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and so entring into a riuer, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouer land 3. miles. At euening we came to a place called Oreiche na maelay, where we lay all night.

10 We departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, & so rowing, came to a place where ye

riuer ended, being 20. miles distant from the place where we lay all night, at which place we forsooke our boates and vnladen our wares, and sent a man to the towne of Pouensa, which was seuen mile off for horses to carie vs and our wares to the sayd place. The horses came, and we laded our goods, and at 6. of the clocke in the afternoone wee arriued at the towne of Pouensa, with all things in safetie.

The famous lake of Onega.

This towne of Pouensa standeth within one mile of the famous lake or Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in some places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narrowest, it is 25. miles ouer, being fed with many goodly riuers which fall into it. Hard aboord the shore within 4. miles, you shall haue 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

Here it is to be noted that from this place of Pouensa vnto the village of Soroka betwixt those dangerous riuers which we came thorough, at no time of the yeere can or may any man carie or transport any goods that come from Nouogrode, or the Narue, and such other places: for in the Sommer it is impossible to carie downe any wares by reason of the great fals of water that doe descend from the rockes. Likewise in the Winter by reason of the great force and fall of waters which make so terrible valles, that in those places it neuer freezeth, but all such wares as come frō Nouogrode to Pouensa, are transported by land to a place called Some in the Winter which Some standeth on the sea side, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Pouensa by land to this place of Some, with the distance of miles I will shew hereafter.

12 We departed from Pouensa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. small boates which we hired to carie vs to a place called Toluo vpon the lake of Onega, being 50. miles from Pouensa, where we arriued the 13. day in the morning, where we bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the citie of Nouogrode.

14 We departed from Toluo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the euening arriued at a certaine Iland named Salasalma, vpon the said lake 7. miles from Toluo, and by reason of contrary windes we there taried vntil the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salasalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Iland the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where we continued by reason of contrary windes, vntill the 21. day of the said moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salasalma.

S. Clements his monastery

21 We departed from Vorronia Iland two howers before day, and arriued at S. Clements monasterie, at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorronia 48. miles.

22 We departed from S. Clements monasterie at the breake of the day, hauing a faire wind all along the lake: wee sailed without striking of saile vntil 2. howers within night, and then entred into a riuer called Swire, at a monasterie called Vosnessino Christo, 5. miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we taried all night. It is from S. Clements monasterie 160. miles: the streame of that riuer went with vs.

23 We departed from Vosnessino Christo before sunne rising, and haled down the riuer sometime sailing, and sometime rowing, so that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vassian.

Of Sermgre.

24 We departed from Vassian at the breake of the day, & came to a place called ‡Selucaxe, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vassian.

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and entred vpon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the wind being calme all that day sauing 3. howers, and then it was with vs, so that we sailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along vpon the said lake, and entred into the riuer of Volhuskie, which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue Nouogrode, and runneth thorough the midst of the citie, and so falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega but it is not so broad. This lake falleth into the sea that commeth from the Sound: where any vessell or boat, hauing a good pilot, may go thorough the Sound into England.

The riuer of Volhuskie. The lake of Ladeskaie.

As soone as we were entred into the riuer, wee came to a monasterie called S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

The monasterie of Gosnopoli.

26 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medued, at 5. of the clocke in the morning, rowing and hawing our boates all day, and came at night to another monasterie called Gosnopolie, which is 30. miles from S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

27 We departed from Gosnopolie at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at euening came to a place called Moislaue, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the monasterie of Gosnopolie.

28 We departed from Moislaue, and the said day at night came to a place called Grussina, 35. miles from Moislaue where we lodged.

29 We departed from Grussina in the morning, & the same day at euening came to a place called Petroe Suetoe, where we lay all night, being 40. miles from Grussina.

30 We

30 We departed from Petroe Suetoe in the morning, & at two of the clocke in the afternoone we arrived at the citie of Nouogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Suetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there stayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Mosco, by reason that the plague was then in the citie of Nouogrod. Vnto him we deliuered all the wares that we brought from Colmogro, for by the way we sold not a penyworth, the people of the countrey euery where be so miserable. The citie of Nouogrod.

The right way to bring and transport wares from Nouogrod to Rose iland into S. Nicholas bay, where our shippes peerely lade, with the distance of miles from place to place, is as followeth:

20 Miles from Nouogrod to Petroe Suetoe.
40 Miles from thence to Grusina.
35 Miles from thence to Moislaue.
46 Miles from thence to the monasterie Gosnopolie.
15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.
15 Miles from thence to Selunax ouer the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.
180 Miles from Ladega towne vp the riuer of Swire, vnto the monasterie of Vosnessino Christo, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer: for within euery fiue or sixe miles you shall haue villages or small townes.
160 Miles from Vosnessino Christo to S. Clements monasterie, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.
48 Miles from thence to Voronia.
67 Miles from thence to Toluo towne: & there are diuers villages all along the lake where the carryers may lie, and haue meat for man and horse.
50 Miles from thence to Pouensa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from Pouensa to Some towne is this:

30 Miles from Pouensa to Mastellina.
10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.
30 Miles from thence to Toluich.
35 Miles from thence to Carraich.
20 Miles from thence to Varnich.
10 Miles from thence to Ostrouo.
15 Miles from thence to Lapina.
20 Miles from thence to Some it selfe.

Note that from the citie of Nouogrod vnto the towne of Some is 936 miles, & from the towne of Some vnto the monasterie of S. Nicholas or Rose iland ouer and against where our shippes do ride, is iust as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Rulles do account it, as also we do iudge it, namely 325 miles. So that from Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our account 1261 miles or verstes.

Further more it is to be noted that all such wares as shall be bought at Nouogrod, and sent to Some towne, must be sent by sled way in the winter: for if any ware should be sent from Nouogrod by water in the spring of the peere, after the yce is gone, then must the sayd wares remaine at Pouensa towne all that summer, by reason that in the summer there is no way to go from Pouensa vnto Some towne. Transell by sleds.

At Pouensa there are many warehouses to be hyred, so that if there were as much goods as ten ships could carry away, you might haue warehouses to put it in: but if there should remaine much ware all the summer, to be caryed in the winter to Some towne, then horses are not easily to be gotten at that place to carry it thither: so that your wares once bought at Nouogrod, you must haue caryers there to carry it to the towne of Some by sledges, whereof you may there haue 2000 if you will, by the report of the Rulles. 2000 sleds belonging to one towne.

For from Nouogrod peerely there go many sledges in the winter to fetch salt from Some, with caryers and emptie sledges there to buy it, and to bring it to Nouogrod to sell it in the market or otherwise.

From Nouogrod vnto Some towne you may haue a pood of wares caryed for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wise your wares must be sent from Nouogrod by the first of January, so that the wares may be at Some by Candlemas, or soone after: for if your wares should cary by

the

A good caueat for ſeaſonable trauell.

the way vntill the 15 of Februarie when the ſunne is of ſome power, then is it dangerous: for the heat of the ſunne in the day entereth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and ſpecially of Onega to cleare, and if there ſhould come then a ſudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doth, then doe theſe lakes open and breake, wherby many men are loſt, and both men and hoyſe drowned, although other riuers be ſtrong & frozen a long time after.

In the towne of Some alſo there are many warehouſes, whereof we can not be deſtitute for the repoſing of our wares, as alſo as many barks as you will to tranſport your wares from thence to S. Nicholas road, and that for three pence a poods carpage: ſo that from the citie of Nouogrod vnto S. Nicholas road you may haue wares carped for two altines. The pood conteineth three altines the tunne.

Nouogrod within 180 miles of the Narue.

Prouided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your ſelfe, and ſend it thence: for there is no hope that the natiues will bring their wares from Nouogrod to Some, in hope to ſell vnto vs, conſidering the great trade that they haue at the Narue, which is within 180 miles off them.

Written by Thomas Sowtham
a ſeruant to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants aduenturers for the diſcouering of new trades, made in the eight yere of Queene Elizabeth. Anno 1566.

WHeras diuers very good ſubiects of this realme of England in the latter end of the reigne of the late right high and mighty prince our ſouereigne Lord king Edward the ſixt, at the gracious incouragement, & right good liking of the ſaid king, & by his Maieſties liberall example, did at their aduenture, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increaſe of the reuenues of the crowne, and the common vtilitie of the whole realme of England, ſet forth three ſhippes for the diſcouery by ſea, of iſles, lands, territories, dominions, and ſeignioryes vnknown, and by the ſubiects of the ſaid late king, not commonly by ſeas frequented: and after that almighty God had called to his mercy the ſaid king, who dyed before the finiſhing, and ſealing of his moſt ample and gracious letters of priuileges promiſed to the ſaid ſubiects, as well in conſideration of the ſaid enterpriſe, as for diuers other reſpects, it pleaſed our late ſouereigne Queene Mary, at the humble ſuites of the ſame ſubiects, to grant by her letters patents vnder the great ſeale of England, bearing date at Weſtminſter the 26 day of Februarie, in the ſecond yeere of her raigne, for the conſiderations mentioned in the ſaid letters patents, to the ſaid ſubiects being ſpecially named in the ſaid letters patents, and to their ſucceſſours, that they by the name of Merchants aduenturers of England, for the diſcouerie of lands, territories, iſles, dominions, and ſeignioryes vnknown, and not before theyr late aduenture or enterpriſe, by ſeas or nauigations commonly frequented, ſhould be from thenceforth one body, and perpetuall fellowſhippe and communaltie of themſelues, both in deed and in name, and that the ſame fellowſhippe and communaltie from thenceforth ſhould and might haue one or two gouernours, foure conſuls, and foure and twentie aſſiſtants, of the ſaid fellowſhippe and communaltie of Merchants aduenturers, and that they by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhippe, and Communaltie of Merchants aduenturers, for the diſcouery of lands, territories, iſles, dominions, and ſeignioryes vnknowne, by the ſeas and nauigations, and not before their ſayd late aduenture or enterpriſe, by ſeas frequented, ſhould or might be able in the law to implead and to be impleaded, to anſwere and to be anſwered, to defend and to be defended, before whatſoeuer iudge or iuſtice temporall or ſpirituall, or other perſons whatſoeuer, in whatſoeuer court or courts, and in all actions, reall, perſonall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of Nouel deſeiſon, and alſo in all plaints, ſuites, quarrels, affayres, buſineſſe, and demands whatſoeuer they be, touching and concerning the ſaid fellowſhippe and communaltie, and the affayres and buſineſſe of the ſame, onely in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this realme might doe, giuing alſo, and granting vnto them by the ſayd letters patents, diuers authorities, powers, iuriſdictions, preheminences, franchiſes, liberties, and priuileges, as by the ſame letters patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the ſaid letters patents, whereas one of the three ſhippes, by the ſaid fellowſhippe before that time ſet forth for the voyage of diſcouerie aforeſayd, named the Edward Bonaduenture, had arriued within the Empyre and dominion of the high and mighty prince Lord Iohn Vaſiliwich, Emperour of all Ruſſia, Vologda, Marskye, great Duke of Musky, &c. who receiued the

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captaine, and merchants of the sayd shippe very graciously, granting vnto them freelie to traffike with his subiects in all kinde of merchandizes, with diuers other gracious priuileges and liberties: therefore the said late Queene by the same letters patents, for her, her heyres & successors, did grant that all the maine lands, isles, ports, hauens, creeks and riuers of the said mightie Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. and all and singular other lands, dominions, territories, isles, ports, hauens, creeks, riuers, armes of the seas, of all and euery other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or gouernor whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said late aduenture or enterprise not knowne, or by the aforesaid merchants and subiects of the said king and queene, by the seas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcell thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as in the said letters patents is mentioned, should not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any the subiects of the said late Queene, other then of the said company and fellowship, and theyr successors, without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the Gouernor, Consuls, and Assistants of the said fellowship, and comminaltie, or the more part of them, in maner and forme, as is expressed in the said letters patents, vpon paine of forfeiture and losse aswell of the ship and ships, with the appurtenances, as also of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those the subiects of the said late Queene not being of the said fellowship and comminaltie, which should attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which then were, or after should happen to be found and traffiked vnto, the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of the said late queene, her heyres and successors, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the said fellowship and comminaltie, as by the same letters patents more plainely will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patents, the said fellowship haue, to theyr exceeding great costes, losses and expences, not onely by theyr trading into the said dominions of the said mightie prince of Russia, &c. found out conuenient way to saile into the said dominions: but also passing thorow the same, and ouer the Caspian sea, haue discouered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and other dominions in Asia maior, hoping by Gods grace to discouer also the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very conuenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefit and commodities of the same.

And forasmuch as diuers subiects of this realme, vnderstanding the premises, and perceiuing that now after the charge and trauell aforesaid, diuers wares and merchandizes are brought by the said fellowshippe into this realme, out of the dominions already discouered, which be within this realme of good estimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, vtterly to decay the trade of the said fellowshippe, haue contrary to the tenor of the same letters patents, in great disorder traded into the dominions of the sayd mightie prince of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the said fellowshippe is incorporated by the letters patentes aforesaid, is long, and consisteth of very many words: Therfore be it enacted by the queenes most excellent Maiestie, the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this present parlement assembled, and by authority of the same, that the said fellowship, company, society and corporation made or created by the said letters patents, shall at all time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called onely by the name of the fellowship of English merchants, for discouery of new trades, and by the same name for euer, shall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deed and name, and onely by the same name from henceforth, shall implead, and be impleaded, answere and be answered, defend and be defended, sue and be sued, in whatsoeuer courts and places, and shall and may by the same name be inabled to purchase, haue, holde, possesse, retaine, and inioy whatsoeuer manors, lands, tenements, rents, reuersions, seruices, and hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes maiestie, her heyres, or successors by knights seruice in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatsoeuer, and shall and may by the same name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and also shall haue and inioy all and singular the liberties, priuileges, iurisdictions, franchises, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and thinges in the sayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wise conteined. And that no part nor parcell of the mayne landes, isles, portes, hauens, roades, creekes, riuers, armes of the seas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or gouernour whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said first enterprise made by the merchantes of the sayd corporation, not knowen by the merchantes and subiectes of this realme, or by them not commonly by seas frequented, and lying from the citie of London Norwards, Northwestwards or Northeastwards, nor any part or parcell of the maine landes, dominions, isles, portes, roades, hauens, creekes, armes of the seas, that now be subiect to the said high and mightie prince Lord Iohn Vasiliwich, his heyres or successours, or to the Emperour, chiefe gouernour or ruler of the said country of Russia for the time being, his heyres or successors, nor the countries of Armenia

This is ment by Alderman Bond the elder.

English merchants for discouery of new trades.

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maior or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Perha, or the Caspian sea, nor any part of them shall be sayled or traffiked vnto, visited, frequented, or haunted by any person, being or that shall be a subiect or denizen of this realme, by themselues, theyr factor or factors, or any other to theyr vse or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, consent, or ratification of the gouernor, consuls, and assistants of the said fellowshippe and communaltie, or the more part of them, and their successors for the time being: vpon paine that euery person and persons offending in this behalfe, shall forfeit and loose, Ipso facto, euery such shippe and shippes, with the appurtenances, and all such goodes, merchandizes, and thinges whatsoeuer, as by any such person or persons shalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, prouided, carried, conducted, brought or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforesaid, contrary to the true intent of this Statute: the one moity of all which forfeitures to be to our said souereigne lady the Queenes Maiesty, her heyres and successors, and the other moity thereof to the said fellowshippe of English merchants for discouery of new trades, and theyr successors, to be seized and taken whersoeuer they may be found, by any person or persons, to the vse of our said souereigne lady, her heyres and successors, and of the said fellowshippe of English merchants for discouery of new trades, and of theyr successors, or the same or the value thereof to be demanded or sued for by the Queenes highnesse, her heyres and successors, or by the said fellowshippe of English merchants for discouery of new trades, or their successors, or their atturnie or atturnies, or by any person or persons being of the same fellowshippe of English merchants for discouery of new trades, or theyr successors in any court of record, or in any other court or courts within this realme, or els were, by action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwise: in which sute no essoine, protection, wager of law, our iniunctio shall be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Prouided alwayes, that whereas diuers subiects of this realme being not of the fellowshippe aforesayd, haue heretofore made aduentures to and from some of the places prohibited by the sayd letters patents, that the said subiects, theyr heyres, executors, administrators and assignes, or any of them shall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, sued, nor molested for the same in their goods or persons in any maner of wise, either by our said souereigne lady, her heyrs or successors, or the sayd fellowshippe, or theyr successors.

Prouided also, that it shall be lawfull for any subiect of this realme, hauing presently any shipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the said mighty prince of Russia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be visited or traffiked vnto by this statute or the said letters patents, to fetch, bring, and conuey the same, or cause the same to be brought or conueyed from thence by sea or otherwise, before the feast of S. Iohn Baptist, which shalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568, any thing conteined in this statute, or in the said letters patents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided also, that it shall be lawfull for any of the subiects of this realme, to saile to the port, towne, territory, or castle of Wardhouse, or to any of the coastes, townes, hauens, creekes, riuers, illands, and land of Noway for trade of fishing, or any other trade there vsed by the subiects of this realme, any thing in this statute to the contrary not withstanding.

And for the better maintenance of the naue and mariners of this realme, be it prouided and inacted, that it shall not be lawfull to the said fellowshippe and company, nor to any of them to carie and transport, or cause to be carryed and transported any commodity of this realme to theyr new trade, but onely in English shippes, and to be sailed for the most part with English mariners, nor also to bring into this realme nor into Flanders from their sayd new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in English shippes, and sailed for the most part by the English mariners, on paine to forfeit for euery such offence two hundred poundes, whereof the one moity shall be to the Queenes maiestie, her heyres and successors, the other moity to the head officers of any port towne, hauing any hauen, or harborough decayed, by what name soeuer they be incorporate, to the reparation of such harborough, that will sue for the same in any court of record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no essoine, protection, or wager of law for the defendant shall be admitted or allowed.

Prouided also, and be it enacted, that no maner of person or persons shall from henceforth carrie or transport, or cause to be carryed or transported out of this realme of England, any maner of clothes or karsies into anie of the partes where the sayde fellowshippe and society is priuileged to trade by this act, before the same clothes and karsies shall be all dressed, and for the most part dyed within this realme, vpon payne of forfeiture for euery such cloth and karsie, otherwise carryed and transported, fiue pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Maiestie, her heyres and

successors,

ſucceſſors, the other halfe to the Maiſter and Wardens of the cloth workers in the city of London for the time being, by what name ſoeuer they be incorporate, that will ſue for the ſame.

Prouided alſo, that whenſoeuer the ſayd ſociety or company ſhall willingly withdraw, and diſcontinue wholly by the ſpace of three yeeres in time of peace, the diſcharging of their merchandizes at the road of S. Nicholas bay in Ruſſia, and doe not diſcharge their ſayd merchandizes at ſome other port or roade lying on that North coaſt of Ruſſia, or other territory, nowe ſubiect to the ſayd mighty prince of Ruſſia, &c. hetherto by the ſubiects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any ſuch diſcontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforeſaid, it ſhalbe lawfull to all the ſubiects of this realme to trade to the Narue onely in Engliſh bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that euery of the Queenes Maieſties ſubiectes inhabiting within the citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcaſtle vpon Tyne, Hull, and of Boſton, hauing continually traded the courſe of merchandize by the ſpace of ten yeeres, and which before the 25 of December, that ſhalbe in Ann. Dom. 1567, ſhall contribute, ioyne, and put in ſtocke, to, with, and among ſt the ſaid company, ſuch ſumme and ſummes of money, as any of the ſaid company, which hath throughly continued and contributed to the ſaid new trade, from the yeere 1552, hath done, & before the ſaid 25 of December 1567 ſhall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and intyre portion, or ſhare, and do in all things behaue himſelfe as others of the ſaid ſociety be bound to doe, and hereafter ſhall be bound to do by the priuileges, ordinances & ſtatutes of the ſayd company, ſhall from the ſame 25 day of December 1567, be, and be accounted free, and as one of the ſayd ſociety and company, and ſubiect to the priuileges, ordinances and ſtatutes of the ſaid company, reaſonably made and to be made, any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary not withſtanding.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by M. Anthony Ienkinſon, from London to Moſcouia, ſent from the Queenes Maieſtie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

THe fourth day of May in the yeere aforeſaid, I imbarked my ſelfe at Graueſend in the good ſhip called the Harry of London, and hauing had a proſperous voyage arriued at the bay of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia the tenth day of July following, and immediatly I ſent in poſt to the Emperor to aduertiſe of my comming, and trauelling then thorow the country, I with my company came to the Moſco where the Emperor kept his court, the 23 of Auguſt, and forthwith gaue the Secretarie to vnderſtand of my arriuall, who aduertiſed the Emperors Maieſty of it, and the firſt day of September, being a ſolemne feaſt among the Ruſſes, I came before the Emperors Maiеſty, ſitting in his ſeat of honour, and hauing kiſſed his hand, & done the Queenes Maieſties commendations, & deliuered her Graces letters & preſent, he had me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honor done vnto me both then & all the time of my abode in Ruſſia.

The Priuileges granted by the Emperour of Ruſsia to the Engliſh merchants of that company: obteined the 22 of September Ann. 1567, by M. Anthony Ienkinſon.

ONe onely ſtrengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſt, our one lie God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worſhip in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the comforter the Holy ſpirit, & thou which art the ſtrengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, and giue vs health to preſerue our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites, and helper of all Chriſtian beleeuers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke Iohn Vaſiliwich, of all Ruſſia, Vollodimar, Moſco, Nouogrod, Caſſan, Aſtracan, Plaſco, Smollensko, Twire, Vgorie, Vateque, Bulgar, Sybir and others, Emperor, and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land, of Chirnygo, Kaſſan, Pollotskie, Roſtoue, Yereſlaue, Bellozer, Vdar, Obdar, Condine, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffe land,

Whereas our ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to vs her letters, that we would grant her merchants, William Gerrard, William Chetler, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Huſſie, John March, Anthony Ienkinſon,

William

William Rowlie, and their company of England, to come in ſhippes into this kingdome, and thoſe merchants, William Garrard and his company, haue required of vs that we would grant and licence them to come into our country of Dwina, with all kinde of wares at will, to our citie of Moſco, and to all our caſtles in our kingdomes, we for our ſiſters ſake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, haue licenced her merchants, William Garrard and his company to paſſe in ſhippes to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kinde of wares to our citie of Moſco, and to all caſtles and townes in our kingdome. And ſir William Garrard and his company deſired of vs, that we would grant them licence to paſſe to our inheritance of Caſſan and Aſtracan, and into our inheritance of Nouogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Liffe land to Narue and Dorpe, and to other our caſtles and townes of Liffe land, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without cuſtome, which requeſt we haue granted to ſir William Garrard and his company, and haue giuen them licence to paſſe to our inheritance of Caſſan and Aſtracan, and Nouogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Liffe land, Narue and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Liffe land with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and ſell at will, without cuſtome: and what wares ſoeuer they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or neceſſary, that they ſhall bring all thoſe wares needfull or neceſſary to our treaſury, & thoſe wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the ſame, ſuch wares as ſhalbe needfull for our treaſury, and the reſt being deliuered againe, to ſell and barter at their pleaſure, and to ſell none of the fine wares before they be ſeene by our chancelers, except ſoying clothes, and other wares not meete for our treaſurie: and when our chancelor will ſend our treaſure out of our treaſurie with them, they ſhall take it with them, and ſo ſell and barter it for wares meete for our treaſurie, and bring it to our treaſurie, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or ſell with them, nor yet our people to buy or ſell for them their wares: and if thoſe Engliſh merchants do deſire to paſſe out of our kingdome of Aſtracan to Boghar, Shamakie, Chaday, or into any other countreyes, or els to goe into their owne country, then they to take their treaſure with them, and to barter and ſell it for wares neceſſarie for our treaſurie, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chancelor, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Caſſan and Aſtracan, or to any other of our caſtles and townes, that then our captaine of Caſſan and Aſtracan, and all other our people of charge ſhall not holde them, but with ſpeed let them paſſe without taking cuſtome of them, or their wares, and without opening or looking vpon them in any wiſe: and when they haue not our treaſure with them, that then likewiſe no cuſtome ſhall be taken of them nor their wares to be ſeene of any man.

And likewiſe we haue granted them to buy and ſell in all our kingdomes and caſtles, withall kinde of wares: and we haue alſo licenced them, that when thoſe Engliſh merchants doe deſire to buy and ſell with our merchants wholly together, that they ſhall haue libertie ſo to do wholly together: and they that doe deſire to ſell their owne wares by retaile in their owne houſe, that then they ſell it in their owne houſe by retaile to our people, & other ſtrangers, as they can agree: and weights and arſhenids to be kept in their houſe with our ſeale, and they themſelues to barter and ſell their owne wares: and no Ruſſe merchant in Moſco, or any other place in our kingdome, not to ſell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any ſtrangers goods. And whereas thoſe merchants of England, ſir William Garrard and his company, do deſire to ſell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraſlaue, Coſtrum, and in Nouogrod the lower, Caſſan, Aſtracan, great Nouogrod, Plasko, Narue, Dorpe, and in other our townes and caſtles, they ſhall haue their will to ſell it: and of their wares of England and Ruſſeland no cuſtome ſhall be taken, neither they nor their wares ſhalbe ſtaied in any place: and when they depart out of Moſco, to aduertiſe our chancelor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuentory of any kinde of their wares they carry away: and when the Engliſh merchants, ſir William Garrard and his companie, doe come vpon the ſea, and by miſfortune haue their ſhippes caſt away vpon thoſe coaſtes of the North parts, then we will their goodes to be ſought out with truth, and to be deliuered to ſir William Garrard and his company, where as then ſhall be found in our countrey: and if that ſir William Garrardes company be not in the Moſco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that thoſe goodes of theirs ſhall be layd vp in a place of ſafegard vntill ſuch time as the ſaid ſir William Garrard or his company come to demand the ſame: and then at their comming wee will that it ſhall be deliuered. And whereas heeretofore wee haue giuen ſir William Garrard and his companie in this our kingdome of Moſco, the new caſtle by the church of S. Maxim, behinde the market, they ſhall there ſtill holde their houſe as heeretofore wee haue giuen them paying no cuſtome for the ſame: and wee alſo doe licence them to keepe one Ruſſe porter or two, or els of their owne countrey, and thoſe porters ſhall dwell with them, and not ſell for them

them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And alſo I haue graunted them to buy a houſe at Vologda, and at Colmogro, or in any other place, where they can chooſe for themſelues any good harbour, and there they to ſet vp thoſe houſes in thoſe places at their owne charges: and in Vologda or the other houſes to keepe two or three porters of their owne, or els two or three Ruſſes, and their wares to be layed vp in thoſe houſes, and to ſel their owne wares at wil: and the porters without them to ſell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro, and Dwina, and of other our caſtles and townes ſhall not looke ouer their wares, nor take any cuſtome thereof: neither ſhall thoſe Engliſh Marchants ſir William Garret, and his company be iudged by any of them. And when the Engliſh Marchants ſhall ſende from our kingdome their owne people into their owne Countrey by lande ouer other kingdomes whatſoeuer they be, they may without ware ſend their owne people at their pleaſure. And when any matter of lawe doeth fall out in their trade of Marchandiſe, then they ſhall be iudged by our Chancellours, and lawe ſhalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them. And when they cannot be iudged by law, they then ſhalbe tried by lots, and whoſe lot is firſt taken out, he ſhall haue the right: And if it happen any of thoſe Marchants to haue any matter of lawe in any other part of our Dominions for trade of Marchants, then our Captaines, Iudges and chiefe officers, ſhall heare the matter, and adminiſter Iuſtice with equitie and trueth, and where lawe can take no place to be tried by lots, and his lot that is firſt taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of lawe no cuſtome to bee payde.

Furthermore, wee for our ſiſters ſake Elizabeth haue graunted, that none beſide ſir William Garret and his Companie, out of what kingdome ſoeuer it bee, England or other, ſhall not come in trade of Marchandiſe nor otherwiſe to Colmogro, nor to the Riuer Ob nor within Wardhouſe, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the Abbey Petchingam, nor to the Iſlande of Sallawye, nor to any mouth of the riuer of Dwina, nor to any part of the North Countrey of our coaſt: and if any Marchant, out of what Countrey ſoeuer it be, doe come with ſhippe or ſhippes, barkes, or any other kinde of veſſell to any of our harbors, within all our North parts, wee will, that then the people, and goods, ſhippe or ſhippes, ſhalbe confiſcate, and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

Giuen in our kingdome and houſe of Moſco, the yeere from the beginning of the world 7000. threeſcore and ſixteene, in the moneth of September, and in the 34. yeere of our raigne, and in our conqueſt of Caſſan 16, and in our conqueſt of Aſtracan 15.

Peruſed and allowed by vs:

Anthonie Ienkinſon.
William Rowlye.
Thomas Hawtrye.
Thomas Sowtham.
Rafe Rutter, tranſlatour hereof out of the Ruſſe tongue.

The Ambaſſage of the right worſhipfull M. Thomas Randolfe Eſquire, to the Emperour of Ruſſia, in the yeere 1568. Briefly written by himſelfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Bannister, and Geofrey Duckes, for their voyage into Perſia.

THe 22. day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1568. I went aboorde the Harry, lying in the roade at Harwich with my companie, being to the number of 40. perſons or there about: of which the one halfe were Gentlemen, deſirous to ſee the world.

Within two dayes ſayling, we were out of the ſight of all lande, and following our courſe directly North, till wee came to the North Cape, wee ſailed for the ſpace of 12. dayes with a proſperous winde, without tempeſt or outrage of ſea: Hauing compaſſed the North Cape, we directed our courſe ſlatte Southeaſt, hauing vpon our right hande Norway, Wardhouſe, Laplande, all out of ſight till wee came to Cape Gallant: And ſo ſayling betweene two Capes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwiche, wee caſt anker at S. Nicholas roade. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which wee might plainely beholde, and the

Sperma Cetæ, which we might see swimming vpon the sea, there was no great thing to be wondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fished, and tooke good store of diuers sorts.

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20. Monks.

At S. Nicholas wee landed the 23. of July, where there standeth an abbey of Monkes (to the number of 20.) built all of wood: the apparel of the Monkes is superstitious, in blacke weedes as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houses are lowe, and small roomes. They lie apart, they eate together, and are much giuen to drunkennesse, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

At my first arriuall I was presented from their Prior with two great rye loaues, fish both salt and fresh of diuers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, one sheepe aliue, blacke with a white face, to be the more grateful vnto me, and so with many solemne words inuiting me to see their house, they tooke their leaue.

The English house at S. Nicholas.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about 4. houses neere the abbey, and another built by the English Companie for their owne vse.

This part of the Countrey is most part wood, sauing here and there pasture & arable ground, many riuers and diuers Islands vnhabited, as the most part of the Countrey is, for the coldnesse in winter.

The riuer of Dwina.

S. Nicholas standeth Northeast: the eleuation of the pole 64. degrees. The riuer that runneth there into the sea is called Dwina, very large but shallow. This riuer taketh his beginning about 700. miles within the countrey, and vpon this riuer standeth Colmogro, & many prettie villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood, and water. The riuer pleasant betweene high hils of either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wildernes of high firre trees, and other wood.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100. verstes, which we accompt for 3. quarters of a mile euery verst, we tarried 3. weekes, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had worde of our comming: who sent to meete vs a Gentleman of his house to conuey vs, and to see vs furnished of victuals, and all things needefull vpon his owne charge.

The allowance of meate and drinke was for euery day 2. rubbles, besides the charge of boates by water, and 4. score post horses by lande, with aboue 100. carres, to carrie my wines, and other carriage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house frō house. The people are rude in maners, & in apparell homely, sauing vpon their festiuall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this towne finding cōmoditie by the Englishmens traffique with them are much at their commandement, giuen much to drunkennes and all other kinde of abominable vices.

An English house with lands at Colmogro.

In this towne the Englishmen haue landes of their owne giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houses with offices for their commoditie very many.

Of other townes vntil I come to Vologda, I write not, because they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was 5. whole weekes vpon the riuer of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawen with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

Vologda standeth vpon the riuer of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle inuironed with a wall of stone, and bricke, the walles faire, and high rounde about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, some built of bricke, the rest of wood, many Monkes and Nunnes in it: A towne also of great traffique, and many rich Marchants there dwelling.

From hence we passed by land towardes Mosco in poste, being 500. verstes great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being post townes.

The description of the maine land of Moscouie.

The Countrey is very faire, plaine & pleasant, wel inhabited, corne, pasture, meadowes enough, riuers, and woods, faire and goodly.

At Yeraslaue, wee passed the riuer of Volga, more then a mile ouer. This riuer taketh his beginning at Beaula Ozera, & descendeth into Mare Caspium, portable throughout of very great vessels with flat bottomes, which farre passe any that our Countrey vseth.

To saile by this riuer into Mare Caspium, the English Companie caused a barke to be built of 27. tunne, which there was neuer seene before: This barke built, and readie rigged to the sea with her whole furniture, cost not the companie aboue one hundreth markes there.

His arriuall at Mosco.

To Mosco wee came about the ende of September, receiued by no man, not so much as our owne Countreymen suffered to meete vs, which bred suspition in mee, of some other course intended, then we had hitherto found.

The

We were brought to a house built of purpose by the Emperour for Emballadours, faire, and large, after the fashion of that Countrey. Imperial house for Poles, built for Emballadours.

Two Gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to see vs furnished of victuals, that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to see that we should not goe out of the house, nor suffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But specially he that looked to our persons, so straightly handled vs, that we had no small cause to doubt that some euill had bene intended vnto vs. For no supplication, suite, or request, could take place for our libertie, nor yet to come to his presence.

Hauing passed ouer 17. weekes in this sort, the Emperour sendeth word that we should be ready against the day the 20. of Februarie, at 8. a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come that I should go to the Court, the two Gentlemen, Pristaues (as they call them) came vnto me apparelled more princely, then before I had euer seene them. They prest vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne owne horses, and the Emballadour vpon such a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foote, to their great griefe. 2. Pristaues.

The Emballadour (being my selfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the Chancellors vseth to sit, being there accompanied with the 2. foresaid Gentlemen: I tarried 2. long houres before I was sent for to the Emperour. In the ende message being brought that the Emperour was set, I was conueyed by my gentlemen vp a paire of staires through a large roome, where sate by my estimation 300. persons, all in riche attire, taken out of the Emperours wardrobe for that day, vpon three rankes of benches, set round about the place, rather to present a Maiestie, then that they were either of qualitie or honour.

At the first entrie into the Chamber, I with my cappe gaue them the reuerence, such as I iudged their estately sitting, graue countenances, and sumptuous apparel required, and seeing that it was not answered againe of any of them, I couered my head, and so passing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there receiued mee at the doore from my 2. Gentlemen or gouernours, two of the Emperors Counsellers, and he led me to the Emperor, and brought mee to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to stand still, and to say that which I had to say. I by my Interpreter opened my message as I receiued it from the Queene my Mistresse, from whom I came, at which name the Emperour stood vp, & demaunded diuers questions of her health and state: whereunto answere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome, & caused me to sit downe, and further asked me diuers questions. His admittion to the Emperors presence.

This done, I deliuered her Maiesties present, which was a notable great Cuppe of siluer curiously wrought, with verses grauen in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same. The Queenes present.

All being said and done, (as appeared) to his contentment, he licensed mee and my whole company to depart, who were all in his presence, and were saluted by him with a nodde of his head, and said vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I will send thee my dinner, and giue leaue to thee, and thine, to goe at libertie, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our loue and fauour to our sister the Queene of England. The Emperors speach to the Emballadour.

I with reuerence tooke my leaue, being conueyed by 2. other of greater calling, then those that brought me vnto the Emperors sight: who deliuered me to the two first Gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I first was, where came vnto mee one called the long Duke, with whom I conferred a while, and so returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after, in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with 50. persons, euery of them carrying a siluer dish with meate, & couered with siluer. The duke first deliuered 20. loaues of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing tasted the same, & deliuereth euery dish into my hands, and tasted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his companie sate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meate, and filled themselues well of all sorts, and went not away from me vnrewarded.

Within seuen nights after the Emperor had will to speake secretly with mee, and sent for me in the night by the Long duke; The place was farre off, and the night cold, and I hauing changed my apparell into such as the Russes doe weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

Hauing talked with him about 3 houres, towards the morning I was dismissed, and so came home to my lodging, where I remained about 6. weekes after, before I heard againe from the Emperor, who went the next day to Slouoda, the house of his solace. After the ende of which 6. weekes, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperor returned frō Slouoda aforesaid, and sent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our English Merchants, & found him so graciously inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demaunds for large priuileges in generall, together with all the rest my particular requests. A second conference with the Emperor.

...n then hee commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrewe Sauin, for his Embassadour, for the better confirmation of his priuiledges graunted, and other negotiations with her Maiestie. And this being dispatched with full contentment, the saide Embassadour and my selfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the ende of July, and arriued safely at London in the moneth of September following.

A Copie of the priuiledges graunted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of Russia, &c: vnto the right worshipful felowship of English Marchants, for the discouerie of new trades: And hither sent by Thomas Randolfe Esquire, her Maiesties Embassadour to the said Emperour, And by Andrew Sauin his Embassadour in the yeere of our Lord God 1569.

ONe God euerlasting, and without, and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preseruer of all things, and replenisher of all things euery where, who by thy goodnesse doest cause all men to loue the giuer of wisedome our onely Mediatour, and leader of vs all vnto blessed knowledge by the only Sonne his word our Lord Iesus Christ holy and euerlasting Spirit, And now in these our dayes teachest vs to keepe Christianitie, and sufferest vs to enioy our kingdome to the happie commoditie of our land, and wealth of our people in despite of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

WE Iohn Vasiliwich by the grace of God, great Lord Emperour and great duke of al Russia, Volodemaria, Moscouia, Nouogrode, Emperor of Cazan, Tuerkie, Vgorskie, Permiskie, Votskie, Bulgaria, and many others; Lord & great duke of the low Countries of Nouogorode, Chernigoskie, Rasanskie, Polotiskie, Rastow, Yeraslaue, Belloforo, Owderskie, Condiskie, and all Siberland, Great commaunder of all the North parties, Lord of Leifland, and many other North ward, Southward and Westward.

WHereas our sister Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce & Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her marchants, who hath made suite that we should graunt our goodnes to the Marchants which are of our Companie, and giue them free leaue to come to traffique in our kingdome to Colmogorode, and to the Countrey of Dwina, and to our great Citie of Moscouia, and to all the cities in our Dominions, and through our Country to Bowhair, to Persia, Casbine, and Chardaye, and to all other Countries.

1 WE Iohn Vasiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Russia, (for our sister Elizabeths sake, Queene of England) haue giuen and graunted to the English Marchants, the Gouernours, Consuls, assistants and felowship, sir Wil. Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward Alderman, Ioh. Thamworth Esquire, Iohn Riuers Alderman, Henry Beacher Alderman, Consuls. Sir Wil. Chester knight, Edward Iackman Alderman, Lionel Ducket Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Hule, Francis Walsingham, Clement Throgmorton, Iohn Quarles, Nicholas Wheeler, Thomas Banister, Iohn Harrison, Francis Burnham, Anthony Gamage, Ioh. Somers, Richard Wilkinson, Ioh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinson, assistants. Iohn Mersh Esquire, Ieffrey Ducket, Francis Robinson, Matthew Field, and all the rest of their Compani and fellowship, and to their successours and deputies, to come with ships, and other vessels into our Countrey, at Colmogorod & Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession, by sea, riuer or land, euen to our great Citie of Moscow, in al the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Astracan, to Nouogorode the great, to Plasko & Leifland, Vriagodrod, to Narue, and all other townes of Leifland; 2 And to passe through our land to Bowghair, Persia, Casbin, Chardaye, and other Countreis; And wheresoeuer they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of sale, without resome of all people, and Marchants strangers whatsoeuer.

AND if so be they bring any fine wares out of England, or any other Countrey from Bowhair, Persia, Casbine, or from any other place, and sholl their wares that come by the way of Narue, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the same wares into our treasure, & our Treasurers to view the same wares, and to take into our Treasurie of the same such as shalbe needfull for

for vs. And all such wares as we shal not need, our Chancellour to redeliuer ꝑ same, And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whome they will, not selling any of their wares needfull for vs, before our Chancellour haue seene the same. And all other grosse and heauy wares that shalbe needfull to our vse, not being brought to Mosco to declare and tell our Chancellour of the same wares: And to giue a note thereof by name, and how much they leaue there, vnto him brought to Mosco: and then if we neede not the said wares, the English Marchants, their seruants & Factors, to conuey their wares the neerest way to Vstiuge the great, and so to Colmogorod, or elsewhere at their pleasure, there to barter and sell the same. But those wares that shalbe needeful for our Treasurie, they shall not hide from vs in any case.

And when our Chancellours shall send our aduenture, with the said Marchants or their Factors they to take our aduentures with them, and to sell, & barter for such wares as shalbe meete for our Treasurie, and to returne it into our Treasurie.

And when wee shall sende any aduenture into England then our Chancellour to giue them a yeres warning, that their ships may be prouided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behinde them.

And to take our aduenture yeerely when they goe into Persia.

Neither shal ꝑ English marchants receiue or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor sel it in any wise: likewise our people not to barter for the said English marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they shall come into our Empire of Casan and Astracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Casan and Astracan, and our authorised people, quietly to let them passe, not taking any toll or custome of their wares, nor once to make search thereof.

And when we shall send no aduenture with them, yet to suffer them freely to passe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of custome. And whatsoeuer English marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the same at their pleasure.

And whatsoeuer their Marchant or Factors wil sel their wares at their house at Mosco, which house I granted them at S. Maxims at the Mosco, they to sel ꝑ ware to our people, either strangers as they may best vtter it, keeping within their house, archines, measures, & waights vnder seales.

4 We haue graunted them the said house at S. Maxims in the halfe frer, and without standing rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the said English Marchants, sir Wil. Garrard, and the Companie, maintayning in the said house one housekeeper a Russe, and two Russe seruants, or some of their owne countrey men, and none other Russes besides they afore said. And the said housekeepers that shall liue at their house with the English marchants, neither to bye nor sel any wares for them, but that the said marchants themselues or their factors, shall bye, sell, and barter their owne wares; And our Moscouie marchants not to take the said Englishmens wares to sell them in our townes, nor to bye any wares for them, neither the English marchant to colour any Russes wares at any towne.

5 And whatsoeuer English marchant will sel his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Castran, Nouogrode, the lower Casan, Astracan, Nouogorode the great, Vapska, the Narue, Viagorod, or at any other townes, they to sel their wares there at their pleasure, And of al wares aswell of other countreis as of Russia, no officer or other to take any custome, neither in any place to stay them in any wise, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatsoeuer.

6 And whatsoeuer marchant shal bargaine or bye any wares of English marchants: The said Russe not to returne those wares vpon the marchants handes againe, but to giue readie money for the said wares, otherwise they to craue the Iustice to giue right, and to execute the lawe vpon the same with all expedition. And when the English marchants or factors shal trauaile from Moscouie after the dispatche of their wares and busines, then to shewe themselues vnto our Chancellours, whatsoeuer wares of theirs shall goe from Mosco, they not to shewe the same wares to any our officers, nor pay no custome nor toll in any place.

7 If it so happen the English marchants haue any wracke, and the shippes be brought to any part of our Dominions, we to command the saide goods to be enquired and sought out, and to bee giuen to the English marchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, seruants, or deputies, of the Companie afore said, to whom we haue graunted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of the English marchants, factors, seruants, or deputies to bee in our Countreis at such time, then we will all the said goods to be sought out and bestowed in some conuenient place, and when any of the Companie afore written, bringing these our letters, shall come for their goods, we to commaund their goods to be restored vnto them.

8 Likewise wee haue graunted leaue to the English marchants, their Gouernours, Consuls,

and assistants, namely, sir William Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward, and the Companie to
builde houses at Vollogda, Colmogro, and the seaside, at Iuangorode, at Cherell, and in all
o[illegible]ces of our Dominions, as shall bee needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the
sa[illegible] one housekeeper, a Russe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the said houses,
ma[illegible]le thereof to whome they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the said housekeeper not
to buy or sell for them.

9 Also wee haue giuen and graunted to the English Marchants, their house which they haue
by our goodnesse at S. Maximes in the Zenopskie, and other their houses in the towne of Zenop-
skie, made for the better assurance of their goods, and all such as they shall set vp hereafter shalbe
of the ‖Oprissini, and will make them knowen to all them of Oprissini.

‖Or, chosen side.

10 And whereas by our goodnes we haue graunted them a Ropehouse at Vologda, being farre
from the English Marchants house, nowe we haue giuen them to builde a house for that vse by the
said English house, and haue giuen and graunted them (of our goodnesse) ground, one hundreth
and fourescore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne request.

11 Also, we haue of our goodnesse giuen and graunted to the English Marchants, leaue to buy
them a house at Witchida, and there to search out mines of yron. And where they shal happily finde
it, there to set vp houses for the making of the same yron: and to make the same, of our goodnesse
haue graunted them woods, fiue or sixe miles compasse about the said houses, to the making of the
saide yron, and not to exceede these bounds and limits: And where they shall cut the saide wood,
not to set vp any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of
their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and so freely occupying the saide yron in
these our Dominions, transporting also of the same home into England, allowing for euery
pound one dingo, or M, pennie.

12 And if any of the said yron shalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the saide yron to
our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treasurie for the same; And when
the said English Marchants or Factors shall send their owne people out of our Realme into their
Countrey, ouer land through any Countrey whatsoeuer, freely to send the same with our words.

13 Also, we of our goodnesse haue graunted, that if any man misuse the saide English, the Fac-
tors or seruants, Or the saide English Marchants, their Factors or seruants abuse any other at
Moscouie, or any other our townes whatsoeuer within our Dominions in trade of Marchandise
or otherwise, then they to haue vpright iustice in all such matters of our counsaile the Oprisinie
without all let or delay; But if our Justice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to
whose lotte it shall fall, to him the right to bee giuen, and that onely our counasaile at Moscouie,
and none of our Captaines, or authorised people, or officers in any other our townes, giue iudge-
ment vpon the said English Marchants for any thing.

14 Also, if any stranger shal haue matter of controuersie with any English Marchant, Factor or
seruant, abiding within these our Realmes, or contrarywise any English Marchant, Factor or
seruant, against any other stranger, in all those causes our Counsaile of the Oprissinie, to giue
them Justice, and to make an agreement & ende betweene the parties, without all delaye; And
none to deale therein, saue our Counsaile of the Oprissinie: 15 And if any man haue action a-
gainst any English Marchant being absent, that then in his absence it shalbe lawful for any other
Englishman at his assignation to answere his cause.

16 If any Englishman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Russe or stranger slaine
or beaten, 17 Or any stollen goods to be found in the saide English houses, then our Counsellers
to cause the guiltie persons to be sought out, and to doe right and Justice in the cause, and the par-
tie that is guiltie, if he deserue punishment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence, That the
said English Marchants, factors and seruants, sustaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatsoeuer English Marchant, Factor, seruant, or deputie, shalbe guiltie of any fault,
deseruing our displeasure, then our Counsailers to cause the guiltie partie to goe vnder suerties,
and their goods to be sealed and kept, vntill our pleasure bee further knowen, and our Counsaile
to examine their offence, and so to report it vnto vs, that wee may command what shall bee done
therein, and none other to be arrested or haue their goods sealed, which are not guiltie of that of-
fence, nor to stay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the same.

19 If any English Marchant, Factor or seruant shal offend, it shalbe lawfull for their Agent to
doe iustice vpon the said partie, or to send him home into England at his pleasure.

20 If any English Marchant, Factor or seruant, haue lent or hereafter shall lende money to
any of our people, or credite them with wares, and so depart into any forreigne Countrey, or
die before the debt bee due to be paide, then our people and Marchants to paye the saide debt,

to

to whome soeuer shall be appointed to the said roome or charge, and the said English Marchant, factor, or seruant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counsell, to shewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counsel to command the debt to be discharged vnto the English Marchant, factor, or seruant, without delay.

21 And whatsoeuer English Marchant shall be arrested for debt, then our Counsell to command the partie vnder arrest to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no suertie, to bind the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Englishman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to call him in prison, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, lest the officer lose him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the English Marchants to send our Commission to all our Townes, Captaines, and authorised men, to defende and gard the saide Marchants from all theeues, robbers, and euill disposed persons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Merchants, the factors, or seruants be spoiled on the sea, our Counsell shall send our letters, and will them to be sought out, and where they shall finde the goods, cause it to be restored againe, and the offender to be punished, according to our commandement.

24 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the saide Merchants to take vp Brokers, Packers, Mayers, and such like labourers, as shall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the laborers and they shall agree.

25 We likewise of our goodnes, haue licensed the English Merchants in our Townes of Mosko, Nouogorode the great, and Pasko, that the Coiners of the said Townes shall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without custome, allowing for coales, and other necessaries, with the workemanship.

26 Also of our goodnes, wee haue granted to the said English Merchants, to take poste horse at needefull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not els, in no case hindering or diminishing our treasurie.

27 Also for our sister Queene Elizabeths sake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their successors, that no Englishman, nor any other stranger, come without the Queenes leaue to Colmogorode, the riuer of Vob, Vasiagy, Pechora, Cowlaye, Meseyne, Pechmecoue, Zeleuetskyes Iland, the riuer of Shame, nor to no other hauen of Dwina, nor to any part of the nore side of Dwina, by hetherward of Wardhouse, to any hauen, with shippe, Busse, or any other vessell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but onely the said English companie, and their successors, to whome we of our goodnes haue granted this priuiledge.

28 Also that no English Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, shall come with any wares, to the Narue, or Vriogorode.

29 And whatsoeuer English Merchant, stranger, or other, of whatsoeuer Countrey he be, shall come with any shippe, Busse, or any other vessell, to any of the said hauens, of the north side, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narue, or Vriagorode, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the company aboue written, wee to apprehende and take the same vessell from those strangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the companie of English Merchants.

30 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the said companie of English merchants, that no English merchants or strangers shall passe through our dominions, to Boghare, Persia, Casbin, Chardaye, or other Countreies, saue onely the companie of English merchants, and our owne messengers.

31 Also whatsoeuer Englishman, comming out of England, or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leaue, and knowledge, not being of the said companie, written within those our letters, mind, and purpose, to abide in our Realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleasure, or any way abuse himselfe, the Agent shall freely send him home, to the Queene his Soueraigne: which if the Agent of himselfe be vnable to do, let him pray for aide of the Captaines and officers of our Townes there being, and so send him to prison, and will the saide Captaines not to hinder the said Agent from sending home such euill persons into England.

32 And if any man within our Countrey, runne away to any other towne, or place, the English merchants, and factors, to haue free libertie to apprehende him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our priuiledge, giuen to Thomas Glouer, Ralfe Rutter, Christopher Benner, John Chappell, and their adherents, we haue commanded the same priuiledges to be taken from them.

34 Also

34 Also we of our goodnes haue granted the said company of English merchants, their successors seruants and deputies, that doe or shall remaine at Musko, or elsewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne lawe: and in any wise none of ours to force them to our lawe or faith against their will.

Moreouer, besides and with the companie of English merchants, we permit all strangers, to trade to our towne of Narue, Vtiogorode, and other our townes of Liefland, as they haue done before time, from the beginning of the world 7077. in the moneth of June 20. invention. 12. The yeere of our Lordship & reigne 35. and of our Empire of Russland 23, Casan 17. Astracan 15.

Other speciall graunts by his Maiesties priuate letters at the *suite of Master Randolph Embassadour.*

RElealement out of prison of Fitzherbert, that was accused for writing of letters against the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to Thomas Greene that was accused, & troubled vpon suspition of his dealing with the Embassadour, and licence giuen to him to traffique as he was accustomed.

Andrew Atherton and his sureties released at the Narue and his seruaunt at the Mosko, that were in trouble for sending the merchants letters into England.

A letter graunted to Thomas Southam to the Counsaile for iustice against them that stole the pearles.

His Maiesties fauour promised to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can best deserue.

A letter to the merchants that went into Persia, to passe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as also letters of fauour to the great Shawe of Persia.

A graunt vnto the companie that at what time soeuer, they send to the discouery of Catay, they shalbe licensed to repaire vnto this countrey and haue such conducts and guides, Marriners, vessels, Men, and victuals as they shall stand in neede of.

It is also promised by Kneez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any Englishman complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffique, or otherwise goe about to discredite the worshipfull companie, and their doinges, that therein they shall not bee harde, and the doers to bee punished, as in such cases they shalbee iudged to haue deserued.

Certaine persons graunted to be sent home into England that serued the company, and were practisers against them in that countrey.

A Commission giuen by vs Th. Randolph, Embassadour for the *Queenes Maiestie in Russia, and Th. Bannister, &c. Vnto Iames Bassendine,*

Iames Woodcocke and Rich. Browne, the which Bassendine, Woodcocke, and Browne we appoint ioyntly together, and ayders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of discouery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for searching of the sea, and border of the coast, from the riuer Pechora, to the East wardes, as hereafter followeth Ann. 1588. The first of August.

Inprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you shall at the beginning of the veere (as soone as you possible may) make your repaire to the Eastern part of the riuer Pechora, where is an Iland called Dolgoieue, and from thence you shall passe to the East wardes alongest by the Sea coast of of Hugorie or the mayne lande of Pechora, and sayling alongst by the same coast, you shall passe within seuen leagues of the Iland Vaigattes which is in the straight, almost halfe way from the coast of Hugorie, vnto the coast of Noua Zembla, which Iland Vaigattes and Noua Zembla, you shall finde noted in your plat, therefore you shall not neede to discouer it: but proceede on alongest the coast of Hugorie, towardes the riuer Obba.

There is a Bay betweene the saide Vaigattes, & the riuer Obba, that doth byte to the South wardes, into the lande of Hugorie, in which Bay are two small riuers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Narmsye, as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith, may appeare in the

the which Baye you ſhall not nerde to ſpende any time for ſearching of it, but to direct your courſe to the riuer Ob, (if otherwiſe you be not conſtrained to keepe alongſt the ſhoare,) and when you come to the Riuer Ob, you ſhall not enter into it, but paſſe ouer, vnto the Eaſterne parte of the mouth of the ſaid riuer.

And when you are at the Eaſterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you ſhall from thence paſſe to the Eaſtwards, alongſt by the bonder of the ſaid coaſt, deſcribing the ſame in ſuch perfect order, as you can beſt doe it. You ſhall not leaue the ſaide coaſte or bonder of the land, but paſſe alongſt by it, at leaſt in ſight of the ſame, vntill you haue ſailed by it ſo farre to the Eaſtwards, and the time of the yeere ſo farre ſpent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be three or 400. leagues to the Eaſtwards of the Ob, if the ſea doe reach ſo farre, as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the ſaid coaſt and ſea to trende ſo farre to the Eaſtwards, yet you ſhall not leaue the coaſt at any time, but proceede alongſt by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnſearched, or ſeene, vnleſſe it be ſome baye, or riuer, that you doe certainly know by the report of the people, that you ſhall finde in thoſe bonders, or elſe ſome certaine tokens, whereby you of your ſelues may iudge it to be ſo. For our hope is, that the ſaid bonder of land, and ſea, doth in ſhort ſpace after you paſſe the Ob, incline Eaſt, and ſo to the Southwardes. And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your ſtarreboord ſide, as you proceede in your diſcouerie, to be left vndiſcouered.

But and if the ſaid bonder of land doe not incline ſo to the Eaſtwards, as we preſuppoſe it, but that it doe prooue to incline, and trende to the Northwardes, and ſo ioyne with Noua Zembla, making the ſea from Vaigats to the Eaſtwards but a baye: yet we will that you doe keepe alongſt by the ſaid coaſt, and ſo bring vs certaine report of that forme and manner of the ſame baye.

And if it doe ſo prooue to be a baye, and that you haue paſſed rounde about the ſame, and ſo by the trending of the land come backe vnto that part of Noua Zembla, that is againſt Vaigats, whereas you may from that ſee the ſaid Iſland Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you ſhall from thence paſſe alongſt by the ſaid bonder & coaſt of Noua Zembla, to the Weſtwards, and ſo to ſearch whether that part of Noua Zembla doe ioyne with the lande, that Sir Hugh Willoughbie diſcouered in anno 53. and is in 72. degrees, and from that part of Noua Zembla, 120. leagues to the Weſtwards, as your plat doth ſhewe it vnto you: and if you doe finde that lande to ioyne with Noua Zembla, when you come to it, you ſhall proceede further along the ſame coaſt, if the time of the yeere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be ſufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to winter, either at Pechora, or into Ruſſia, at your diſcretion: for we referre the ſame to your good iudgements, truſting that you will loſe no time, that may further this knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20. of Auguſt, 56. ere the Serchethrift began to returne backe from her diſcouerie, to winter in Ruſſia, and then ſhe came from the Iſland Valgats, being forcibly driuen from thence, with an Eaſterly winde, and yce, and ſo ſhe came into the riuer Dwina, and arriued at Colmogro, the 11. of September, 56. If the yce had not bene ſo much that yeere, as it was, in the Streights, on both ſides of the Iſland Vaigats, they in the ſaid pinneſſe, would that yeere haue diſcouered the parte that you are now ſent to ſeeke: which thing (if it had pleaſed God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reſerued it for ſome other. Which diſcouerie, if it may be made by you, it ſhall not onely proue profitable vnto you, but it will alſo purchaſe perpetuall fame and renowne, both to you, and our Countrey. And thus not doubting of your willing deſires, and forwardnes towards the ſame, we pray God to proſper you, with a luckie beginning, fortunate ſucceſſe, and happily to ende the ſame. Amen.

Neceſſarie notes to be obſerued, and followed in your diſcouerie, as hereafter followeth.

When your barke with all furniture, and neceſſaries, ſhall be in readines for you to depart to the ſea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you ſhall from thence, euen as timely in the ſpring as the yce will permit you, ſaile, & make all expedition that may be, vnto the mouth of the riuer Pechora, (as your commiſſion doth leade you) and as you paſſe by the coaſt all alongſt, notwithſtanding the plat that ſheweth you the deſcription of the ſaid coaſt, from Dwina vnto Vaigats,) yet you ſhall ſeeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the ſame plat, vſing as many obſeruations, as you poſſibly can doe: and theſe notes following, are to be obſerued by you principally.

1. Firſt, that you doe obſerue the latitude as often, and in as many places, as you may poſſibly

bly doe it, noting diligently the place where you doe so obserue the same.

2 Also that you doe diligently set with your compasse, howe ꝑ land doth lie from point to point, all alongst as you goe, and to vse your iudgements howe farre there may bee betweene ech of them.

3 Item, that you doe alwayes vse to drawe the proportion and byeing of the land, as well the lying out of the poyntes, and head landes, vnto the which you shall giue some ape names (at your discretion) as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme, and bignes of the same, where the high cliffes are, and where lowe landes, whether sandie hilles, or what soeuer: omitte not to note any thing, that may be sensible, and apparant to you, which may serue to any purpose.

4 In sailing along by any coast, that you keepe your lead going often times, and sound, at the least once euery glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doth serue, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the grounde, and at euery time, howe farre the same sounding may be from the next shore to it: and howe the next poynt or head land doth beare from you. And in the sea after you set off from your porte, you shall orderly at the end of euery foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what grounde, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could finde no ground.

5 Also that you doe diligently obserue the flowing, & ebbing in euery place, and howe the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and howe much water it doth high in euery place, and what force the same tide hath to driue a ship in an houre, as neere as you can iudge it.

6 Also that you doe seeke to obserue with the Instrument, which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at Rose Iland, the true plattformes, and distances, in as many places as conueniently you may, for it serueth very aptly your purpose.

7 Also that you take with you paper and ynke, and keepe a continuall iournall, or remembrance day by day, of all such things as shal fal out worth the knowledge, not forgetting, or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8 These orders if you shall diligently obserue, it will bee easie for you to make a plaine, and perfect description of your discouerie, and so shall your notes bee sufficient to answer that which is looked for at your handes. But withall you may not forgette, to note as manie thinges as you can learne and vnderstande by the reporte of anie people whatsoeuer they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verse, written by Master George Turberuile out of *Muscouia*, which went as Secretarie thither with Master Tho. Randolph, her Maiesties Embassadour to the Emperour 1568, to certaine friends of his in London, describing the manners of the Country, and people.

To his especiall friend Master Edward Dancie.

MY Dancie deere, when I recount within my brest,
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee about the rest:
I feele a thousand fittes of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to sea, from blisse to bale did goe.
I left my native soyle, full like a wretchlesse man,
And vnacquainted of the coast, among the Russies ran:
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fitte to be of Bacchus traine, so quaffing is their kinde.
Drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,
The sobrest head doth once a day stand needfull of a guide.
If he to banquet his his friendes, he will not shrinke
On them at dinner to bestowe a dozen kindes of drinke:
Such liquor as they haue, and as the country giues,
But chiefly two, one called Kuas, whereby the Mouſike liues.
Small ware and water like, but somewhat tarte in taste,
The rest is Meade of home made, wherewith their lippes they baste.
And if he goe vnto his neighbour as a guest,

The

He cares for litle meate, if so his drinke be of the best.
No wonder though they vse such vile and beastly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefest gods be made.
Their Idoles haue their heartes, on God they neuer call,
Unlesse it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs against the wall.
The house that hath no god, or paynted Saint within,
Is not to be resorted too, that roofe is full of sinne.
Besides their priuate gods, in open places stand
Their crosses vnto which they crooche, and blesse themselues with hand.
Deuoutly downe they ducke, with forehead to the ground,
Was neuer more deceit in ragges, and greasie garments found.
Almost the meanest man in all the countrie rides,
The woman eke against our vse, her trotting horse bestrides.
In sundry colours they both men, and women goe,
In buskins all, that money haue on buskins to bestoe.
Eche woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of auncient vse, and some of very pride doe weare.
Their gate is very braue, their countenance wise and sadde,
And yet they follow fleshly lustes, their trade of liuing badde.
It is no shame at all accounted to defile
Anothers bedde, they make no care, their [illegible] to concile.
Is not the meanest man in all the land but hee,
To buy her paynted colours doth allow his wife a fee.
Wherewith she deckes her selfe, and dyes her tawnie skinne,
She prankes and paintes her smoakie face, both browe, lippe, cheeke, and chinne.
Yea those that honest are, if any such there bee
Within the lande, doe vse the like: a man may plainely see
Upon some womens cheekes the paynting how it lyes,
In plaister sort for that too thicke, her face the harlot dies.
But such as skilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By daily practise doe it well, yea sure they doe exceede.
They lay their colours so, as he that is full wise,
May easly be deceiu'd therein, if he doe trust his eyes.
I not a little muse, what madnes makes them paint
Their faces, waying how they keepe the stoue by meere constraint.
For seldome when, vnlesse on Church or marriage day
A man shall see the Dames abroade, that are of best aray.
The Russie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And so he mewes her to be sure, she lye by no mans side.
Thus much friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Russia land, what men and women bee.
Hereafter I perhaps of other thinges will write
To thee, and other of my friendes, which I shall see with sight:
And other stuffe besides, which true report shall tell,
Meane while I ende my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I should now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer mightest a soule rebuke, and shame impute to mee.
For I to open shew did loue thee passing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whom I loathde to bid farewell.
And as I went thy friend, so I continue still,
No better proofe thou canst then this desire of true good will.
I doe remember well when needes I should away,
And that the Poste woulde licence vs, no longer time to stay:
Thou wrongst me by the fist, and holding fast my hand,
Didst craue of me to send thee newes, and how I liked the land.

It is a sandie soile, no very fruitfull vaine,
Voyd waste and woodie grounds there are, then clothes fit for graine.
Yet graine there growing is, which they vnlmely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they mowe it on a stake.
And laying sheafe by sheafe, their harnest so they dry,
They make the greater haste, for feare the frost the corne destroy.
For in the winter time, so glarie is the ground,
As neither grasse, nor other graine, in pastures may be found.
In coms the cattell then, the sheepe, the colt, the cowe,
Fall by his bed, the Powslike then, a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feedes, and holds as deere as life:
And thus they weare the winter with the Powslike, and his wife.
Seuen months the winter dures, the glare it is so great,
As it is May before he turne, his ground to sowe his wheate.
The bodies eke that die, vnburied lie they then,
Laid vp in coffins made of tree, as well the poorest men,
As those of greater state: the cause is lightly found,
For that in winter time, they can not come to breake the ground.
And wood so pleutcous is, quite throughout all the land
As rich, and poore, at time of death assurd of coffins stand.
Perhaps thou muself muse, how this may stand with reason,
That bodies dead can vncorrupt abide so long a season.
Take this for certaine trothe, as soone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the bodie binds as hard as any stone,
Without offence at all to any liuing thing:
And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of spring.
Their beasts be like to ours, as farre as I can see
For shape, and shewe, but somewhat lesse of bulke, and bone they be.
Of wattrish taste, the flesh not firme, like English beefe,
And yet it serues them very well, and is a good releefe:
Their sheepe are very small, sharpe singled, handfull long,
Great store of fowle on [illegible]s and land, the moorish reedes amonge.
The greatnes of the store, doth make the prices lesse,
Besides in all the land they knowe, not how good meate to dresse.
They vse neither broach nor spit, but when the flesh they heate,
They put their victuals in a pan, and so they bake their meate.
No pewter to be had, no dishes but of wood,
No vse of trenchers, cups cut out of byrche are very good.
They vse but wooden spoones, which hanging in a case,
Eache Powslike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no disgrace.
With whittles two or three, the better man the mae,
The cheefest Russies in the land, with spoone and knives doe goe.
Their houses are not huge of building, but they say,
They plant them in the loftiest ground, to shift the snowe away.
Which in the winter time, eache where full thicke they lie,
Which makes them haue the more desire, to set their houses high.
No stone worke is in vse, their rookes of rafters be,
One linked in another fast, their walls are all of tree,
Of masts both long, and large, with mosse put in betweene,
To keepe the force of weather out. I neuer earst haue seene
A grosse deuise so good, and on the roofe they lay
The burthen barke, to driue the raine, and sudden showres away.
In euery roome a stone, to serue the winter turne,
Of wood they haue sufficient store, as much as they can burne.
They haue no English glasse, of slices of a rocke
Right fluda, they their windowes make, that English glasse doth mocke.
They cut it very thinne, and sowe it with a thred
In mettie order like to panes, to serue their present nede.

No other glaſſe good faith, doth giue a better light:
And ſure the rocke is nothing rich, the coſt is very light.
The chiefeſt place is that, where hangs the god by it.
The owner of the houſe himſelfe doth neuer ſit,
Unleſſe his better come, to whom he yeelds the ſeat,
The ſtranger bending to the god, the ground with browe muſt beat.
And in that very place which they moſt ſacred deeme,
The ſtranger lyes: a token that his gueſt he doth eſteeme.
Where he is woont to haue a beares ſkinne for his bed,
And muſt in ſtead of pillow, clap his ſaddle to his head.
In Ruſſia other ſhift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good, the boalſters are but bad.
I muſed very much, what made them ſo to lie,
Sith in their countrey downe is rife, and feathers out of crie:
Unleſſe it be becauſe the countrey is ſo hard,
They feare by niceneſſe of a bed their bodyes would be mard.
I wiſhe thee oft with vs, ſaue that I ſtood in feare
Thou wouldſt haue loathed to haue layd thy limmes vpon a beare,
As I and Beaſſon did, that was my mate in bed:
And yet (we thanke the God of heauen) we both right well haue ſped.
Loe thus I make an end: naue other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people healthy bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but heere and there,
For if I ſhould, my pen would pinch, and eke offend I feare.
Who ſo ſhall read this verſe, coniecture of the reſt,
And thinke by reaſon of our trade, that I do thinke the beſt.
But if no traffike were, then could I boldly pen
The hardneſſe of the ſoile, and eke the maners of the men,
They ſay the Lions paw giues iudgement of the beaſt:
And ſo may you deeme of the great, by reading of the leaſt.

To Parker.

MY Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, haue leiſure to indite:
Wherefore, reſpecting theſe, and thine aſſured loue,
If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'ſt my pen reproue.
And ſithence fortune thus hath thou'd my ſhippe on ſhore,
And made me ſeeke another realme vnſeene of me before:
The maners of the men I purpoſe to declare,
And other priuate points beſides, which ſtrange and grauen are.
The Ruſſie men are round of bodies, fully faſte,
The greateſt part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the waiſte,
Flat headed for the moſt, with faces nothing faire,
But bro wne, by reaſon of the ſtoue, and cloſeneſſe of the aire:
It is their common vſe to ſhaue or els to ſheare
Their heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
Unleſſe perhaps he haue his ſouereigne prince diſpleaſ'd,
For then he neuer cuts his haire, vntill he be appeaſ'd.
A certaine ſigne to know who in diſpleaſure be,
For euery man that viewes his head, will ſay, Loe this is he.
And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendſhip ſhow.
Their garments be not gay, nor handſome to the eye,
A cap aloft their heads they haue, that ſtandeth very hye,
Which colpacke they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
The beſt haue collers ſet with pearle, which they Rubaſca call.
Their ſhirts in Ruſſie long, they worke them downe before,

And on the sleeues with coulered silks, two inches good and more
Aloft theyr shirts they weare, a garment iacket wise
Hight onoriadka, and about his burlie waste he tyes
His portkies, which in stead of better breeches bee:
Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to see.
A payre of yarnen stocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Russie weares, the heeles they vnderlay
With clouting clamps of steele sharpe pointed at the toes,
And ouer all a suba furd, and thus the Russies goes.
Well butned is the sube, according to his state,
Some silke, of siluer other some, but those of poorest rate
Do weare no subes at all, but grosser gownes to sight.
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
These are the Russies robes. The richest vse to ride
From place to place, his seruant runnes, and followes by his side.
The cassacke beares his felt, to force away the raine:
Their bridles are not very braue, their saddles are but plaine.
No bits but snaffles all, of birch their saddles bee,
Much fashioned like the Scotish seats, broad flacks to keepe the knee
From sweating of the horse, the pannels larger farre
And broader be then ours, they vse short stirrups for the warre:
For when the Russie is pursued by cruell foe,
He rides away, and suddenly betakes him to his boe,
And bends me but about in saddle as he sits,
And therewithall amids his race, his following foe he hits.
Theyr bowes are very short, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of sinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight.
Small arrowes, cruell heads, that fell and forked bee,
Which being shot from out those bowes, a cruell way will flee.
They seldome vse to shoo their horse, vnlesse they vse to ride
In post vpon the frozen fluds, then cause they shall not slide,
He sets a slender calke, and so he rides his way.
The horses of the countrey go good fourescore versts a day,
And all without the spurre, once pricke them and they skippe,
But go not forward on their way, the Russie hath his whippe
To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all booted bee,
Yet shall you not a payre of spurres in all the countrey see.
The common game is chesse, almost the simplest will
Both giue a checke and eke a mate, by practise comes theyr skill.
Againe the dice as fast, the poorest roges of al
Will sit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall.
Their dice are very small, in fashion like to those
Which we do vse, he takes them vp, and ouer thumbe he throwes
Not shaking them a whit, they cast suspiciouslie,
And yet I deeme them void of art that dicing most applie.
At play when siluer lacks goes saddle, horse and all,
And ech thing els worth siluer walkes, although the price be small.
Because thou louest to play friend Parker other while,
I wish thee there the weary day, with dicing to beguile.
But thou weart better fare at home, I wist it well,
And wouldest be loath, among such lowts so long a time dwell.
Then iudge of vs thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
That neere the frozen pole to waste our weary dayes were glad.
In such a sauage soile, where lawes do beare no sway,
But all is at the king his will, to saue or els to slay.
And that sans cause God wot, if so his minde be such,
But what meane I with kings to deale, we ought no saints to touch.
Conceiue the rest your selfe, and deeme what liues they lead,

When

Where luſt is law, and ſubiects liue continually in dread,
And where the beſt eſtates haue none aſſurance good
Of lands, of liues, nor nothing falles vnto the next of blood,
But all of cuſtome doth vnto the prince redoune,
And all the whole reuenue comes vnto the king his crowne.
Good faith I ſtir thee muſe at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleaſure bow.
So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembreſt well,
And what his fortune was at laſt, I know thy ſelfe canſt tell.
Where will in common weale doth beare the onely ſway,
And luſt is law, the prince and realme muſt needs in time decay.
The ſtrangeneſſe of the place is ſuch for ſundry things I ſee,
As if I would I can not write eche priuate point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince ſo full of pride,
The realme ſo ſtored with moonks and nunnes, and prieſts on euery ſide:
The maners are ſo Turkiſh like, the men ſo full of guile,
The women wanton, temples ſtuft with tooles that defile
The ſeates that ſacred ought to be, the cuſtomes are ſo quaint,
As if I would deſcribe the whole, I feare my penne would faint.
In ſumme, I ſay I neuer ſaw a prince that ſo did raigne,
Nor people ſo beſet with ſaints, yet all but vile and vaine,
Wilde Iriſh are as ciuill as the Ruſſies in theyr kinde,
Hard choice which is the beſt of both eche bloudy, rude and blinde.
If thou be wiſe, as wiſe thou art, and wilt be ruled by me,
Liue ſtill at home, and couet not thoſe barbarous coaſts to ſee.
No good befalles a man that ſeeks, and findes no better place,
No ciuill cuſtomes to be learnd, where God beſtowes no grace,
And cruelty ill they do deſerue to be belou'd of God,
That neither loue nor ſtand in awe of his affrayed rod:
Which though be long, yet plagues at laſt the vile and deadly ſort
Of ſinfull wights, that all in vice do place theyr chiefeſt ſport.
Adieu friend Parker, if thou liſt to know the Ruſſes well,
To Sigiſmundus booke repayre, who all the trueth can tell:
For be long earſt in meſſage went vnto that ſauage king,
Sent by the Pole, and true report in eche reſpect did bring.
To him I recommend my ſelfe, to eaſe my penne of paine,
And now at laſt do wiſh thee well, and bid ſure well againe.

The fourth voyage into Perſia, made my M. Arthur Edwards *Agent*, *Iohn Sparke*, *Laurence Chapman*, *Chriſtopher Faucet*, *and* Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568, declared in this letter written from Caſbin in Perſia, by the foreſayd Laurence Chapman to a worſhipfull merchant of the companie of Ruſſia in London.

Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

WOrſhipfull ſir, my dutie alwayes remembred, and your proſperous health, and good ſucceſſe in all your affayres wiſhed, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts deſire, &c. May it pleaſe you to vnderſtand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards & we departed from Yeraſlaue in July 1568, & the 14 of Auguſt arriued at our port called Bilbill, with your ſhip the Grace of God, & the goods in her in good ſafetie, God be thanked for it, finding there neither ỳ people ſo tractable to ayd vs for the bringing of her in, & in lading of the goods, nor yet ſo obedient to the Shaughs priuilege, as the worſhipfull company haue beene informed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open and ſell as they would ſet the price, or otherwiſe it would haue bene worſe for vs. Being ſo ſatisfied to theyr conceipt, we were ſpeedily ayded with camels by the prince Erasbecke Sultan his appoyntment, to carry our goods to Shamakie, to which place we attayned the firſt of September, finding it ſo thoroughly furniſhed with all maner of commodities by occaſion of our late comming, and by ſuch as came before vs, that no man would alike to buy any one

Their arriuall at Bilbill the 14 of Auguſt 1568.

Prince Erasbecke.

piece of karsie of vs, and lying then the space of one whole moneth before your Agent Arthur Edwardes would disperse vs abroad with the goods, such as came out of Russia afterwardes, but brought they⁊ goods to that and other places, and spoyled those sales we might haue made, being sent abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worshipfull, as also great griefe vnto vs to see. To conclude, though our daply calling vpon him, he sent himselfe for Casbin, taking with him the greatest summe of the goodes, and two of the worshipfuls seruants, to wit, Iohn Sparke and my selfe, to helpe and procure the better sale for the same: and leauing at Shamakie Thistopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karsie in they⁊ hands, supposed to be solde there or in Arrash before he should be able to make his returne from Casbin, which so farre forth as I can vnderstand, lie for the greatest part vnsolde. And being vpon our way, at a certayne towne called Ardowill, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karsies with those merchants for fourescore and foure batemans of cynnamom, selling the karsies at one hundred and fiftie shawghs the piece.

Thistopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.

And being at that present not farre from Teueris, called the principall place in this country for vttering of cloth or karsies, by much intreaty I perswaded your Agent to send thither to proue what might be done, and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karsies, as also his commission for sale of the same, I proceeded on that voyage my selfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great store of broade cloth and karsies, brought thither, some part by the Turkes, who be resident there, some by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and some by the townesmen, who trauell vnto Venice, and there buy them, so that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and foxtie shawghs for a karsie: and hauing speciall commission and charge from your Agent not to stay there aboue the space of seuen dayes after my arriuall there, but to repayre to Casbin with all speed, and furthermore, hauing regard to keepe vp the price of the worshipfuls commodities, according they⁊ desire, I found meanes to barter them away for spices, such as were there to be had, neither in goodnesse nor yet in price to my content: nevertheless, considering the colde sales which were there, as well for your karsies, as also the horsenes, that Ormuz way was shut vp by occasion that the Indians do warre against them, which is true indeed: and against the desire that the worshipfull hath to haue such commodities bought, I thought it necessarie to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my account sent to the worshipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole summe of spices bought at this time.

War against the Portingals at Ormus.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of Grozyne, who was not a little desirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karsies for his master called Leuontie, and offering me so good bands for the payment of the money or like to the merchants contentment vpon the deliuery of them, as in any place within all this country is to be had: and offering me besides his own letter in the behalfe of his master, that no custome should be demanded for the same, and the obtaining also at his masters hand as large a priuiledge for the worshipfull to trauell into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had giuen them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians also, and that he was a Christian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and solde him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threescore shawghs a piece, to be payd to the merchant in Grozine either in money or like to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliuerie of the karsies there, hauing a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the same, which is as sure as any heere is to be deuised: and vpon the same I sent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamakie, with such goodes as I bought at Teueris, and to the end he might cause the worshipfuls seruants there to see this bargen accomplished. At whose arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the captaine would not accomplish his bargen to take them, but sayth he hath no need of them: such is the constancie of all men in this country, with whomsoeuer you shall bargen. If the ware be bought, and they doe mislike it afterwardes, they will bring it againe, and compell you to deliuer the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifesteth the contrary, as a straw in the winde: by meanes whereof, the worshipfull may know whether all be true that hath beene written of this country people or not.

The gouernors merchant of Grozyne his merchant.

The generall inconstancy in the merchants and dealers of those parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teueris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no such store of spices as the worshipfull doth looke for, that heere will be put away in Teueris, some for money, and other some for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karsies, being in coulers and goodnesse to the examples here sent you, the rest of the karsies to make them vp a thousand, and broad clothes to the summe of a hundred, be as many as will be put away yeerely in this country, so farre as yet I can perceiue.

The trade betweene the Venetians and the Armenians not easie to be broken.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians, it is not possible, vnlesse the worshipfull will finde some meanes to receiue them yeerely to the number of

100

100 cattels or mules lading, and deliuer them for the same one third part money, the rest cloth and karsies fitted in coulers meet for the countrey: the examples, as aboue said, are sent vnto you.

At Amadia sixe dayes iourney from Teueris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought by yeerely by the Venetians, and be solde there for two billes the Teueris bateman, which as your Agent heere sayth, maketh sixe pound English weight, but I doubt it will not so be procued. Neuertheleese it is supposed much good will be done by buying of them: which might at this present haue partlie beene prooued, if so be that some could doe but halfe that which hath beene written.

Touching druggs, I finde many as well at Teueris, as also in Casbin, but the goodnesse nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places: and the price is so high, that small gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had beene furnished with money, as I might haue beene, if some would, I would haue bought some, to the end the goodnesse of them might haue beene seene in England. At my comming to Casbin, I found no maner of sales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes giuen out (as your Agent saith) that the Shawgh would buy all such commodities as he had, and giue him silke & spices for the same: but by report the Shawgh neuer tooke cloth into his treasurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now beginne: his whole trade is in raw silke, which he selleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and such other as vse to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, he hath driuen off the time, not sending to any other places: by meanes whereof the worshipfulls goodes lye vnsolde to this day to their great hinderance, which I for my part am not a little sorrie to see.

Babylon is from hence fiftéene dayes iourney, whereas by true report, be great store of dates, and solde for a bille the bateman, the commoditie fit for England: and the place so neere vnto vs, might easily haue beene knowne, if he, whose deeds and sayings differ much, had beene willing to the same. Cashan also is but seuen dayes iourney from hence, and a place by report, where most store of spices be at all times to be had, ouer and aboue any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be seene and prooued at this time: if this be lolde to the worshipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh in words. Babylon 15 dayes iourney from Casbin.

To trauell in this countrey, is not onely miserable and vncomfortable, for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refresh men with wholesome victualles in time of need, but also such scarsitie of water, that sometime in three dayes iourney together is not to be found any droppe fit for man or beast to drinke, besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these infidels, who do account it remission of sinnes, to wash their hands in the bloud of one of vs. Better it is there for me in mine opinion to continue a begger in England during life, then to remaine a rich merchant seuen yeeres in this countrey, as some shall well finde at their comming hither.

By commandement of the Agent also, I went to Gillan, as well to see what harbor was there for your shippe, as also to vnderstand what commoditie is there best solde, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence so dangerous and troublesome, that with my penne I am not able to note it vnto you: no man trauelleth from hence thither, but such poore people as need constraineth to carry Rice, for their reliefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboue twentie batemans vpon a carter, and it lyeth no lower then the skirts of the saddle, and he escapeth very hardly that commeth there with the same. His voyage to Gillan.

The towne of Layghone, which was the chiefest place in all that land, haue I seene, and Langroe and Rosare also, which be now lately ouerrunne by the Shawgh and his power, and be so spoyled, and the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karsie. The best commoditie there to be bought, is rawe silke, and is solde in the Summer time for eight and thirtie shawghs the Layghone bateman, which is little aboue fortie pound weight, and for readie money: also there is to be had what store of Allome you will, and solde there for one bille the Teueris bateman.

In these partes be many Turkie merchants resident, which giue an outward shew, as though they were glad of our comming hither, but secretlie they be our mortall enemies, searching by all meanes to hinder our sales, because we should the sooner giue ouer our trade thither, which in processe of time I hope will grow to better perfection. They wish vs to go to Hallape with the rest of our commodities vnsolde, where they say we shall haue good intertainement in spight of the great number of Venetians which be there resident, and the custome but two in the hundred, and our karsies to be solde presently, had we neuer so many, for twelue duckets, which makes of this money one hundred sixe and fiftie shawghs: but by such as know the place, market & custome, The malice of the Turkish merchants.

it is reported vs credibly to the contrary, and that such karsies as ours be are not solde for aboue eight or nine duckets there: the custome thirtie in the hundred, & more, that no place in the world is so well furnished with good cloth, and karsies, & of so braue couler, as that place is, supposing it to be craftily purposed of them, to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from.

The prices of spices. The prices of spices be these, at this present inhanced by reason the way is shut to Ormus, which when God shall send open, I purpose (God willing) to see, and at my returne to aduertise the worshipfull what benefit is there to be had in all points, so neere as I can learne: Pepper 25 shawghs the Teueris bateman: Cloues 50 shawghs. Long pepper 25 shawghs. Maces large 50 shawghs. Ginger 24 shawghs, ready money all, or els looke not vpon them. And the best sort of raw silke is solde for 60 shawghs the Teueris bateman. Thus for want of further matter to inlarge, I ending this time, beseeching God to preserue you in continuall health.

By your obedient seruant
Laurence Chapman.

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begunne in *the moneth of Iulie* 1568, *gathered by M. Richard Willes* from the mouth of M. Arthur Edwards which was Agent in the same.

When he came first to the Sophies presence, at his court in Casbin, hauing his interpretour with him, and standing far off, the Sophie (sitting in a seat royall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that still, vntill he came so neere him that he might haue touched him with his hand. Then the first demand that he asked him, was from what countrey he came: he answered, that he came from England. Then asked he of his noble men, who knew any such country? But when Edwards saw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Ingilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble men said Londro, meaning thereby London, which name is better knowen in farre countries out of Christendome, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro, he said that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teueris of the chiefe citie of Persia. He asked him many thinges more, as of the realme of England, marueiling that it should be an Iland, of so great riches and power, as Edwards declared vnto him, of the riches & abundance of our merchandize, as he further vnderstood by our traffike in Moscouia, and other countries. He demanded also many things of the Queenes Maiestie, and of the customes and lawes of the realme: saying oftentimes in his owne language, Bara colla (that is to say) Well said. He asked also many things of king Philip, & of his wars against the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cause of his resort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he asked what kinde of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (said he) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the citie of Londro, send to Uenice, & from thence into Turkie by Halepo and Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the second and third hands, with great charges of many customes and other chanses thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Persia. What merchandize are those? said the Sophie. Edwards answered, that they were great abundance of fine karsies, of broad clothes, of all sorts and coulers, as scarlets, violets, and other of the finest cloth of all the world. Also that the Venetians brought out of England, not onely such clothes ready made, but furthermore great plenty of fine woll to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwise make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that wayes, aboue two hundred thousand karsies, and as many broad clothes, beside fine woll and other merchandize, beside also the great abundance of like clothes, the which were carryed into Spaine, Barbarie, & diuers other countries. The Sophie then asked him by what meanes such merchandize might be brought into Persia. Right well sir (said he) by the way of Moscouia, with more safetie and in much shorter time then the Venetians can bring them: first from England to Uenice, and from thence into Persia, by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it shall please your Maiestie to grant vs free passage into all your dominions, with such priuileges as may appertaine to the safegard of our liues, goods, and merchandize, we will furnish your countries with all such merchandize, and other commodities, in shorter time, and better cheape then you may haue the same at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was betweene the Sophie and Edwardes for the space of two houres, all which thinges liked him so well, that shortly after he granted to the saide Arthur Edwardes other priuileges, for the trade of merchandize into Persia,

Londro. London.

The Venetians traffike in England.

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all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great seale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who sayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did sit to seale any letters, that last priuiledge should be sealed and deliuered to Laurence Chapman. In this priuiledge is one principall article for seruants or merchants: That if the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings, they would become Bulor men, that then the Agent wheresoeuer he shall find any such seruant or seruaunes, to take them and put them in prison, and no person to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in respect of a custome among the Persians, being Mahumetans, whose maner is friendly to receiue and welcome straunge both with gifts and liuing, all such Christians, as forsaking their religion, will become of the religion of the Persians. In somuch that before this priuiledge was granted, there was great creation of naughtie seruants to deceiue and rob their masters, that vnder the colour of professing that religion, they might liue among them in such safetie, that you might haue no lawe against them, either to punish them or to recouer your goods at their hands, or elsewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they say to be a maruelous wise and gracious prince) seemed to fauour our nation, and to graunt them such priuiledges, the people abused them very much, and so hated them, that they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them Cafars and Gawars, which is, infidels or misbeleeuers. But after they saw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kisse their hands, and vse them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare false witnesse against them, and such merchandizes as they had bought or sold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them liked. And if any stranger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one saine, and for the debts of any stranger, would take the goods of any other of the same nation, with many other such like abuses, in maner vnknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made vnto him for reformation of such abuses: which were the cause that no merchant strangers of contrary religion, durst come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his subiects.

The Articles of the second priuiledge deliuered to Lawrence Chapman, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their first priuiledge, to goe vnto Gillan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occasion shall be giuen.

11 Item, if by misfortune any of their ships should breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the sea coast, his subiects to helpe with all speed to saue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the said merchaunts that liueth: or otherwise to bee kept in safetie vntill any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the said merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to see their goods safely kept, and to bee deliuered to any other of them that shall demaund them.

13 Item, the said merchants to take such camell men as they themselues will, being countrey people, and that no Kisselbash doe let or hinder them. And the said owners of the camels to bee bound to answere them such goods as they shall receiue at their hands, and the camell men to stand to the lades of their camels or horses.

14 Item more, that the said carriers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any carriers, & haue giuen earnest, the Camel men to set they keepe their promise.

16 Item, if any of the said merchants be in feare to trauell, to giue them one or more to go with them, and see them in safetie with their goods to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to say, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his subiects to giue them honest roume, and victails for their money.

18 Item, the sayd merchants may in any place where they shall thinke best, build or buy any house or houses to their owne vses. And no person to molest or trouble them, and to stand in any Caruan where they will, or shall thinke good.

The commodities which the merchants may haue by this trade into Persia, are thought to be great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into the East Indies, for asmuch as by the way of Persia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once: where as

as the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage all by sea: for whereas the citie and Island of Ormus, lying in the gulfe of Persia, is the most famous marte towne of all East India, whither all the merchaundises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safely, be brought by land and riuers through Persia, euen vnto the Caspian sea, and from thence by the countreis of Russia or Moscouia by riuers, euen vnto the citie of Yeraslaue, and from thence by land a hundred and fourescore miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water, euen vnto England.

The merchandises which be had out of Persia for the returne of wares, are silke of all sortes and colours, both rawe and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles and precious stones, likewise carpets of diuers sortes, with diuers other rich merchandises. It was told mee of them that came last from Persia, that there is more silke brought into some one citie of Persia, then is of cloth brought into the citie of London. Also that one village of Armenia named Gilgat, doth carie yeely fiue hundred, and sometime a thousand mules laden with silke to Halepo in Soria of Turkie, being foure daies iourny frō Tripoli, where the Venetians haue their continual abiding, and send from thence silkes which they returne for English karsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

The maner how the Christians become Busor men, and forsake their religion.

I Haue noted here before that if any Christian will become a Busor man, that is, one that hath forsaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they giue him many gifts, and sometime also a liuing. The maner is, that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forsake his faith, he resorteth to the Soltan or gouernour of the towne, to whom hee maketh protestation of his diuilish purpose. The gouernour appointeth him a horse, and one to ride before him on another horse, bearing a sword in his hand, and the Busor man bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, cursing his father and mother: and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, hee is guiltie of death, as is signified by the sword borne before him. A yong man, a seruant of one of our merchants, because he would not abide the correction of his master for his faultes, was minded to forsake his faith. But (as God would) he fell suddenly sicke and died, before he gaue himselfe to the deuill. If he had become a Busor man, he had greatly troubled the merchants, for if he would then haue sayd that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuileges that no Busor man, &c. as there appeareth.

In Persia in diuers places, oxen and kine beare the tents and houshold stuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horses.

Of the tree which beareth Bombasine cotton, or Gossampine.

IN Persia is great abundance of Bombasine cotton, & very fine, this groweth on a certaine litle tree or brier, not past ẏ height of a mans waste or litle more: the tree hath a slender stalk like vnto a brier, or to a carnation gillefloure, with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, conteining in it the cotton: & when this bud or cod commeth to the bignesse of a wallnut, it openeth and sheweth foorth the cotton, which groweth still in bignesse vntill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fist, and beginneth to be loose, and then they gait as it were the ripe fruit. The seeds of these trees are as big as peason, and are blacke, and somewhat flat, and not round: they sowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Persia, and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Persians.

ARthur Edwards shewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, subsigned with the hands both of the Sophie and his Secretarie. The Sophies subscription, was only one word (his name I suppose was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was also written on the same piece of red paper, being long and narow, about ẏ length of a foote, and not past three inches broad. The priuate signet of the Sophie, was a round printed marke about the bignes of a riall, onely printed vpon the same paper without any waxe or other seale, the letters seeme so mishapen and disordered, that a man would thinke it were somwhat scribled in maner at aduentures. Yet they say that almost euery letter with his pricke or circumflexe, signifieth a whole word. Insomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand, their writing doth containe as much as doth ours almost in a sheete of paper.

The

The first voyage into Persia made by M. Thomas Banister, and M. Ieffrey Ducket Agents for the Moscouie companie, begun from England in the yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by P. I. from the mouth of M. Lionell Plumtree.

Vpon the 3. day of July 1568. they embarked themselues at Yeraslaue, being accompanied with Lionell Plumtree, and some 12. Englishmen more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonaventure of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking also along with them of Rusles to the number of 40. for their vse and imployments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Astracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartares, being a kind of thereuish and cruell people, made an assault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, some with swords, some with speares, and some others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they discouered to bee about 300. mē. They for their parres, although they could haue wished a quiet voiage and iourney without iniuries and violence, yet not willing to be spoiled with such Barbarians as they were, began to defend themselues against their assaule, by meanes whereof a very terrible and fierce fight followed and continued hote & sharpe for two howers, wherein our men so well plaid their parts with their caliuers, that they forced the Tartares to flee with the losse of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Rusle prisoner, which escaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Astracan, at which towne they arriued the 20. of August.

In this towne of Astracan they were somwhat hindered of their iourney, and staied the space of 6. weekes by reason of a great armie of 70000. Turkes and Tartares which came thither vpon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue surprised it suddenly or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end by reason that the Winter approched, as also, because they had received newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Russia was in prouiding for the reuenge of the sayde place, they were constrained to raise their siege, and to leaue the towne as they found it.

Vpon their departure our men had opportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and vsing the occasion, they left Astracan, and came to Bilbill towards the ende of October: from whence they went to Shauaran, where (as they lodged in their tents) they were greatly molested with strange troopes of holcaues or foxes, which were so busie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mightie wild Boye that was sent vnto them for a present from the gouernour of the countrey.

Hauing staied here some three or foure dayes in prouiding of carriages and other necessaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to Shamachie, which is foure dayes iourney from the sayde Shauaran. In this towne of Skamachie their whole company spent out the Winter, and from thence in Aprill following, they tooke their iourney towards Ardowill a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperours of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried, and so is growen to be a place of their superstitious deuotion. In this towne of Ardowill they soiourned the space of 5. or 6. moneths, finding some traffique and sales, but to no purpose, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother sought the destruction of the brother, and the neerest kinsemen rose vp one against an other, insomuch that one of their companie Lionell Plumtree hath seene in one day sometimes 14. slaine in a garboile. And he being further desirous to see their maner of fight, or rather somewhat more curious to behold, then mistrustfull of their blowes, was like to haue borne a share in their bloodie tragedie, being twise wounded with their shot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thamas sent a messenger for our men to come to his presence at Casbin, to whom Thomas Banister failed not to goe, although master Ducket lay very sicke at Ardowill, and in such case that they almost despaired of his recouerie. Hee being come to the Shawgh, was received and entertained of him with great fauour and speciall countenaunce, and had the most part of all his requests graunted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priuiledge or sufferance to transport and carie throughout his dominions certaine horses into India, the Shawgh seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time. As for the point of traffique, hee could not make that motion or request that was not so soone graunted as it was preferred: and the Shawgh himselfe bought there of him many horses, and made him as good paiment as any man could wishe, and oftentimes would send his

money

money for the wares beinge the wares were deliuered, that he might bee the surer of this honnorable intended dealing.

One thing somewhat straunge I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas her purposed to send a great summe of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, her would not send any money or coine of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, perlding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchaunts was gotten by good meanes, and with good consciences, and was therefore woorthie to bee made an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression, and vnhonest meanes, and therefore was not fit to serue for so holie a vse.

After sixe moneths spent in Casbin, the sayd Thomas Banister departed towards the great citie of Tauris, where being arriued, hee found master Ducket well recouered of his sickenesse, whom he had left ill at Ardowill.

At this Citie the foresayde master Ducket made sales of the English commodities, remaining there to that purpose the space of two yeeres and a halfe. And besides other kindes of merchandises of that countrey, he bought great store of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes iourney of the aforesaid Tauris.

After this Thomas Banister departed from Tauris, and went to Shamakie, to giue order for the transporting of those commodities which were bought for England. And hauing dispatched them away, hee went there hence to Arrash, a towne foure dayes iourney with camels from Shamachie, for the buying of raw silke. But there by reason of the vnwholesomnesse of the ayre, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, hee with Lawrence Chapman and some other English men vnhappily died: which being known of master Ducket, hee immediately came from Tauris to Arrash, to take possession of the goods, for otherwise by the custome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchaunt or other friend of his to enter vpon that which hee left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithstanding could not bee recouered from the officers which had sealed and sealed vp the same, vntill master Ducket had beene in person with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof.

The death of M. Banister.

Lionell Plumtree in the meane time that master Ducket was at Casbin in suit for goodes vpon the perswasion of certayne Bogharians, made prouision for a iourney to Cathaya, with carriages and commodities, and hauing all things readie, departed secretly with a Carauan: but beyng gone forwards on his way sixe dayes iourney, some fiftie horsemen by the procurement of Humfrey Greenfield (who afterwardes beyng at Ormuz in the East Indias, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquisition by the Portingals) were sent after him in poste from Soltan Eraiberke, the Shaughs Lieutenaunt, to fetche him backe agayne, not suffering him to passe on so perillous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueniences that might follow.

After this master Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamachie againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to Cashan, beyng about foure dayes iourney from Shamachie, and caried with him 4. mules laden with money.

In the way of his trauell hee passed through Persipolis, sometime the royall seate of the Emperours of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remayne to be seene at this day two gates onely that are distant one from the other the space of 12. miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountaines and conueiances for fresh water.

The foresayde Cashan is a Towne that consisteth all together of merchandise, and the best trade of all the lande is there, beyng greatly frequented by the merchaunts of India.

Heere our men bought great store of all maner of wrought Silkes, and some Spices, and good store of Turkie stones.

The towne is much to bee commended for the ciuill and good gouernement that is there vsed. An idle person is not suffered to liue amongst them.

The childe that is but fiue yeeres olde, is set to some labour. As all rule, disorder or riot by gaming or otherwise, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cardes is by the lawe present death.

At this Cashan they remayned about the space of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Shamachie, and after some time spent in diuers places of the countrey for buying of raw silke

like and other commodities, they came at last to Shauaran againe, where their ship was in harbour, and then they shipt all their goods and embarked themselues also, setting sayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Astracan. By reason of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caspian sea, they beat it vp and downe some 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker vpon the flats, certaine Russe Cassaks, which are outlawes or banished men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with diuers boates vnder the colour of friendship, and entred their ship, but immediately they tooke their hatchets and slew diuers of the Russes that were of the ship vpon the hatches: Whereupon master Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the master, a man of singular valure, and Amos Riall being vnder the Sparderke, did so well behaue themselues, that they showed the hatches, and slew 14. of the Cassaks gunners, and hurt and wounded aboue 30. more, being of them all in number 150. at the least, armed with caliuers and other weapons fit for so villanous a purpose.

M. Ducket notwithstanding and the rest aforesayd, receiued diuers wounds from the enemie, and were so hurt, and withall so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cassaks by rendring the ship into their hands, hauing receiued first their othes sworne by their crucifixes, not to doe any further harme to their persons.

Thus the shippe beyng taken, and all the English greuously hurt, the Cassaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship boate with two or three Persian targets full of horse flesh and swines fleshe, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that case, made the best hast they could to get to Astracan: and being come to the towne, master Ducket made great sute to the captaine, to haue men and boates set out for the reskuing and recouering of the ship if it were possible, who immediately sent out his sonne with fortie boates and fiue hundred men to pursue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ship, but by reason of their foolishnesse in striking vp their drummes before they were come neere them, the Cassaks discouering the boates, cut their cables, and put out to Sea, whereupon the boates not being able to follow them, returned againe to Astracan. After which, three score boates more were sent out to pursue them agayne the second time: and that second armie came to a place where they found many of those Cassaks, and slew them and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the chestes of the ship: all which they recouered againe for the English merchants, to the valew of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thousand pound, but all the rest the Cassaks in [illegible] ship had caried away.

In the same place they foun[illegible]rther, diuers of the Cassaks which the English men had slaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt so[illegible] fortie or fiftie yardes of Sattin, and Taffataes, and some in Turkie carpets cut and spoyled by those vilanous Pirats, of whom afterwardes as many as could be taken by the Persians, who entirely loued the English merchants, were put to most cruel torments in all places according to their deserts.

But our men being thus spoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Astracan, for their better recouerie: and hauing gotten some reasonable strength, they then prouided boates, and went vp the riuer Volga to Cazan, with such goods as they had recouered from the Cassaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraslaue, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where suddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement frost, and therewithall the waters so congeled, that their boates were crushed and cut in sunder with the ice, whereby they sustained both a further daunger of life and losse of goods: but as much as they could preserue with much adoe, they conueyed ouer land in fleds to Vologda, and from thence sent much of it to S. Nicholas, to bee laden in the shippes for England.

But master Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, and Amos Riall went with some parcels to the Mosko, and there sold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie losse that they had sustained by his owne rebellious people and subiects, bought himselfe as much as hee liked, and paied present money for the same. So that Winter beyng spent out in Mosko, and such wares prouided by them as serued for England, they departed to S. Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of August: and hauing indured a very terrible passage in nine weekes and three dayes, with some hardnesse of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other sea accidents, they arriued at London in the moneth of October one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and foure, and so made an ende of an vnfortunate voyage, which if it had pleased God to prosper, that all things had come home as safely as they were carefully prouided, and painfully laboured for,

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it had prooued the richeſt voyage and moſt profitable returne of commoditie, that had euer bene vndertaken by Engliſh merchants, who notwithſtanding all miſfortunes, loſt not hing of their principall aduenture, but onely the intereſt and gaine that might haue riſen by the vſe of their ſtocke in the meane time.

Further obſeruations concerning the ſtate of Perſia, taken in the foreſayd firſt voyage into thoſe partes, and written by M. Ieffrey Ducket, one of the Agents employed in the ſame.

SHamachie is the faireſt towne in all Media, and the chiefeſt commoditie of that countrey is rawe ſilke, and the greateſt plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from Shamachie called Araſh: and within three dayes iourney of Araſh, is a countrey named Groiſine, whoſe inhabitants are Chriſtians, and are thought to bee they which are otherwiſe called Georgians: there is alſo much ſilke to bee ſolde. The cheefe Towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Perſia, an incredible quantitie of Haſell nuts, all of one ſoꝛt and goodneſſe, and as good and chiuse ſhaled as are our Filberds. Of theſe are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden.

Of the name of the Sophie of Perſia, and why he is called the Shawgh, and of other cuſtomes.

THe king of Perſia (whom here we call the great Sophi) is not there ſo called, but is called the Shawgh. It were there daungerous to call him by the name of Sophi, becauſe that Sophi in the Perſian tongue, is a begger, and it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is ſituate in a goodly fertile valley of three oꝛ foure dayes iourney in length. The towne is but euill builded, and foꝛ the moſt part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but onely dried at the Sunne, as is the moſt part of the building of all Perſia. The king hath not come out of the compaſſe of his owne houſe, in three and thirtie oꝛ foure and thirtie yeeres, whereof the cauſe is not knowen, but as they ſay, it is vpon a ſuperſtition of certaine prophecies to which they are greatly addicted: hee is now about foureſcoꝛe yeeres of age, and very luſtie. And to keepe him the moꝛe luſtie, hee hath foure wiues alwayes, and about three hundred concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about, brought vnto him, whom he diligently peruſeth, feeling them in all partes, taking ſuch as he liketh, and putting away ſome of them which hee hath kept before, and with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth ſome ſuch as hath done him the beſt ſeruice. And if he chaunce to take any mans wife, her huſband is very glad thereof, and in recompence of her, oftentimes he giueth the huſband one of his olde ſcoꝛe, whom he thankfully receiueth.

How ſtrangers are vſed.

If any ſtranger being a Chriſtian ſhall come before him, he muſt put on a new paire of ſhoes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entereth, there is digged as it were, a ranke all the way, vntill he come to the place where he ſhall talke with the king, who ſtandeth alwayes aboue in a gallerie, when he talketh with any ſtrangers: and when the ſtranger is departed, then is the caulie caſt downe, and the ground made euen againe.

Of the religion of the Perſians.

THeir religion is all one with the Turkes, ſauing that they differ who was the right ſucceſſour of Mahumet. The Turkes ſay that it was one Homer and his ſonne Viman. But the Perſians ſay that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would prooue in this maner. They ſay there was a counſell called to decide the matter who ſhould bee the ſucceſſour: and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleaſure therein, there came among them a little Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleaſure that Mortus Ali ſhould bee his ſucceſſour. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man, and ſlew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a ſword that he fought withall, with the which he conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he ſtroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that ſhortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which hee charged them to lay the body & ſword of Mortus Ali, and to ſuffer the Camel to carie it whither he would.

A goodly and well grounded religion.

The

The which being perfourmed, the ſaid white camell caried the ſword and body of Mortus Ali vnto the ſea ſide, and the camell going a good way into the ſea, was with the ſword and body of Mortus Ali taken vp into heauen, for whoſe returne they haue long looked in Perſia. And for this cauſe, the king alwayes keepeth a horſe readie ladled for him, and alſo of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but ſhe died in the yeere of our Lorde 1573. And ſay furthermore, that if hee come not ſhortly, they ſhalbe of our beliefe: much like the Iewes, looking for their Meſſias to come and reigne among them, like a worldly king for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are nowe in among the Chriſtians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

The Shaugh, or king of Perſia, is nothing in ſtrength and power comparable vnto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turkes: neither hath hee any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebuſſes. Notwithſtanding, his eldeſt ſonne Ismael, about twentie and fiue yeeres paſt, fought a great battaile with the Turke, and ſlew of his armie about an hundreth thouſand men, who after his returne, was by his father caſt into priſon, and there continueth vntil this day: for his father the Shaugh, had him in ſuſpition that he would haue put him downe, and haue taken the regiment vnto himſelfe.

Their opinion of Chriſt. Their opinion of Chriſt is, that hee was an holy man, and a great Prophete, but not like vnto Mahumet: ſaying, that Mahumet was the laſt prophet, by whome all things were finiſhed, and was therefore the greateſt. To proue that Chriſt was not Gods ſonne, they ſay that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no ſonne or children. They goe on pilgrimage from the furtheſt part of Perſia, vnto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they viſit alſo the Sepulchre of Chriſt at Ieruſalem, which they now call Couche Kalye.

The moſt part of ſpices which commeth into Perſia, is brought from the Iſlande of Ormus, ſituate in the gulfe of Perſia, called Sinus Perſicus, betweene the maine lande of Perſia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touche at Ormus both in their voyage to Eaſt India, and homewarde againe, and from thence bying all ſuch ſpices as are occupied in Perſia and the regions there about: for of pepper they bying very ſmall quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bying pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they ſell as good cheape as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine lande of Perſia, and the Portingals fetche their freſh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Perſia.

Their money. Within Perſia, they haue neither golde nor ſiluer mines, yet haue they coyned money, both of golde and ſiluer, and alſo other ſmall moneis of copper. There is brought into Perſia an incredible ſumme of Dutch dolers, which for the moſt part are there employed in rawe ſilke.

Their bookes and learning. They haue fewe bookes, and leſſe learning, and are for the moſt part very brutiſh in all kinde of good ſciences, ſauing in ſome kind of ſilke workes, and in ſuch things as pertaine to the furniture of horſes, in the which they are paſſing good.

Such was the lawe of the Sacrouniens for treaſon. Their lawes are, as is their religion, wicked and deteſtable. And if any man offend the prince, he puniſheth it extreemely, not onely in the perſon that offendeth, but alſo in his children, and in as many as are of his kinne. Theft and murther are often puniſhed, yet none otherwiſe then pleaſeth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

Differences for religion. There is oftentimes great mutenie among the people in great townes, which of Mortus Ali ſonnes was greateſt: Inſomuch that ſometimes in the towne two or three thouſande people are together by the eares for the ſame, as I haue ſeene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouill, and alſo in the great citie of Teueris, where I haue ſeene a man comming from fighting, in a hauen bynging in his hande foure or fiue mens heads, carrying them by the haire of the head: for although they ſhaue their heads moſt commonly twiſe a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon the crowne, about two foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue that tuft of haire vpon their heads. They anſwere, that thereby they may eaſlyer bee caried vp into heauen, when they are dead.

Their prieſts, and preaching. Their Lent. For their religion, they haue certaine prieſtes, who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vſe euery morning and afternoone, to goe vp to the tops of their Churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet & Mortus Ali: and other preaching haue they none. Their Lent is after Chriſtmas, not in abſtinence from fleſh onely, but from all meates and drinkes, vntill the day be off the ſkie: but then they eate ſometimes the whole night. And although it be againſt their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great exceſſe thereof, and be wonken.

Their lent beginneth at the newe Moone, and they doe not enter into it vntill they haue seene the same: Neither yet doeth their lent ende, vntill they haue seene the next newe Moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seene in long time.

Their saints and holy men.

They haue among them certaine holy men, whome they call Setes, counted holy for that they or any of their auncestours haue bene on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whosoeuer goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of Mahumet, both hee and all his posteritie, are euer after called Setes, and counted for holy men, and haue no lesse opinion of themselues. And if a man contrary one of these, hee will say that hee is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeued: and that hee cannot lie, although he lye neuer so shamefully. Thus a man may be to holy, as his pride is greater then spirituall pride, of a minde puffed vp with his owne opinion of holinesse.

Pilgrimage.

These Setes doe vse to shaue their heads all ouer, sauing on the sides a little aboue the temples, the which they leaue vnshauen, and vse to braide the same as women doe their heire, and to weare it as long as it will growe.

Their prayer and worshipping of God and Mahumet.

Euery morning they vse to worship God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, and in praying turne themselues toward the South, because Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in trauaile on the way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselues to the South, and will laye their gownes before them, with their swordes and beades, and so standing vpright, worship to the South: And many times in their prayers kneele downe and kisse their beades, or some what els that lieth before them.

Washing and outward cleanlinesse.

The men or women doe neuer go to make water, but they vse to take with them a potte with a spoute, and after they haue made water, they flash some water vpon their priuie parres, and thus doe the women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water, the men doe cowre downe as well as the women.

Their sweating.

When they earnestly affirme a matter, they will sweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, and sometimes by al at ones: as thus in their owne language, saying, Olla Mahumet Ali. But if hee sweare by the Shaughes head, in saying Shaugham bathe, you may then beleeue him if you will.

The kings magnificence.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although sometimes in a moneth or sixe weekes, none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they daply to the court, and tarie there a certaine time, vntill they haue knowen his pleasure whether he will command them any thing or not. He is watched euery night with a thousand of his men, which are called his Curshes, who are they that hee vseth to sende into the Countreis about his greatest affaires.

Pursiuants.

When he sendeth any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should beate any of them to death.

The kings company with his wiues and concubines.

The Shaugh occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathstoue, and when hee is disposed to goe thither, hee taketh with him fiue or sixe of his concubines, more or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greatest part of his life, hee spendeth amongst his wiues and concubines. Hee hath nowe reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer esteeme their kings, if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or more: for they measure the fauour of God by a mans prosperitie, or his displeasure by a mans misfortune or aduersitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reuerence, because hee hath reigned king so long time.

The succession of the kingdome.

I haue saide before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him listeth: and if he chaunce to haue any children by any of his concubines, and bee minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whome hee so fauoureth, hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whome hee so loueth best, hee ordaineth to bee king after him.

Circumcision.

What I heard of the maner of their marriages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares, I may not commit to writing: their fasting I haue declared before. They vse circumcision vnto children of seuen yeeres of age, as doe the Turkes.

Their houses and maner of eating.

Their houses (as I haue said) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne: In their houses they haue but little furniture of houshold stuffe, except it be their carpets, and some copper worke: for all their kettles and dishes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged as doe tailers. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet better or worse, and the whole house or roome wherein hee sitteth, is wholy couered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat rooles, couered with earth: and in the sommer time, they lie vpon them all night.

They haue many bond seruants both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of

of the beſt kinde of Marchandiſe that any man may bying. When they buy any maydes or pong women, they vſe to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horſes: when one hath bought a young woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne vſe as long as him liſteth, and then ſelleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is ſometimes ſolde in the ſpace of foure or fiue yeeres, twelue, or twentie times. If a man keepe a bonde woman for his owne vſe, and if hee finde her to be falſe to him, and giue her bodie to any other, hee may kill her if her will. Bondmen and bond women. Women bought and ſold, and let to hire.

When a marchant or trauailer commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or ſometimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when hee commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the ſame alſo: for there they vſe to put out their women to hire, as wee doe here hackney horſes.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of Iauar, which falleth into the Caſpian ſea, by a towne called Backo, neere vnto which towne is a ſtrange thing to behold. For there iſſueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of Oyle, which Oyle they fetch from the vtermoſt bounds of all Perſia: it ſerueth all the Countrey to burne in their houſes. Abundance of Oyle iſſuing out of the ground.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte: they vſe to cary it throughout all the Countrey vpon kine & aſſes, of which you ſhall oftentimes meete, with foure or fiue hundred in a companie. There is alſo by the ſaid towne of Backo, an other kinde of oyle which is white and very precious: and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that here is called Petroleum. There is alſo not farre from Shamaky, a thing like vnto tarre, and iſſueth out of the ground, whereof wee haue made the proofe, that in our ſhips it ſerueth well in the ſtead of tarre. Oleum Petroleum.

In Perſia are kine of two ſorts, the one like vnto ours in theſe partes, the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones, and very leane, and but little haire vpon them: their milke is wonderfull ſweete: they are like vnto them which are ſpoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao ſignified the ſeuen deare yeeres: for a leaner or more euill fauoured beaſt, can no man ſee. Two ſorts of kine.

In the Countrey of Shiruan (ſometime called Media) if you chaunce to lye in the fields neere vnto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you ſhall haue about you two or three hundred dogges, which make a marueilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it ſhall ſcape them hardly but they will haue part with you. Dogges in great plentie.

The Caſpian ſea, doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except ſometimes by rage of winde it ſwelleth vp very high: the water is very ſalt. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great riuer of Volga, maketh the water freſh at the leaſt twentie leagues into the ſea. The Caſpian ſea is marueilous full of fiſh, but no kinde of monſtrous fiſh, as farre as I could vnderſtand, yet hath it ſundrie ſortes of fiſhes which are not in theſe partes of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the ſheepe great, hauing very great rumps with much fat vpon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The Copie of a letter ſent to the Emperour of Moſcouie, by Chriſtopher Hodſdon, and William Burrough, Anno 1570.

MOſt mighty Emperour, &c. Whereas ſir William Garrard and his fellowſhip, the Companie of Engliſh Marchants this laſt winter ſent hither to the Narue, 3. ſhips laden with marchandiſe, which was left here, & with it Chriſtopher Hodſdon one of the ſaide fellowſhip and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came firſt hither, and vntill ſuch time as hee had diſpatched thoſe ſhippes from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelue or thirteene ſailes of good ſhippes, againſt this ſhipping, wherefore hee wrote vnto the ſaide ſir William Garrard and his companie to ſende hither this ſpring the ſaide number of thirteene ſhippes. And becauſe that in their comming hither wee founde the Freebooters on the ſea, and ſuppoſing this yeere that they would be very ſtrong, hee therefore gaue the ſaide ſir William and his Companie aduiſe, to furniſh the ſaide number of ſhippes ſo ſtrongly, as they ſhoulde bee able to withſtande the face of the Freebooters: Whereupon they haue according to his aduiſe ſent this yeere thirteene good ſhippes together well furniſhed with men and munition, and all other neceſſaries for the ſeaſes, of which 13. ſhippes William Burrough one of the ſaid fellowſhip is Captaine generall,

vnto whome there was giuen in charge, that if hee mette with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoeuer robbers and theeues, that are enemies to your highnesse, hee should doe his best to apprehende and take them: It so happened that the tenth day of this moneth the saide William with his fleete, mette with fiue shippes of the Freebooters neere vnto an Iſlande called Tuttee, which is about 50. verſts from Narue, vnto which Freebooters he with his fleete gaue chase, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but 3. men, the rest were fledde to shoare in their boates amongſt the woods vpon Tuttee, on which shippe hee set fire and burnt her. Hee also tooke foure more of those shippes which are nowe here, and one shippe escaped him: out of which foure shippes some of the men fled in their boates and so escaped, others were slaine in fight, and some of them when they sawe they coulde not escape, cast themselues willingly into the Sea, and were drowned. So that in these 5. shippes were left but 83. men.

Fiue shippes of Freebooters taken.

The saide William Borough when hee came hither to Narue, finding here Chriſtopher Hodſdon aforenamed, both the saide Chriſtopher and William, together in the name of sir William Garrard, and the rest of their whole Companie and fellowship, did present vnto your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our shippes 82. men, which wee deliuered here vnto Knese Voivoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we haue kept by vs, whose name is Haunce Snarke a Captaine. And the cause why we haue done it is this: When we should haue deliuered him with the rest of his fellowes vnto the Viouodaes officers, there were of our English men more then 50. which fell on their knees vnto vs, requesting that hee might be reserued in the shippe, and carried backe into England: and the cause why they so earnestly intreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their liues saued, with great fauour besides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will carry him home with vs into England, wherein wee request your Maiesties fauour: notwithstanding what you command of him shalbe obserued.

Wee haue also sent our seruant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings, as wee found in those shippes: whereby your Maiestie may see by whome, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended, which writings wee haue commended vnto Knese Yoriue your Maiesties Viouoda at Plasco, by our seruant. And haue requested his furtherance for the safe deliuerie of them to your Maiesties handes: which writings when you haue perused, wee desire that they may be returned vnto vs by this our seruant, as speedily as may be: for these shippes which we nowe haue here, will be soone dispatched from hence, for that wee haue not goods to lade about the halfe of them. And the cause is, we haue this winter (by your Maiesties order) bene kept from traffiquing, to the companies great losse. But hoping your Maiestie will hereafter haue consideration thereof, and that we may haue free libertie to traffique in all parts of your Maiesties Countreis, according to the priuiledge giuen vnto vs, wee may for your Maiesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Narue the 15. of July, Anno 1570.

Your Maiesties most humble
and obedient,

{ Chriſtopher Hodſdon,
{ William Borough.

A note of the proceeding of M. Anthonie Ienkinſon, Ambaſſador *from the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, to the Emperour of Russia, from the time of his arriuall there, being the 26. of July 1571. vntill his departure from thence the 23. of July, 1572.*

THe said 26. day I arriued with the two good shippes called the Swallow and the Harry in safetie at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia aforesaide, and landed at Rose Island, from whence immediatly I sent away my Interpreter Daniel Siluester in poste to warres the Court, being then at the Mosco, whereby his Maiestie might be aduertised of my arriuall in his Dominions, as also to knowe his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse. And remayning at the saide Iland two or three dayes, to haue conference with your Agent about your affaires. I did well perceiue by the moyses of the saide Agent, and others your seruants, that I was entred into

into great perill and danger of my life, for they reported to mee that they heard saide at the Mosco, that the Princes displeasure was such against mee, that if ever I came into his Countrey again I should loose my head, with other words of discouragement: Whereat, I was not a little amazed, not knowing whether it were best for mee to proceede forwards, or to returne home againe with the shippes for the safegard of my life. But calling to minde mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my selfe not to have offended his Maiestie any maner of wayes either in word or deede, or by making former promises not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falsely surmised, and being desirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to iustifie my true dealings, and to reproove my said enemies as well here as there, who have not ceased of late by untrue reports to impute the cause of the saide Emperours displeasure towards you to proceede of my dealings, and promises made to him at my last being with him (although by his lawes to the Queenes Maiestie, and by his owne wordes to mee the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my selfe rather to put my life into his handes, and by the providence of God to prosecute the charge committed unto mee, then to returne home in vaine, discouraged with the wordes of such, who had rather that I had tarried at home, then to bee sent over with such credite, whereby I might sift out their evill doings, the onely cause of your losse.

Wherefore, leaving the saide shippes the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from the seaside, and the first of August arrived at Colmogro, where I remayned attending the returne of my saide messenger with order from his Maiestie.

But all the Countrey being sore visited by the hande of God with the plague, passage in every place was shutte up, that none might passe in paine of death: By messenger being eight hundreth miles upon his way, was stayed, and kept at a towne called Shasko, and might not bee suffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or sende unto mee: by meanes whereof in the space of foure monethes, I could neither heare nor know what was became of him, in which time my saide messenger founde meanes to advertise the Governour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his stay, as of the cause of his comming thither, who sent him worde that it was not possible to passe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maiestie, who was gone to the warres against the Swethens, and that hee would advertise his highnesse so soone as hee might conveniently: And so my saide messenger was forced to remaine there still without answere. During which time of his stay though the great dearth (as aforesaide,) I founde meanes to sende another messenger, with a guide by an unknowen way through wildernesse, a thousande miles about, thinking that way hee should passe without let: but it prooved contrary, for likewise hee being passed a great part of his iourney, fell into the handes of a watche, and escaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horses had not bene burnt, according to the lawe provided for such as would seeke to passe by indirect wayes, and many have felt the smart thereof, which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither could that messenger returne backe unto mee.

And thus was I kept without answere or order from his Maiestie, and remained at the saide Colmogro, untill the 18. of Januarie following, neither having a Gentleman to safegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey fashion for Ambassadours, which argued his grievous displeasure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiving the same, used towards mee and my companie some discourtesies: but about the 28. day aforesaid, the plague ceased, and the passages being opened, there came order from his Maiestie that I should have poste horses, and be suffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Perasslaue neere to the Court, his Maiestie being newly returned frō the said warres. And I arrived at the said Perasslaue the 3. of February, where I remained under the charge of a gentleman, having then a house appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but so straitly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or send unto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March following, I was sent for to the Court, and being within 3. miles of the same, a poste was sent to the Gentleman which had charge of mee to returne backe againe with mee to the said Perasslaue, and to remaine there untill his Maiesties further pleasure, wherewith I was much dismayed, and marveled what that sodden change meant, and the rather, because it was a troublesome time, and his Maiestie much disquieted through the ill successe of his affaires, (as I did understand,) And the twentieth of the same, I was sent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Maiestie, who caused mee to kisse his hande, and gave gratious audience unto my Oration, gratefully receiving and accepting the Queenes Maiesties princely letters, and her presente, in the presence of all his nobilitie. After I had finished my Oration to long here to rehearse, and delivered her highnesse letters, and presente (as aforesaid) the Emperour sitting in royal estate stood by

and ſaid, How doth Queene Elizabeth my ſiſter, is ſhe in health? to whom I anſwered, God hath bleſſe her Maieſtie with health, and peace, and doeth with the like vnto thee Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maieſtie ſitting downe againe, commanded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and auoyde the chamber, ſauing the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counſell, and willing me to approch neere vnto him with my Interpretor, ſaid vnto me theſe words.

Anthonie, the laſt time thou waſt with vs heare, wee did commit vnto thee our truſtie and ſecret Meſſage, to bee declared vnto the Queenes Maieſtie herſelfe thy Miſtreſſe at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time we appointed, with a full anſwere of the ſame from her highneſſe. And in the meane time there came vnto vs at ſeuerall times three meſſengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narue about the Marchants affaires: to whome we ſent our meſſenger to know whether thou Anthonie, were returned home in ſafetie, and when thou ſhouldeſt returne vnto vs againe: but thoſe meſſengers couldne tell vs nothing, and did miſcall, and abuſe with euill wordes, both our meſſenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderſtanding that the ſaide Goodman had letters about him, wee cauſed him to be ſearched, with whome were found many letters, wherein was written much againſt our Princely eſtate, and that in our Empire were many vnlawfull things done, whereat wee were much grieued, and would ſuffer none of thoſe rude meſſengers to haue acceſſe vnto vs: and ſhortly after wee were informed that one Thomas Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambaſſadour from the Queene, and wee ſent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Moſco, at which time wee looked that thou ſhouldeſt haue returned vnto vs againe. And the ſaide Thomas being arriued at our ſaide Citie, wee ſent vnto him diuers times, that hee ſhoulde come and conferre with our Counſell, whereby wee might vnderſtande the cauſe of his comming, looking for anſwere of thoſe our princely affaires committed vnto thee. But hee refuſed to come to our ſaide Counſell: wherefore, and for that our ſaide Citie was viſited with plague, the ſaide Thomas was the longer kept from our preſence. Which being ceaſed, forthwith wee gaue him acceſſe and audience, but all his talke with vs, was about Marchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Marchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the ſtaye of our Princely treaſures: But firſt Princes affaires are to bee eſtabliſhed, and then Marchants. After this the ſaide Thomas Randolfe was with vs at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie and vs, might be eſtabliſhed for euer, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambaſſadour and vs, and thereupon wee ſent our Ambaſſadour into England with him to ende the ſame, but our Emballadour returned vnto vs againe, without finiſhing our ſaid affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the agreement betwixt vs, and your ſaid Ambaſſadour.

Thus when his Maieſtie had made a long diſcourſe, I humbly beſeeched his highneſſe to heare me graciouſly, and to giue me leaue to ſpeake without offence, and to beleeue thoſe words to be true which I ſhould ſpeake. Which he graunted, and theſe were my wordes.

Moſt noble and famous Prince, the meſſage which thy highneſſe did ſende by mee vnto the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie touching thy Princely and ſecret affaires, immediatly, and ſo ſoone as I came home, I did declare both ſecretly and truely vnto the Queenes Maieſtie her ſelfe, word for word, as thou Lorde didſt commaunde mee. Which her highneſſe did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to anſwere the ſame, the next ſhipping after her Maieſtie did ſende vnto thee Lorde, her highneſſe Ambaſſadour Thomas Randolfe, whoſe approoued wiſedome and fidelitie was vnto her Maieſtie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to bee ſent to ſo worthy a Prince, who had Commiſſion not only to treate with thy Maieſtie of Marchants affaires, but alſo of thoſe thy Princely and ſecret affaires committed vnto mee. And the cauſe (moſt gracious Prince) that I was not ſent againe, was, for that I was imployed in ſeruice vpon the Seas againſt the Queenes Maieſties enemies, and was not returned home at ſuch time as Maiſter Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Maieſties Countrey, otherwiſe I had bene ſent. And whereas thy Maieſtie ſaweth, that Thomas Randolfe would not treate with thy Counſell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commiſſion: which was: Firſt to deale with thy Maieſtie thy ſelfe, which order is commonly vſed among all Princes, when they ſende their Ambaſſadours about matters of great waighte. And whereas the ſaide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the ſame time, and promiſed the ſame ſhould bee performed by the Queene her Maieſtie: Whereupon (Lorde) thou didſt ſende thy Ambaſſadour with him into Englande, for anſwere thereof: It may pleaſe thy Maie-

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ſtie to vnderſtand, that as the ſaid Thomas Randolfe doth confeſſe, that in deede he had talke with thy Highnes, and counſell diuers times about princely affaires: euen ſo he denieth that euer he did agree, conclude, or make any promiſe in any condition or order, as is alleaged otherwiſe then it ſhould pleaſe the Queene her Maieſtie to like of, at his returne home, which he did iuſtifie to thy Highnes Ambaſſador his face in England. Wherefore moſt mightie Prince, it doth wel appeare, that either thy Ambaſſador did vntruly enforme thy Maieſtie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes Highnes her Ambaſſador, for want of a good Interpretor, was not well vnderſtoode: and how thankefully the Queene her Maieſtie did receaue thy Highnes commendations, and letters ſent by thy Maieſties Ambaſſador, and how graciouſly ſhe gaue him audience ſundry times, vſing him with ſuch honour in al points for thy ſake Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer ſhewed to any Ambaſſador in our Realme, and how honorably with full anſwere in all things, her Maieſtie diſmiſſed him, when he had finiſhed all thy princely affaires (as it ſeemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately ſent with her Highnes letter vnto thee Lord, by her Meſſenger Robert Beaſt, and her Maieſtie did ſuppoſe that that thy Ambaſſador would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy Highnes would haue bene ſatisfied in all things: otherwiſe ſhe would haue ſent her Maieſties Ambaſſador with him vnto thee Lord againe. But now her Highnes perceauing that thy Maieſtie is not fully ſatisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her Highnes Ambaſſador, nor by thine owne Ambaſſador Andrea Sauyne, nor yet by her Maieſties letter, ſent by the ſaid Andrea: and alſo vnderſtanding thy great griefe and diſpleaſure towards ſir William Garret, and his company, merchants trafficking in thy Maieſties dominions, hath thought good to ſend me at this preſent vnto thee Lord Emperour, and great Duke, as wel with her Highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as alſo to knowe the iuſt cauſe of thy Maieſties ſaid diſpleaſure towards the ſaid companie of merchants: and hath commanded me to anſwere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her Highnes doth ſuppoſe thy Maieſties indignation, to proceede rather vpon the euill, and vntrue reports of the late Ambaſſador in England, and of ſuch wicked perſons of our nation reſident here in thy Highnes dominions, rebels to her Maieſtie, and their countrie, then of any iuſt deſerts of the ſaid merchants, who neuer willingly deſerues thy Highneſſe diſpleaſure, but rather fauour in all their doinges and meaninges. And ſince the firſt time of their trafficking in thy Maieſties dominions, which is now nineteene yeeres, the ſaid merchants haue bene, and are alwaies readie and willing cruelly to ſerue thy highneſſe of all thinges meete for thy treaſurie, in time of peace and of warre in deſpite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the Eaſt ſeas were agreed to ſtoppe the ſounde, and the way to the Narue, and haue brought, and do bring from time to time ſuch commodities to thee Lord, as her Maieſty doth not ſuffer to be tranſported forth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world. And what great loſſes the ſayd Sir William Garret, with his companie hath ſuſtained of late yeeres in this trade, as wel by ſhipwracke, as by falſe ſeruants it is manifeſtly knowen: and what ſeruice the ſaid companies ſhips did vnto thy Maieſtie againſt thy enemies, two yeeres paſt in going to the Narue, when they fought with the king of Poles ſhippes Freebutters, and burnt the ſame and ſlew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the Narue, I truſt thy Highnes doth not forget. Wherefore moſt mighty Prince, the premiſes conſidered, the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie thy louing Siſter, doeth requeſt thy Highnes to reſtore the ſaide Sir William Garret with his companie into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffike with thy accuſtomed goodnes and iuſtice, to be miniſtred vnto them throughout all thy Maieſties dominions, as afore time: and that the ſame may be ſignified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, any thy highneſſe commandement or reſtraint to the contrarie notwithſtanding. And further that it will pleaſe thy Maieſtie, not to giue credite to falſe reporters, and vntrue ſuggeſtions of ſuch as are enemies, and ſuch as neither would haue mutuall amity to continue betwixt your Maieſties, nor yet entercourſe betwixt your countries. And ſuch rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy Highnes dominions, ſeeking to ſowe diſſencions betwixt your Maieſties by falſe ſurmiſes, ſpending away their maſters goodes vnthriftily, and will not come home to giue vp their accounts, aduancing themſelues to bee merchants, and able to ſerue thy Highnes of all thinges fitte for thy treaſurie, whereas indeede they be of no credite, nor able of themſelues to doe thy Maieſtie anie ſeruice at all: the Queenes Highneſſe requeſt is, that it would pleaſe thy Maieſtie to commaunde that ſuch perſons may bee deliuered vnto me to be carried home, leaſt by their remaining here, and hauing practiſes & friendſhip with ſuch as be not thy highneſſe friends, their euill doing might be a cauſe hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from Sir William Garret and his companie, who haue true meaning in all

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their beings, and are ready to serue thy Highnes at all times, vsing many other wordes to the aduancement of your crewes, and the disgracing of your enemies, and so I ended for that time.

Then said his Maiestie, we haue heard you, and will consider of all things further, when we haue read the Queene our sisters letters: to whome I answered, that I supposed his Maiestie should by those letters vnderstand her Highnes full mind to his contentation, and what wantes in writing, I had credite to accomplish in word. Wherewith his Maiestie seemed to be well pleased, and commanded me to sit downe. And after pawsing a while, his Maiestie said these wordes vnto me, It is now a time which we spend in talking, and praying, being the weeke before Easter, and for that we will shortly depart from hence, towards our borders of Nouogrode, we can not giue you answere, nor your dispatch here, but you shall goe from hence, and tarry vs vpon the way, where we will shortly come, and then you shall knowe our pleasure, and haue your dispatch. And so I was dismissed to my lodging, and the same day I had a dinner ready dyett sent me from his Maiestie, with great store of vinikes, of diuers sortes, and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of March aforesaide, the chiefe Secretarie to his Maiestie, sent vnto mee a Gentleman, to signifie vnto mee, that the Emperours Maiesties pleasure was, I should immediatly depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles, from the aforesaid Sloboda, and there to tary his highnes comming vnto a place called Staryts, three score miles from the said Otwer.

Then I sent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretarie, requesting him to further, and shew his fauour vnto our said merchants in their sutes, which they should haue occasion to moue in my absence: who sent me word againe, that they should be well assured of his friendship, & furtherance in all their sutes. And forthwith post horses were sent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And so departing from the saide Sloboda, I arriued at the saide Otwer, the 28. of March aforesaide, where I remained till the eight of May following. Then I was sent for, to come vnto his Maiestie, to the saide Staryts, where I arriued the tenth of the same, and the twelfth of the same, I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretarie, who at our meeting sayde vnto mee these wordes.

Our Lord Emperour, and great Duke, hath not onely perused the Queene her Highnes letters sent by you, and thereby doth perceaue her mind, as well touching their princely affaires, as also her earnest request in the merchants behalfe, but also hath well pondered your wordes. And therefore his Maiesties pleasure is, that you let me vnderstand, what sutes you haue to moue in the merchants behalfe, or otherwise, for that to morrowe, you shall haue accesse againe vnto his Highnes, and shall haue full answere in all things, with your dispatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of diuers matters, I gaue him in writing certaine briefe articles of requests, which I had drawen out ready, as followeth.

1. First the Queenes Maiestie her request is, that it would please the Emperours Highnes to let me knowe the iust cause of his great displeasure fallen vpon sir William Garret, & his companie, who neuer deserued the same, to their knowledge.

2. Also that it would please his Highnes, not to giue credite vnto false and vntrue reportes, by such as seeke to sowe dissention, and breake friendshippe, betwixt the Queenes Highnes, and his Maiestie.

3. Also that it would please his Maiesty to receaue the said sir William Garret, with his companie, into his fauour againe, and to restore them to their former priuiledges, and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of all his Maiesties dominions, in as ample manner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priuiledge, and accustomed goodnes.

4. Also it would please his Highnes to grant, that the said companie of merchants may haue iustice of all his subiects, as well for money owing vnto them, as other their griefes and iniuries, throughout all his dominions suffred since the time of his displeasure, during which time, the merchants were forced by seuere iustice to answer to all mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5. Also that his Maiestie would vnderstand, that much debts are owing to the said merchants, by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and some executed, and the said merchants know not how to be paid, and answered the same, except his Highnes pitie their case, and command some order to be taken therein.

6. Also it would please his Highnes to command that the saide merchants may be paide all such summe, or summes of money as are owing, and due vnto them by his Maiestie, for wares, as well English, as Shamakye, taken into his Highnes treasurie by his officers in sundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the said companie of merchants.

7 Alſo it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that at this preſent time there are in Perſia of Engliſh merchants, Thomas Baniſter, and Geofrye Ducket, with their companie, and goods, ready to come into his Maieſties Countrey of Aſtracan, and would haue come the laſt yeere, but that the ſhip, with our merchants, and marriners appointed to goe for them, were ſtaied at Aſtracan by his Highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the ſaid merchants. Wherefore it may now pleaſe his Maieſtie, to direct his princely letters vnto his Captaines, and rulers, both at Aſtracan, and Cazan, not onely to ſuffer our people, as well merchants, as marriners, quietly, and freely to paſſe and repaſſe with their ſhippes, barkes, or other veſſels downe the riuer Volga, and ouer the Mare Caſpium, to fetch the ſaid Engliſh merchants, with their companie, and goods, out of the ſaid Perſia, into his Maieſties dominions, but alſo that it would pleaſe his Highnes ſtrightly to command, that when the ſaid Thomas Banneſter, and Geofrye Ducket, with their charge, ſhall arriue at the ſaide Aſtracan, his Maieſties Captaine there, and in all other places, vppon the riuer Volga, ſhall ſo aide and aſſiſt the ſaid merchants, as they may be ſafely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and others their enemies.

8 Alſo it may pleaſe his Highnes to vnderſtand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamakye, haue bene ill vſed by his Maieſties Cuſtomers, both at Aſtracan, and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay cuſtome for their wares, although they ſolde no part thereof, but brought the ſame into his Highnes treaſurie at Sloboda: and the ſaid Cuſtomers did not only exact, and take much more cuſtome then was due by his Maieſties lawes, but alſo for want of preſent monie, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted cuſtome, and doe keepe the ſame as a pawne. It may therefore pleaſe his Highnes to direct his princely letters to the ſaid Cuſtomers, to ſignifie vnto them his great goodnes againe reſtored vnto the ſaide Engliſh merchants, as alſo to command them to ſend the ſaid merchants their ſaid goods ſo detained, vp to the Musko, they paying ſuch cuſtome for the ſame, as ſhall be by his Maieſtie appointed.

9 Alſo that it would pleaſe his Highnes to grant, that ſir William Garret, with his companie, may eſtabliſh their trade for merchandiſe at Colmogro in Dwina, and that ſuch wares as ſhall be brought out of our Countrey for his treaſurie might be looked vpon, and receaued by his officers there: and that his Maieſties people trafficking with our merchants, may bring downe their commodities to the ſaid Colmogro, by meanes whereof the ſaide Engliſh merchants auoiding great troubles, and charges, in tranſporting their goods ſo farre, and into ſo many places of his dominions, may ſell the ſame better cheape, to the benefite of his Maieſties ſubiects.

10 Alſo if it ſeemed good to his Highnes, that the whole trade likewiſe from Perſia, Boghar, and all other thoſe Countreies beyond the Mare Caſpium, might be eſtabliſhed at Aſtracan, the ancient marte towne in times paſt, which would be both for the great honour, and profite of his Maieſtie, and ſubiects, as I am well able to proue, if it will pleaſe his Highnes to appoint any of his counſell to talke with me therein.

11 Alſo foraſmuch as it pleaſed his Maieſtie immediatly after the burning of the Musko, to command that the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſhould giue in a note into his treaſurie, for their loſſes ſuſtained by the ſaid fire, which was done by William Rowlye, then cheefe Agent for ſir William Garret, and his company, and the particulars in the ſame note confirmed with the ſaid fire, did amount to the ſumme of 10000. rubbles, and aboue: It may pleaſe his Highnes of his accuſtomed goodnes, and great clemencie, to conſider of the ſame, and to giue the ſaide companie ſo much as ſhall ſeeme good vnto his Maieſtie, towards their ſaid loſſes.

12 Alſo that it will pleaſe his Highnes, to vnderſtand that the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, at the earneſt ſuite and requeſt of Andrea Sauyne his Maieſties Ambaſſador, did not onely pardon and forgiue Thomas Glouer, his great and grieuous offences towards her Highnes committed, only for his Maieſties ſake, but alſo commanded ſir William Garret, with his companie, to deale fauourably with the ſaid Glouer, in his accompts, to whome he was indebted greatly, and being their ſeruant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the ſaid ſir William Garret, with his companie, counted with the ſaide Glouer, and ended all thinges, euen to his ſaid contentation, and was found to be debter to the ſaid companie, 4000. robbles, and aboue, and bound him ſelfe both by his ſolemne othe, and his hand writing, to pay the ſame immediatly after his returne into Ruſſia, with the ſaid Andrea Sauyne, vnto Nicholas Proctor, cheefe Agent there, for the ſaid companie of merchantes. But although it is now two yeeres paſt, ſince the ſaide agreement, and that the ſaid Nicholas hath diuers, and ſundry times requeſted the ſaid monie of the ſaid Thomas, yet will he not pay the ſame debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleaging that his Maieſtie owech him a great ſumme of money, without the paiment whereof, he can not be able to pay the ſaid merchants his owne debt long ſithence, to their great hinderance. In conſidera-

tion

tion of the premisses, It may please his Highnes, to giue order that the said Glouer may be paid, and that he may discharge his debt to the saide company of merchants, and the rather for that he found such mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maisties sake.

13 Also forasmuch as Ralfe Rutter, a rebell to the Queenes Maiestie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to sir William Garret, and his company, hath of long time remained here, hauing of the spoiles and goods of the said merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his hands, riotously spending the same, during the time that he was their seruant, and would not come home when he was sent for, and also for that the Queenes Maiestie doth vnderstand, that the said Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe seeke by all false meanes, to sowe dissention, and breake amitie betwixt their Maisties, and to ouerthowe the trade of the said merchants: her Highnes request is, that the said Ralfe, with his complices, may be deliuered vnto me, to be carried home, and together of her Maiesties subiects, not being of the societie of the said sir William Garret, and his companie, to be suffered to traffike within his Highnes dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to be sent home: for that the said merchants with great charges and losses, both by shipwracke, and riotous seruants, did first finde out this trade, and haue continued the same, these 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Also whereas diuers Makers, and artificers of our nation, are here in his Maisties seruice, and doe finde themselues grieued that they can not haue licence to depart home into their native Countrey, at their will and pleasure: the Queenes Maiesties request is, according to her Highnes writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will please his Maiestie to permit, and suffer such artificers, here resident in the seruice of his Highnes, to haue free libertie to depart, and goe home with mee, if they request the same, but also all other the like, which shall come hereafter to serue his Maiestie, to haue free libertie to depart likewise, without any let or stay.

15 Also it may please his Maiestie to vnderstand, that during the time of my long being at Colmogro, attending his Highnes pleasure, for my further accesse, I with my company, haue not onely bene ill vsed, and intreated there, and likewise the merchants there, by one Besson Myssereuye, his Maiesties chiefe officer, who hath dishonored me, and smitten my people, and oweth the said merchants much money, and will not pay them: but also the saide Bessone hath spoken wordes of dishonor against the Queenes Maiestie. Wherefore it may please his Highnes to send downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to serch forth his euill behauiour towards her Maiestie, as towards me her Highnes Ambassador, and to punish him accordingly: and also that it would please his Maiestie to sende downe his letter of iustice, by vertue whereof, the said Bessone may be forced to pay all such money as he oweth to the saide merchants, without delay.

16 Also that it would please his Highnes to vnderstand, that sir William Garret, with his companie, vnderstanding of the great dearth in his Maiesties dominions, by licence of ȳ Queenes Maiestie, (not otherwise permitted) hath sent certaine ships laden with corne into his Highnes Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the relefe of his Maiesties subiects, then for any gaine: yet the good will of the said merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to sell the said corne, to their great discouragement hereafter to send any more. Wherefore it may please his Highnes, to ouer the good will of the said merchants, as well in sending the said corne, as in all other things, ready to serue his Maiestie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwyna, to suffer the saide merchants, with their companie, to sell the said corne by measure great, or small, at their pleasure, without paying custome.

These articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretarie, as afore saide, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforesaid, I had warning early in the morning, to prepare my selfe to be at the Court, betwixt the howres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I should haue accesse vnto the presence of the Prince, as well to receaue answere of all things, as to be dismissed to goe home. At which howres I was sent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of presence, where his Maiestie did sit apparelled most sumptuously, with a rich Crowne vpon his head, garnished with many pretious stones, his eldest sonne sitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my dutie done, his Highnes commanded me to approch very neere vnto him, and saide vnto me these words.

Anthony, the Queene our louing sister her letters wee haue caused to be translated, and doe well vnderstande the same, and of all things as well therein contayned, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared, wee haue well considered, and doe perceaue that our seruice message vnto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were aduertised

aduertiſed to the contrarie) and now we are by you fully ſatisfied. And when we did ſend our Ambaſſador into England, about thoſe our great, and weighty affaires, to conclude the ſame with the Queene our ſiſter, our Ambaſſador could ende nothing for want of ſuch aſſurance as was requiſite in princely affaires, according to the manner of all Countreyes, but was diſmiſſed vnto vs againe, with letters of ſmall effect, touching the ſame, and no Ambaſſador ſent with him from the Queene: which cauſed vs to thinke, that our princely affaires were ſet aſide, and little regarded, wherewith we were at that time much grieued: for the which cauſe, and for the euill behauiour of your merchants, reſident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes tranſgreſſed and broken our lawes, liuing wilfully in all their doings) we did lay our heauie diſpleaſure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commanding that the ſame throughout all our dominions, ſhould be void, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our ſiſter, touching our griefes.

And now her Highnes hath ſent vnto vs againe, you her Ambaſſador, with her louing letters, and full minde, which we doe thankefully receiue, and are thereby fully ſatisfied. And for that our princely, and ſecret affaires were not finiſhed to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all thoſe matters, and ſet them aſide for the time, becauſe our minde is nowe otherwiſe changed, but hereafter when occaſion ſhall moue vs to the like, we will then talke of thoſe matters againe. And for that it hath pleaſed the Queene, our louing ſiſter, to ſende vnto vs at this preſent, and doeth deſire to continue in friendſhippe with vs for euer (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the ſame) we of our goodnes for her Highnes ſake, will not onely from henceforth put away, and forget all our diſpleaſure towardes the ſame Sir William Garret, and his companie (as though they had neuer offended vs) but alſo will reſtore them to their priuiledges, & liberties, in, and through our all our dominions, and will ſignifie the ſame by our letters, in all townes and cities, where the ſaid merchants doe traffike, and we will ſhewe them fauour as afore time, if they deſerue not the contrary. And if the Queene our ſiſter had not ſent thee Anthony vnto vs, at this preſent, God knoweth what we ſhould haue done to the ſaid merchants, or whether we would haue called backe our indignation.

Then I humbly beſeeched his Maieſtie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the ſaid merchants, and the offendors names, to the intent I might make report thereof, vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, my miſtres, accordingly, that the ſaide offendors might receaue iuſt punihments for their deſerts: but he ſaid, I ſhould not know them, becauſe he had cleerely remitted all offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgiue, and after to accuſe the parties, whereby her Maieſties diſpleaſure might fal vpon them at home. Notwithſtanding I did after vnderſtand ſome part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Maieſtie proceeding in talke, ſaide: As touching the articles of requeſt, concerning the merchants affaires, which you did preferre and deliuer vnto our Secretarie, we haue not onely read the ſame our ſelfe, but alſo haue appointed our ſaid Secretarie to declare vnto you our minde, and anſwere to the ſame. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence ſhortly, we will diſmiſſe you to the Queene our louing ſiſter, your miſtres, with our letters, and full minde by word of mouth, touching all your requeſts, & will ſend a Gentleman one of our houſhold with you, to ſafeconduct you to your ſhips: and of our goodnes will giue you victuals, boates, men, and poſt horſes, ſo many as you ſhall need. And therewith his Maieſtie ſtanding vp, and putting off his cappe, ſaid vnto me theſe words. Doe our hartie commendations vnto our louing ſiſter, Queene Elizabeth, vnto whome wee wiſh long life, with happie ſucceſſe: and therewith his Highnes extended his hand to me to kiſſe, and commanded his ſonne, ſitting by him, to ſend the like commendations, which he did, whoſe hand likewiſe I kiſſed. And then his Maieſtie cauſed me to ſit downe, and commanded wine, and drinkes of diuers ſorts to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke, with his owne hand, and ſo after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14. of May aforeſaid, I was ſent for to come to the cheefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counſell with him, who at our meeting ſaid vnto me theſe words: We are appointed by the Emperour his Maieſtie, to giue you anſwere from his Highnes, touching your requeſts deliuered in writing, which his Maieſtie himſelfe hath peruſed, and anſwered as followeth.

1 To the firſt requeſt it is anſwered, that all his Maieſties greefes and diſpleaſure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, becauſe the Queenes Maieſtie did not accompliſh and ende with his Ambaſſador, his ſecrete and waighty affaires, according to his expectation, and the promiſe made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and alſo of the ill behauiour of your merchants

chants resident here in our Countrey, as his Maiestie vnd himselfe yesterday declare vnto you.

2 To the second, his Maiestie willeth you to vnderstand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moued to breake friendship with the Queenes Maiestie, without good and iust cause.

3 To the third, you are answered by the Emperours Maiestie himselfe, that his great goodnes and fauour againe vnto the merchants, shall be restored, and the same to be knowen by his gratious letters of priuiledge now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his Maiestie hath commanded, that your merchants here resident shall exhibite, and put in writing vnto me his Maiesties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other iniuries offred them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall haue iustice truly ministred throughout all his Maiesties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his Maiestie doth not know of any debts due vnto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not, the truth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answere to be giuen: and hereafter his Maiestie would not haue the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6 To the sixth, it is answered, that his Maiestie hath commanded search to be made, what money is owing to the merchants, for wares receiued into his treasurie, as in the articles (the most of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the Muskos) and such as is due, and founde meete to be paide, shall be paide forthwith to the merchants, their factors, or seruants, which shall come for the same. And for paiment of the rest, his Maiesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

7 To the seuenth, his Maiesties answere is, that letters shall be written forthwith to his Captaines of Astracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, vpon the riuer Volga, to whome it appertaineth, not onely to suffer your people, both merchants, and mariners, to passe with their ships, or barkes, from Astracan, ouer the Mare Caspium, to fetche Thomas Bannister, and Geonye Ducket, with their companie, and goods, out of Persia, but also when they shall arriue within his Maiesties dominions, to ayde, and assist them, and see them safely conducted vp the riuer Volga, from danger of enemies.

7 To the eight, his Maiestie hath commanded letters to be written to the Customers, both of Astracan, and Cazan, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods so detained by them for custome, and to take custome for the same, according to his Maiesties letters of priuiledge.

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maiestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11 To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treasurie, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Musko, in their houses there, his Maiesties pleasure was, to vnderstande the same, to the intent he might know the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glouer, his Maiestie was enformed by his Ambassador, of the Queenes great mercie and clemencie towards the said Thomas, for his sake, which his Highnes receiued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said sir William Garret, and his companie, and the said Glouer, or what he doth owe vnto the saide merchants, his Maiestie doth not know. And as for the money which the saide Thomas sayth is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maiesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due, and growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treasurie, out of the time of his Maiesties displeasure, shall be paid forthwith to the saide Thomas, and the rest is forfeited vnto his Maiestie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter, and Bennet, accompted traytors vnto his Highnes, during the time of his displeasure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be deliuered vnto you, to be caried home, the answere was, that as his Maiestie will not detaine any English man in his Countrey, that is willing to goe home, according to the Queenes request: euen so will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Maiesties request, is contented at this present, to send the saide Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written vnto his cheefe officer at the Musko, to send the said Rutter away with speed, that he may be with you at Vologhda, by the fine of Maye, without faile: and touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Maiesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of priuiledge, granted to the said merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Maiestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart, to their native Countrey, as are willing to goe.

15 To

15 To the 15. touching Besson Messeriucy, the Emperors maiestie is much offended with him, and will send downe a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, as wel for speaking of vndecent words against the Queens maiestie as you haue alleaged, as also against you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, and the said Bessone being found guiltie, to bee imprisoned and punished by seuere iustice accordingly, and after to put in suerties to answer ye Emperours high displeasure, or els to be brought vp like a prisoner by the said gentleman, to answere his offences before his maiestie. And his highnes doth request that the Queenes highnesse would doe the like vpon Middleton and Manlie her messengers sent hither two yeeres past, and of all others for their ill behauiour towards his maiestie, as may appeare by the letters sent by Daniel Siluester by his highnesse, least by the bad demeanor of such lewd persons, the amitie and friendship betwixt their maiesties might be diminished.

16 To the 16 and last article touching the corne brought into the Emperours dominions by the merchants, his maiestie doth greatly commend them for so well doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalfe, directed to his officers of Dwina, to suffer the said merchants to sell their corne, by measure great or small at their pleasure without custome.

Thus I receiued a full answere from his maiestie by his chiefe Secretarie and one other of his counsell, to the 16. articles afore rehearsed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter also sent by me to the Queenes maiestie. Which being done, I requested that the new letters of priuiledge granted by his highnes vnto you, might be forthwith dispatched to the intent I might carie the same with me. Also I requested that such money due to you, which it had pleased his maiestie to command to be paid, might be deliuered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of priuiledge, the Secretarie answered me, it is not possible you can haue them with you, for they must be first written and shewed vnto the Emperour, and then three to bee written of one tenour according to your request, which cannot be done with such speed, for that his maiesties pleasure is, you shall depart this night before him, who remooueth himselfe to morrow towards Nouogrode: but without faile the said letters shall be dispatched vpon the way, and sent after you with speed to Colmogro. And as touching the mony which you require, it cannot be paid here because we haue not the bookes of accounts: for want whereof wee know not what to paie, wherefore the best is that you send one of the merchaunts after the Emperour to Nouogrode, and let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will pay all such money as shall be appointed by his maiestie to be paied, after the bookes seene.

But forasmuch as there was none of your seruaunts with mee at that present (although I had earnestly written vnto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne seruaunts, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my dispatch, that he should not faile to come himselfe, or send one of your seruaunts to me hither, to follow all such suites as I should commence in your behalfs, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requested the said Secretarie that I might leaue Daniell my interpreter with him, as well for the receit of money, as for the speedie dispatch of the letters of priuiledge, but it would not bee granted in any wise that I should leaue any of mine owne companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leaue with full dispatch, and departed to my lodging, and foorthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as well to conduct me, and prouide boates, men, post horses and victuals for me all the way to the Sea side, being a thousand and three hundred miles, as also to doe iustice of the sayd Bessone, as aforesayd. And he sayd vnto me, the Emperours pleasure is, that you shall presently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the sayd Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforesayd. And passing a great part of my iourney, I arriued at the citie of Uologda the last of the sayd May, where I remayned fiue dayes as well expecting a messenger to bring vnto mee the new letters of priuiledge, as the comming of Rutter, whom the Emperours maiestie himselfe commaunded before my face, should be sent vnto me without faile, and I did see the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Mosko for the same. Neuerthelesse the sayd Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the sudden cause of his stay contrary to the princes owne worde and meaning, as I suppose. But I could not helpe the matter beyng farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redresse, because by absence I could not complaine. Notwithstanding, I vsed all my indeuour, and sent a messenger John Norton one of your seruaunts from Uologda to Nouogrode, where the court then lay expressely with letters, as well to aduertise his maiestie that the sayd Rutter was not sent vnto me according to his highnesse commaundement and order, as also about the dispatch of the said letters of priuiledge and receit of your money, with straight charge that he should in any wise returne vnto me againe before the departing of the ships.

And the firſt day of June I departed from the ſaid Vologda by water toward Colmogro, where I arriued the 21. of June aforeſaid, and remained there vntill the 23. of Julie, looking for the ſaid Iohn Hopton to haue returned vnto me in all that time, which had reſpite fully inough in that ſpace both to goe to the court to diſpatch his buſineſſe, and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwiſe determined before his going, as I did after vnderſtand, & can more at large by word of mouth declare vnto your worſhips, the occaſion thereof.

Neuertheleſſe, I am well aſſured before this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the ſayd letters of priuiledges, and ſhall haue diſpatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maieſties graunt by me obtained, and as hee hath written to the Queenes maieſtie at this preſent, wiſhing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grieuous diſpleaſure from you, and reſtored you againe into his fauour, ſo your Agent and others your ſeruants there reſident may behaue, and endeuour themſelues to keepe & augment the ſame, whoſe euill doings haue bene the onely occaſion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of ſuch countries as I Anthonie Ienkinſon haue trauelled vnto from the ſecond of October, 1546. at which time I made my firſt voiage out of England, vntill the yeere of our Lord, 1572. when I returned laſt out of Ruſſia.

FIrſt, I paſſed into Flanders, and trauelled through all the baſe countries, and from thence through Germanie, paſſing ouer the Alpes I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I haue throughly iourneied.

I haue alſo trauelled through the kingdoms of Spaine and Portingall, I haue ſailed through the Leuant ſeas euery way, and haue bene in all the chiefe Iſlands within the ſame ſea, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cypres, Candie, and diuers others.

I haue bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth ſtood.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers other countreys in Aſia minor.

I haue paſſed ouer the mountaines of Libanus to Damaſco, and trauelled through Samaria, Galile, Philiſtine and Paleſtine, vnto Ieruſalem, and ſo through all the holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Affrica, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the Gollet within the gulfe of Tunis.

I haue ſailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where wee haue had continuall day, and light of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, Bemagotia, and other very ſtrange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Ruſſia and Moſcouia, which extende from the North ſea, and the confines of Norway, and Lapland, euen to the Mare Caſpium.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caſpian ſea, Gentiles, and Mahometans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremiſi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagaia, with diuers others of ſtrange cuſtomes and religions.

I haue ſailed ouer the Caſpian ſea, and diſcouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Circaſſi, Comul, Shaſcall, Shiruan, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40. daies iourney beyond the ſaid ſea, towards the Orientall India, and Cathaia, through diuers deſerts and wildernes, and paſſed through 5. kingdomes of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and ſo to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers ſundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I paſſed again ouer the Caſpian ſea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, and from thence trauelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Perſia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamaſo, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes maieſtie, and remayned in his court 8. moneths, and returning homeward, paſſed through diuers other countreys. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Ruſſia, the one in the yeere 1566. and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being wearie and growing old, I am content to take my reſt in mine owne houſe, chiefly comforting my ſelfe, in that my ſeruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her maieſtie and the reſt by whom I haue bene employed.

The

The requeſt of an honeſt merchant to a friend of his, to be aduiſed and directed in the courſe of killing the Whale, as followeth. Anno 1575.

I pray you pleaſure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder ſpecified.

FOr the prouiſion and furniture for a ship of 200. tunnes, to catch the whale fiſh in Ruſſia, paſſing from England.

How many men to furniſh the ſhip.

How many ſkilfull men to catch the Whale, & how many other officers, and Coopers.

How many boats, and what faſhion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of ſuch ſkilfull men and other officers, as we ſhall need out of Biſkay.

How many harping irons, ſpeares, copes, axes, hatchets, knives, and other implements for the ſame, and what ſort and greatneſſe of them.

How many kettles, the greatneſſe and maner of them, and of what mettall, and whether they bee fet on trivets or on furnaces for boiling of the crane oile, and others.

What quantitie of caſke, and what ſort of caſke, and what number of hoopes and twigges, and how much thereof to be ſtaued for the crane.

What quantitie of victuals, & what kind of victuals for the men in all the ſhip for 4. moneths time.

For the common mariners and officers to gouerne the ſhip, we ſhall not need any out of Biſkay, but only men ſkilfull in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper ſkilfull to ſet vp the ſtaued caſke.

Alſo what other matters are requiſite to bee knowen, and done for the ſaid voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

Theſe requeſts were thus anſwered, which may ſerue as directions for all ſuch as ſhall intend the ſame voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the ſetting foorth of a ſhip of 200. *tunne,* for the killing of the Whale.

THere muſt be 55. men like departing for Wardhouſe in the moneth of April, muſt be furniſhed with 4. kintals and a half of bread for euery man,

250. hogſheds to put the bread in.

150. hogſheds of Cidar.

6. kintals of oile.

8. kintals of bacon.

6. hogſheds of bicke.

10. quarters of ſalt.

150. pound of candles.

8. quarters of beanes and peaſe.

Sale fiſh and herring, a quantitie conuenient.

4. tunnes of wines.

Halfe a quarter of muſtard ſeed, and a querne.

A grindſtone.

800. emptie ſhaken hogſheds.

350. bundles of hoopes, and 6. quintalines.

800. paire of heds for the hogſheds.

10. Eſtachas called ropes for harping irons.

10. pieces of Arpoziras.

3. pieces of Baibens for the Jauelings ſmall.

2. tackles to turne the Whales.

A haiſer of 27. fadome long to turne the Whales.

15. great Jauelings.

18. ſmall Jauelings.

50. harping irons.

6. machicos to cut the Whale withall.

2. dozen of machetes to mince the Whale.

2. great hookes to turne the Whale.

3. paire of Canhookes.
6. hookes for staues.
3. doozen of staues for the harping irons.
6. pullies to turne the Whale with.
10. great baskets.
10. lampes of iron to carrie light.
5. kettels of 150. li. the piece, and 6. ladles.
1000. of nailes for the pinnases.
500. of nailes of Carabelie for the houses, and the wharfe.
18. axes and hatchets to cleaue wood.
12. pieces of lines, and 6. dozen of hookes.
2. bettles of Rosemarie.
4. dozen of oares for the pinnases.
6. lanternes.
500. of Tesla.
Item, gunpouder and matches for harquebushes as shall be needfull.
Item, there must be caried from hence 5. pinnases, fiue men to strike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5. coopers, and a purser or two.

A note of certaine other necessarie things belonging to the Whalefishing, receiued of master W. Burrough.

A sufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
A dozen of great baskets.
4. furnaces to melt the Whale in.
6. ladles of copper.
A thousand of nailes to mend the pinnases.
500. great nailes of spikes to make their house.
3. paire of bootes great and strong, for them that shall cut the Whale.
8. calue skins to make aprons or barbecans.

The deposition of M. William Burrough to certaine Interrogatories ministred vnto him concerning the Narue, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are subiect, made the 23. of Iune, 1576.

These articles seeme to haue bene ministred vpon the quarell betwene Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscouie companie, for his trade to the Narue without their consent.

The first Interrogatorie.

FIrst, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingam and Cola, and the portes of the same towne, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of priuiledge by the Emperour to our merchants, as also in the yeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. respectiuely were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect to the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia: and whether the sayd Emperour of Russia by all the time aforesayd, was chiefe lord and gouernour respectiuely of the sayd places, and so vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the said townes and places, and either of them be situated towards the North and Northeast or Northwest, and betweene the North and the East point: and be the same places whereunto by force of the foresayd priuiledge, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffique, sauing to the societie aforesaid.

The deponents answer.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent saith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingam and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the said priuiledge (as he iudgeth) were reputed respectiuely to bee vnder the iurisdiction, and subiect to the Emperour of Russia, and so from the time of the sayde graunt, vnto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. respectiuely they were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect vnto the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia, and the same Emperour of Russia by all the time aforesaid, was chiefe gouernour respectiuely of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the said places are situated from London Northwards, betweene the East and the North, and within

within the grant of the letters patentes, and priuiledges of the said companie of merchants for the discouerie of new trades, and the same places whereunto by force of the said letters patentes, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffique sauing to the societie aforesayd.

Notwithstanding the Deponent saith, that hee hath heard it credibly reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeeres, or euery yeere once, hath had one of his subiects or more by himselfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places, Cola, Kegor, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certaine tribute or head pence, which the said Lappies haue willingly giuen to win fauour of the said prince, and to liue quietly by his subiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their countrey, whereof Wardhouse is the strongest hold, & bordereth next vnto them. He hath also heard that in the time of peace betweene the said Emperor of Russia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes seruaunt vseth to doe, and did demaund of them some tribute or dutie which they willingly paid: but since the late wars betweene the said Emperour and king of Sweden, he hath not heard of any thing that hath bin paid by them to the king of Sweden: such is the simplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather giue tribute to all those that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill wils.

But the truth is, as this Deponent saith, that the said mightie prince the Emperour of Russia, is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the said countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are obserued by them, he takes toll and custome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become christians, it is after the Russe law. If there happen any controuersie betweene those people, such as cannot be ended amongst themselues, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Duke as their highest court, & there haue it ended. Betweene the place specified Kegor, & the confines of Finmarke aforesaid in Lappia, is the monasterie Perhingam, which are monkes, and vse the Russe law, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwaies appointed by the clergie in Mosko. Perhingam abbey.

Also in the yeere of our Lord, 1557. the said Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of June, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great assemblie of people, at a Mart there, the Russes, Kerils and Lappians, on the one side subiects to the said mightie prince & Emperour of Russia, and the Norwegians or Noyses and people of Finmarke, subiects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fish for other commodities. The deputie for the Russe had the chiefe gouernment of the said Mart, and tooke toll of those people that were subiect to his master, and the captaine of Wardhouse, had then the gouernment of the people subiect to his master the king of Denmarke. He saith also, that betweene the abbey Perhingam, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Russia, vpon the border of the said coast of Lappia, he hath bene vpon the shore at diuers places, where fresh riuers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken fresh Salmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the subiects of the said Emperour, and he the said Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he saith, that it hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that there is not any such riuer or creeke of fresh water which falleth out of the said countrey of Lappia into the sea, betweene the said abbey Perhingam, and the baie of S. Nicholas, but they are all and euery of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiueth the rent for them.

Item, whether as well before, as also within the memory of men, till the time of the grant of the said letters patentes any of the English merchants (sauing the merchants of the said societie) subiects of this realme of England, haue commonly exercised or frequented busines or trade in the said villages or townes called the Narue, Kegor, Perhingam, & Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the said Emperour of Russia. The seuen and Interrogatorie.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent answereth, that the subiects of this Realme before the grant of the said letters patentes did not commonly exercise, neither frequent or resort to any of the said places called the Narue, Kegor, Perhingam or Cola, or to any of them. The deponents answer.

Certaine reasons to dissuade the vse of a trade to the Narue aforesayd, by way through Sweden.

THe merchandise of the Narue are grosse wares, viz. flaxe, yernpe, waxe, tallow & hides.

The traffique at that place standeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Russia, with the king of Sweden for all these merchandizes that are brought thither come from Pleskoue, Nouogrode, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For transporting those merchandizes from Narue to Stockholm, or what other place shall bee thought conuenient in Swedē, it must be in vessels of those countries, which will be of small force to resist

Freebooters, or any other that shall make quarell or offer violence against them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they must be discharged, and new laden into smaller vessels, to carry the same by riuer or lake a part of the way, and against to bee vnladen and transported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinarie charges for transporting of goods from Narue to Newles by way as afore said, besides the spoile by so often lading and vnlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the seas, pirats, &c. will be such as when it shal be so brought to Newles, it will be as deare to the merchants in that place as it shall be worth to be sold in London, wherefore the trade that wayes can not be profitable to our nation.

Moreouer, when the goods shall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtful to bring it thence quietly without disliking or forcible resistance of the king of Denmarke, for almuch as he maketh quarell, and alleageth damage vnto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater aduantage may he performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Russia by way of S. Nicholas, though the displeasure that the Emperour may conceiue by our trade with the Sweden to Narue, is also to be considered.

Note.

A remembrance of aduise giuen to the merchants, touching a voyage for Cola aboue sayd. 1578.

WHere as you require my counsell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be set forth, I answere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore vsed, which is after this maner. First of all we haue hired the ship by the great, giuing so much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the ship, as the ship may be in bignesse: as if she be about the burden of 100. tunnes, we pay 80. pound, and so after that rate: and thereunto we doe victuall the ship our selues, and do ship all our men our selues, shipping no more mē, nor giuing them more wages then we should doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to haue our men to fish with our boate, & costing vs no more charges then it should do, if our men should lie & doe nothing sauing the charges of salt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this last yeere past our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. and 10. thousand fish, which yeelded to vs in mony with the oile that came of it, about 15. or 16. score pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And besides all this our ship did take in so much oile and other commodities as we bestowed 100. whole clothes in. But because, as I do suppose, it is not the vse of London to take ships to fraight after that order before prescribed, neither I thinke that the mariners will take such paines as our men will: Therefore my counsell is, if you thinke good, to freight some ship of Hull or Newcastle, for I am sure that you may haue them better cheape to freight, then here at London. Besides all this, one may haue such men as will take paines for their merchaunts. And furthermore when it shall please God that the ship shal returne to come to discharge at Hull, which will be the most for your profite for the sales of all such like commoditie as comes from that place, as for fish, oile, & Salmon chiefly, he y will seeke a better market for the sales then at Hull, he must seeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the best way that I can deuise, and most for your profite, and if you will, I will also set you downe all the commodities that are necessary for such a voiage, and which way also that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leaue of the trade of Cola which may easilie be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would vse the matter so that they should either leaue of the trade, or els carry lighter ships with them home againe.

Hull the best market of England for sale of fish.

Aduertisements and reports of the 6. voyage into the partes of Persia and Media, for the company of English merchants for the discouerie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of sundry letters written by Christopher Burrough seruant to the said company, & sent to his vnkle M. William Burrough.

FIrst it is to be vnderstood, that the ships for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Russia, in which the factors & merchandise for the Persian voiage were transported, departed frō Graues end the 19. of June, 1579. which arriued at S. Nicholas in Russia, the 22. of July, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandize were discharged and laden into dosshnikes, that is, barkes of the countrey, to be caried from thence vp by riuer vnto Vologda. And the fiue and twentie day of the sayde Julie, the Dosshenikes departed from Rose Island by Saint Nicholas vp the Riuer Dwina, Peremene, that is to say, poste by continuall sayling, rowing, setting with poles, or hawing of men, which came to Colmogro, the

the 27 day, and departed thence the 29 day of Julie vp the ſayd riuer Dwina, and came to Vſtyoug (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9 of Auguſt, where they ſtayed but a ſmall time, prouiding ſome victualles, and ſhifting certaine of their caſſacks or barkemen, and ſo departed thence the ſame day vp the riuer Sughano, and came to Totma, (which is counted ſome what more then halfe the way from Vſtioug) the 15 day, where they ſhifted ſome of their caſſacks, and departed thence the ſame day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19 of Auguſt, where they landed their goods, and ſtayed at that place till the 30 of the ſame. Hauing prouided at Vologda, Telegas, our wagons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the ſame by land towards Yeraſlaue the ſayd 30 of Auguſt, at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the Eaſt ſide of the riuer Volga ouer againſt Yeraſlaue, with 25 Telegas laden with the ſaid goods the ſeuenth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three ſtroogs or barks prouided to tranſport the ſaid goods to Aſtracan (where they ſhould meet the ſhippe that ſhould carrie the ſame from thence into Perſia) came ouer from Yeraſlaue vnto the ſame ſide of the riuer Volga, and there tooke in the ſaid goods. And hauing prepared the ſaid barks ready with all neceſſarie furniture they departed with them from Yeraſlaue downe the riuer Volga, on the 14 day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arriued at Niznouogrod, the 17 day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they ſhewed the Emperours letters to paſſe free without paying any cuſtome, and tarryed there about three houres to prouide neceſſaries, and then departing, arriued at Cazan (or neere the ſame towne) on the 22 of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone, where (though contrary windes, and for prouiding new caſſaks in the places of ſome that there went from them) they remayned till the 26 day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at Tetuſhagorod, which is on the Crim ſide of Volga, and in latitude 55 degrees 22 minuts the 28 day at ten in the forenoone, where they anckered, and remained about three houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crims ſide (on the Weſterne ſide of Volga) the firſt of October about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan, and Aſtracan: and heere there groweth great ſtore of Licoras: the ſoile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oueake is 51 degrees 30 minuts. At this place had beene a very fayre ſtone caſtle called by the name Oueake, & adioyning to the ſame was a towne called by Ruſſes, Sodom: this towne & part of the caſtle (by report of the Ruſſes) was ſwallowed into the earth by the iuſtice of God, for the wickednes of the people that inhabited the ſame. There remaineth at this day to be ſeene a part of the ruines of the caſtle, and certain tombs, wherein as it ſeemeth haue beene laid noble perſonages: for vpon a tombe ſtone might be perceiued the forme of a horſe and a man ſitting on it with a bowe in his hand, and arrowes girt to his ſide: there was a piece of a ſcutchion alſo vpon one of the ſtones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof ſome part had beene conſumed with the weather, and the reſt left vnperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen alſo vpon another tombe ſtone. How they departed from Oueake the ſaid firſt of October, at fiue of the clocke after noone, and came to Perauoloke, the 10 day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke at night, making no abode at that place, but paſſed alongſt by it. This word Perauoloke in the Ruſſe tongue, doth ſignifie a narrow ſtraight or necke of land, betweene two waters, and it is ſo called by them, becauſe from the riuer Volga, at that place to the riuer Don, or Tanais, is counted thirtie verſts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foot in one day. And ſeuen verſts beneath, vpon an Iſland called Tſaritſina, the Emperour of Ruſſia hath fiftie gunners all the ſummer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Aſtracan are fiue other Carawools or watches.

Peraſlaue.

Great ſtore of Licoras.

1 The firſt is named Kamenie Carawool, and is diſtant from Perauoloke 120 verſts.
2 The ſecond named Stupino Carawool, diſtant from the firſt 50 verſts.
3 The third called Polooy Carawool, is 120 verſts diſtant from the ſecond.
4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50 verſts diſtant from the third.
5 The firſt named Ichkebre, is 30 verſts diſtant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Aſtracan is 50 verſts.

The 16 of October they arriued at Aſtracan with the ſayd three ſtroogs in ſafetie about nine of the clocke in the morning, where they found the ſhippe prouided for the Perſia voyage in good order and readineſſe. The 17 day the foure principall factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbots, and Peter Garrard, were inuited to dine with the chiefe maske or ſecretarie of Aſtracan (Vaſilie Pheodooruich Shelepin) who declared then vnto them the troubles that were in Media and Perſia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and

Aſtracan.

Peter Garrard.

and did possesse the greatest part of Media: also he laid before them that winter was at hand, and if they should put out with theyr shippe to the sea, they should be constrayned to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to atchieue: whereupon the said factors determined to stay there all winter to learne further of the state of those countries.

Ice at Astracan for foure moneths.

The 19 of Nouember the winde being Northerly, there was a great frost, and much ice in the riuer: the next day being the 20 of Nouember the ice stood in the riuer, and so continued vntill Easter day.

The 22 of December departed this life John Moore the gunner of the shippe.

Anno 1580.

Thursday the seuenth of Januarie betweene eight & nine of the clocke at night there appeared a crosse proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof.

The sixt of January being Twelfe day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuer Volga, and hallowed the water with great solemnity according to the maner of theyr countrey, at which time all the souldiors of the towne shotte off theyr small pieces vpon the ice, and likewise to gratifie the captaine of the castle being a duke, whose name is Pheodore Michalouich Troiocouria, who stood hard by the shippe, beholding them as they were on the riuer, was shot off all the ordinance of our shippe being fifteene pieces, viz. two faulcons, two faulconets, foure fowlers, foure fowlers chambers, and three other small pieces made for the strooges to shoot hailestones, and afterwards the great ordinance of the castle was shot off.

On the 31 of January there happened a great eclipse of the moone, which began about twelue of the clocke at night, and continued before she was cleare an houre and a halfe by estimation, which ended the first of February about halfe an houre past one in the morning: she was wholly darkened by the space of halfe an houre.

The 26 of February the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within three quarters of a mile of the castle of Astracan, by casualtie was set on fire about ten of the clocke at night, & continued burning till midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell destroyed. The Nagayes that inhabit that towne, are the Emperour of Russia his vassals: It is supposed there are of them inhabiting that place, of men, women, and children, the number of seuen thousand. That night the Allarum was made in the castle and towne of Astracan. The captaine thereof had all his souldiors in very good order, and readinesse, being of them in number two thousand gunners, and cassaks, that is to say, a thousand gunners, which are accounted meere souldiours, and are not put to any other seruice then the vse of theyr pieces, watch, &c. as souldiors which alwayes keepe the castle, and the cassaks also vsing theyr pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly set to all kinde of labors.

The seuenth of March 1580, the Nagayes and Crims came before Astracan to the number of one thousand foure hundred horsemen, which incamped round about, but the neerest of them were two Russe versts and a halfe off from the castle and towne: some of them lay on the Crims side of Volga, and some on the Nagay side, but none of them came vpon the Island that Astracan standeth on. It was sayd that two of the prince of the Crims his sonnes were amongst them. They sent a messenger on the eight day to the captaine of Astracan, to signifie that they would come and visit him: who answered, he was ready to receiue them: and taking a great shotte or bullet in his hand, willed the messenger to tell them that they should not want of that geare, so long as it would last. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to assault the towne or castle, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpose. The tenth day two Russes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, and came into Astracan. The same day word was brought to the duke of two Nagayes, which were seene at Gostine house, supposed to be spies, but were gone againe from thence before they were suspected. This Gostine house is a place a little without the towne where the Tisiks (or Persian merchants) do vsually remaine with theyr merchandize. The 11 day the sayd Nagayes, and one more with them, came agayne to that house earely in the morning, where they were taken by the Russes, and brought to the captayne of the castle, and being examined, confessed that theyr comming was onely to seeke two of theyr bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon theyr bondmen were deliuered to them: which fauor the sayd captaine commonly sheweth if they be not Russies, and they were set at liberty. The 13 day they brake vp theyr camps, and marched to the Northwards into the countrey of Nagay.

Astracan steuate vpon an Island.

The variation of the compas in Astracan was 13 deg. 40 minuts.

The 17 of April the variation of the compasse obserued in Astracan was 13 deg. 40 min. from North to West. This spring there came newes to Astracan that ẏ queene of Persia (the king being blinde)

blinde) had beene with a great armie againſt the Turkes that were left to poſſeſſe Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithſtanding Derbent, and the greateſt part of Media were ſtill poſſeſſed and kept by the Turkes. The factors of the company conſulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at Aſtracan, the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ſhip on their purpoſed voyage to the coaſt of Media, to ſee what might be done there, where if they could not finde ſafe traffike, they determined to paſſe to the coaſt of Gillan, which is an Iſland in the Caſpian ſea bordering vpon Perſia: and thereupon appointed the ſaid goods to be laden aboord the ſhippe, and tooke into her alſo ſome merchandize of Tiſiks or Perſian merchants.

The 29 of Aprill Amos Kiall, and Anthony Marſh, the companies ſeruants were ſent from Aſtracan by the ſaid factors, vp the riuer Volga to Yeraſlaue, with letters of aduiſe to be ſent for England, and had order for ſtaying the goods in Ruſſia that ſhould come that yeere out of England for maincining the trade purpoſed for Perſia, vntill further triall were made what might be done in thoſe parts.

The firſt day of May in the morning, hauing the ſhippe in readineſſe to depart, the factors inuited the duke Pheodore Micalouich Proiocoorow, and the principall ſecretary Vaſilie Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefeſt about the duke to a banket aboord the ſhip, where they were intertained to their good liking, and at their departure was ſhot off all the ordinance of the ſhip, and about nine of the clocke at night the ſame day they weyed anker, and departed with their ſhip from Aſtracan, and being but little winde, towed her with the boat about three verſts, and then ankered, hauing with them a pauos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The ſecond day at foure of the clocke in the morning they weyed & plyed downe the riuer Volga toward the Caſpian ſea. The ſeuenth of May in the morning they paſſed by a tree that ſtandeth on the left hand of the riuer as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, and about three verſts further, that is to ſay, to the Southwards of the ſaid tree is a place called Vchoog, that is to ſay, the Ruſſe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certaine cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fiſhermen that keepe the weare. This Vchoog is counted from Aſtracan 60 verſts: they proceeded downe the ſaid riuer without ſtaying at the Vchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with ſhoald water, and were forced to lighten their ſhippe by the pauos: the 11 day they ſent backe to the Vchoog for an other pauos: This day by miſchance the ſhippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pauos, whereby the company had ſuſtained great loſſes, if the chiefeſt part of their goodes had not beene layd into the pauos for notwithſtanding their pumping with their pomps, hauing out water with buckets, and all the beſt ſhifts they could make, the ſhippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and ſtopt. The 12 day the pauos came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lightned the ſhippe of all the goodes. The 13 day in the morning there came to them a ſmall boat, ſent by the captaine of Aſtracan, to learne whether the ſhippe were at ſea cleere off the flats. The 15 day by great induſtrie and trauell they got their ſhippe cleare off the ſhoales and flats, where with they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to paſſe their ſhippe in three foot water or leſſe. The 16 day they came to the Chetera Bowgeri, or Iſland of Foure Hillocks, which are counted fortie verſts from Vchoog, and are the furtheſt land towards the ſea. The 17 day they bare off into the ſea, and being about twelue verſts from the Foure hillocks, riding in fiue foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pauoſes into the ſhippe, and filled their ſhippe with all things neceſſary. The 18 day in the morning about ſeuen of the clocke, the pauoſes being diſcharged, departed away toward Aſtracan, the winde then at Southeaſt, they road ſtill with the ſhippe, and obſerued the eleuation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45 degrees 20 minuts. The 19 day, the winde Southeaſt, they road ſtill. The 20 day the winde at Northweſt they ſet ſaile about one of the clocke in the morning, and ſtered thence South by Weſt, and Southſouthweſt, about three leagues, and then ankered in ſixe and a halfe water, about nine of the clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the eleuation of the pole at that place 45 degrees 13 minuts. The 21 hauing the winde at Northweſt, they ſet ſaile, and ſtered thence South by Weſt, and South vntill eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obſerued the latitude, and found it to be 44 degrees 47 minuts: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare off the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillocks to the ſea about fiftie verſts. From the ſaid noone tide vntill foure of the clocke they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe: then had they fiue fathoms and a halfe and ſtarfish water: from that till twelue at night they ſayled South by Eaſt halfe a league Eaſt twine leagues: then had they eleuen fathome, and the water ſalter. From that till the 22 day three of the clocke

Note.

The Caſpian ſea.

45 degrees 20 minuts.

The firſt obſeruation in the Caſpian ſea.

Starfish water ſeene within the ſea.

in the morning they ſayled three & fiftie leagues, then had they fifteene fathome water: from thence they ſailed vnt till noone South and by Weſt ſeuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obſerued
43 degrees 15 minutes. 43 degrees 15 minutes, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and ſhallow ground: from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms ſhallow ground. From thence till the 23 foure a clocke in the morning, they ſailed Southſouthweſt three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they ſailed South nine leagues, then the latitude obſerued was 42 degrees 24 minutes. From that till the 24 day at noone they ſayled
41 degrees 32 minutes. South by Weſt ſeuenteene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obſerued was 41 degrees 32 minutes. From noone till ſeuen of the clocke at night, they ſailed Southſouthweſt foure leagues, then had they perfect ſight of high land or hilles, which were almoſt couered with ſnowe, and the mids of them were Weſt from the ſhippe, being then about twelue leagues from the neereſt land: they ſounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they ſailed Southweſt vntill midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25 day foure of the clocke in the morning, they ſailed Weſt three leagues, being then little winde, and neere the land, they tooke in their ſayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obſerued, was 40 degrees 54 minutes: they ſounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde Northweſt, they ſet their ſayles, and from thence till the 26 day at noone they ſailed Eaſt ſouthealt foure leagues. From thence they ſailed till eight of the clocke at night Southweſt three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they ſailed vntill the 27 day two of the clocke in the morning, Weſtſouthweſt eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the ſaid two till foure of the clocke they ſayled South by Weſt one league: then being day light, they ſaw the land playne, which was not paſt three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the ſea, about fiue leagues from the ſame land, (which are called Barmake Taſh) they ſayled betweene thoſe rocks and the land, and about fiue of
Bildill. the clocke they paſſed by the port Bilbill, where they ſhould haue put in but could not: and bearing longſt the ſhoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildigh in the country of Media or Sheruan, againſt which place they ankered in nine foot water. Preſently after they were at anker, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were ſeuen or eight perſons, two Turks, the reſt Perſians, the Turks ſallats, which bade them welcome, and ſeemed to be glad of their arriuall, who tolde the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Sheruan, and how that the Turks Baſha remayned in Derbent with a garriſon of Turks, and that Shamackie was wholly ſpoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being deſirous to come to the ſpeech of the Baſha, ſent one of the Tiſliks (or merchants that went ouer with them from Aſtracan, paſſingers) and one of the companyes ſeruants Robert Golding, with thoſe ſouldiours,
Backow port. to the captaine of Backow, which place ſtandeth hard by the ſea, to certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to deſire friendſhippe to haue quiet and ſafe traffike for the ſame. Backow is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes iourney, one foote eaſily to be trauelled, which may be fiue leagues the next way ouer land: it is a walled towne, and ſtrongly fortified. When the ſayd meſſenger came to the captaine of Backowe, the ſaid captaine gaue him very friendly intertainement, and after he vnderſtood what they were that were come in the ſhippe, and what they had brought, he ſeemed to reioyce much thereat: who gaue the ſayd Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentith day: and promiſed that he would himſelfe come to the ſhippe the next day following: with which anſwere the ſayd Golding returned and came to the ſhippe the ſayd eight and twentith day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentith day in the morning the factours cauſed a tent to be ſet vp at ſhoare neere the ſhippe, againſt the comming of the ſayde captayne: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie ſouldiours, that attended on him, in ſuits of male, and ſome of them had gauntlets of ſiluer, others of ſteele, and very fayre. The factours met him at their tent, and after very friendly ſalutations paſſed betweene them, they gaue him for a preſent a gayment of cloth of veluet, and another of ſcarlet, who accepted the ſame gratefully: after they had talked together by their interpretours, as well of the ſtate of the voyage and cauſe of their comming thither, as alſo learned of the ſayde captaine the ſtate of that countrey, the factours made requeſt vnto him, that he would helpe them to the ſpeeche of the Baſha, who anſwered that their demaund was reaſonable, and that hee would willingly ſhew them therein what pleaſure he could, and ſayd becauſe the way to Derbent, where the Baſha remayned, was dangerous, he would ſend thither, and certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and ſuch commodities as they would deſire to exchange or barter the ſame

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ſay he would procure the ſaid Baſha to prouide for them: and therefore willed the factors to conſult together, and certifie him what they moſt deſired, and what quantitie they would haue prouided: ſo whileſt the factors were conſulting togither thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tiſſike merchant that came ouer in the ſhip with them from Aſtracan, which Tiſſike among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before the factors and their company were determined to haue returned backe againe to Aſtracan, and that they were about to way their ankers, which in deed was true, but the maiſter of the barke, Thomas Hudſon of Limehouſe, perſuaded them that the winde was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they deſired to go to the Baſha, and that he would ſafely conduct them thither: he graunted their requeſts willingly, deſiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they ſhould go to Backow, and from thence proceed on their iourney to Derbent. They were vnwilling to go that night with him, becauſe they prouiſion for the way was not in readineſſe, but requeſted that they might ſtay till the morning. Thereupon the captaine ſayd it was reuoked vnto him, that they mene the night before to haue gone away: and if it ſhould ſo happen, he were in great danger of looſing his head: for which cauſe he requeſted to haue ſome one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factours offered himſelfe to go, who becauſe he could not ſpeake the Ruſſe tongue, tooke with him Chriſtopher Burrough, and a Ruſſe interpretour: that night they road from the ſea ſide, to a village about ten miles off, where at ſupper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countries were neere vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Ruſſe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we ſhould be: but when by the ſituation he perceiued we were Engliſhmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Engleterra, is it not? anſwere was made it was ſo: wherof he was very glad when he knew the certainty. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himſelfe, and Chriſtopher Burrough, with the Ruſſie interpretour for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gilan merchant with him at that preſent, of whom he ſeemed to make great account: him he placed next to himſelfe on the other ſide, and his gentlemen ſate round about him talking together. Their ſitting is vpon the heeles, or croſſe legged.

Thom. Hudſon of Limehouſe, maiſter of the Engliſh barke.

M. Chriſtoph. Burrough.

Supper being brought in, he requeſted them to eat. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewiſe their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice ſodden thicke, and ioynted withall: after all which, came a sheepe roſted whole, which was brought in a tray, and ſet before the captaine: he called one of his ſeruitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying therof vpon diuers platters, ſet the ſame before the captaine: then the captaine gaue to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he caſt meat from the platters which were before him. Diuers queſtions he had with M. Garrard and Chriſtopher Burrough at ſupper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fiſh or fleſh voluntarily, or by order. Their drinke in thoſe parts is nothing but water. After ſupper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the vſe was in England to lie in the houſe or in the garden, and which he had beſt liking of: he anſwered, where it pleaſed him, but their vſe was to lye in houſes: thereupon the captaine cauſed beds to be ſent into the houſe for them, and cauſed his kinſman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himſelfe with his gentlemen and ſouldiors lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he ſent horſe for the reſt of the company which ſhould go to Derbent, ſending by them that went ſome sheepe for the ſhippe. In that village there was a Stoue, into which the captaine went in the morning, requeſting M. Garrard to go alſo to the ſame to waſh himſelfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stoue, whileſt they were at breakfaſt, M. Turnbull, M. Taylboyes, and Thomas Hudſon the M. of the ſhippe, came thither, and when they had all broken their faſts, they went to Backow: but Chriſtopher Burrough returned to the ſhip, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that trauell. And from Backow they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promiſed, being accompanyed on their way for their ſafe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine ſouldiors, which had the captaine of Backow his letters to the Baſha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their iourney to Derbent they forſooke the ordinary wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled through woods till they came almoſt to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Baſha, to certifie him of the Engliſh merchants comming, who receiuing the letters, and vnderſtanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and ſent forth to receiue them, certaine ſouldiors gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, ſalu-

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ting them with great reuerence, and afterwardes road before them: then againe met them other souldiours, somewhat nerrer the castle, which likewise hauing done theyr saluerations road before them, and then came foorth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receiue them into the castle and towne. As they entred the castle there was a shot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, and the Basha sent M. Turnbull a very fayre horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and so they were conueyed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a coate of cloth of golde, and caused it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take theyr ease, for that they were wearie of theyr iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when the factors came againe to the presence of the Basha, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would graunt them his priuilege, whereby they might trafficke safely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Highnesse to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his minde therof to the captaine of Backow, it should be deliuered him accordingly. The Bashaes answere was, that he would willingly giue them his priuilege: yet for that he regarded theyr safetie, hauing come so farre, and knowing the state of his country to be troublesome, he would haue them to bring theyr commodity thither, & there to make sale of it, promising he would prouide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, so that they should not be iniured by any: whereupon the factors sent Thomas Hudson backe for the ship to bring her to Derbent, and the Basha sent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Backow, to certifie him what was determined, which message being done, the captaine of Backow, and the Bashaes messenger, accompanied with a dozen souldiours, went from Backow with Thomas Hudson, and came to the ship at Bildih the 11 day of June. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and seene the ship, they all departed presently, but the gentleman, messenger from the Basha, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the shippe till she came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by diuers obseruations is 40 degrees 25 minuts: the variation of the compasse 10 degrees 40 minuts from North to West. After the returne of Thomas Hudson backe to Bildih, they were constrayned to remayne there with the shippe though contrary windes vntill the 16 day of June foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, set saile and departed thence towardes Derbent, and arriued at anker against Derbent East and by South from the sayd castle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22 day of June at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke vp theyr ordinance, which before they had stowed in holde for easing the shippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Basha came downe to the water side against the shippe, and hauing the said ordinance placed, and charged, it was all shotte off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the shippe. The 29 day theyr goods were vnladen and carryed to the Bashaes garden, where he made choyce of such things as he liked, taking for custome of euery fiue and twentie karsies, or whatsoeuer one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factours after his choyce made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Backow, for the speedier making sale therof, for which cause they obteined the Bashaes letter to the captaine of Backow, written very fauourably in theyr behoofe: and thereupon was laden and sent in a small boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thousand pound sterling: videlicet, one hundred pieces of karsies, seuen broad clothes, two barrels of cochenele, two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of shalle. There went with the same of the companyes seruantes William Winckle, Robert Golding, and Richard Reise, with two Russies, whereof one was an interpretor, besides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the sayd barke the 19 of July, and arriued at Bildih the 25 day: theyr passage and carriage of their goods to Backow was chargeable, although theyr sales when they came thither were small: they had great friendship shewed them of the captaine of Backow, as well for the Bashaes letter, as also for the factours sakes, who had dealt friendly with him as before is declared. Robert Golding desirous to vnderstand what might be done at Shamakie, which is a daies iourney from Backow, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeues, and was shot into the knee with an arrow, who had verie hardly escaped with his life and goodes, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues horse with his caliuer, and shot a Turke through both cheeks with a dag. On the first day of August the factors being aduertised at Derbent that theyr ship was so rotten and weake, that it was doubtfull she would not carry them backe to Astracan, did thereupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whose name was Iacob, for a barke called a Busse, being of burden about 35 tunnes, which came that yeere from Astracan, and was at that instant riding at an iland called Zere about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eastwardes of Bildih, which barke for theyr more safetie, they meant to haue with them in their returne to Astracan, and thereupon wrote vnto Wincoll and

The latitude of Bildih 40 deg. 25. min.

The variation of the compas 10 deg. 40 min.

Zere Iland.

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the rest at Backow, that they should receiue the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at Bildigh to be returned to Derbent, and to discharge their first boate, which was obserued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboyde the saide Busse at Bildigh, and being readie to haue departed thence for Derbent, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the sea, by force whereof the cables and halsters were broken, and their vessell put a shoare, and broken to pieces against the rockes: euery of them that were in her saued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheste, wherein were doflers, and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the companie, which they solde at Backowe, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the barkes side into the water amongst the rockes, and so was lost. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost, other thinges that were more portable they saued.

The 18. of August, the Factors receiued from the Basha 500. Batmans of rawe silke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the rest of the bargaine.

The 1[illegible] day the Factors went to the Basha according to his appointment, but that day they could not speake with him, but it was deliuered them as from him, that they should looke and consider whether any thing were due vnto him or not, which grieued the Factors, and thereupon M. Turnebul answered, that their heads and all that they had were at the Bashaes pleasure; But then it was answered there was no such matter in it: but that they should cast vp their reckonings, to see how it stood betweene them. The 20. day they cast vp their reckonings. The 21. they went to haue spoken with the Basha, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Busse that came from Astracan, that Arthur Edwards (whome the Factors left at Astracan with the mettie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the of

Arthur Edwards dieth at Astracan.

The 23. day the Factors receiued more from the Basha 500. Batmans of silke. The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamakie, was set on by theeues (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Castle of Derbent, where the Armenian Christians do vsually burie their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to Derbent, that the Busse which they had bought of Iacob the Armenian as before, was cast away at Bildih, but they receiued no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the shippe 40. bales of silke. From the 26. til the 2. of October, they tooke into the shippe, bread, water, and other necessary prouision for their sea store: the said 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the suddaine to auoyd their house, and get them with their prouision out of the towne: Whereupon they were constrained to remoue and carry their things to the sea side against the ship, and remained there all the night. The cause of this sudden auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the Basha had receiued newes of a supplie with treasure that the Turke had sent, which was then neere at hand comming towards him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboorde the ship: and that day the Factors went to the Basha to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended those the Companies seruants, &c. which they had sent to Backow, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the Countrey: who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be iniuried of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboord purposing presently to haue set saile and departed towards Astracan, the winde seruing well for that purpose at South Southeast; And as they were readie to set saile, there came against the shippe a man who weued: whereupon the boate was sent a shoare to him, who was an Armenian sent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the saide Wincoll had written briefly, the mishappe of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from Bildih towardes Derbent, they, and such things as they saued with a small boate, forced to put a shoare in a place by the sea side called the Armenian village: Whereupon the Factors caused the shippe to stay hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the shippe, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to saile with the shippe, with the next winde that would serue them, against the place where they were, & take them in if they could: which stay and losse of those Southerly windes, was a cause of great troubles, that they afterwards sustained through yce, &c. entring the Volga as shalbe declared.

The 4. day the winde South Southeast, the shippe rode still: This day Christopher Burrow was sent to shore to Derbent to prouide some necessaries for the voyage, & with him. Tisike

of two, which should goe in the shippe pallengers to Astracan. And being on shoare he sawe there the comming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers, and 100. pioners, besides Captaines and Gentlemen: the Basha with his Captaines and souldiers very gallantly apparelled and furnished, went out from Derbent about three or fourre miles to meete the saide treasure, and receiued the same with great ioye and triumphe. Treasure was the cheefe thing they needed, for not long before, the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their paye: there was a great mutenie amongst them, because hee had long deferred and not payed them their due. The treasure came in 7. wagons, and with it were brought 10. pieces of brasse.

The Turke his treasure sent to Derbent.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to bee bought of any value, but rawe silke, neither was that to bee had but at the Bashaes handes: who shortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so it was not extreeme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefest part, for which hee gaue but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth, and because he had prouided such quantitie of commodities for them, which other wise they coulde not haue had, the Countrey being so troublesome, and trauaile by land so dangerous, he vsed them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported vnto them at Astracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes and Persians differed litle from the truth: For the Turkes armie with ayde of the Crims, (being in number by the information of 2. Spaniards that serued in those warres, about 200000.) inuaded & conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke vnderstood of the conquest, he appointed Osman Basha (the said Basha, and now Captaine of Derbent) gouernour of the whole Countrey, who settled himselfe in Shamakie the chiefe Citie of Media, and principal place of trafique, vnto whome was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the gratefull acceptation of his seruice and the great conquest, a sword of great value.

Osman Basha.

After the saide Basha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrisons where hee thought conuenient, the armie was dissolued and sent backe: When the Persians vnderstoode that the Turkes armie was dissolued and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and ouerranne the same with fire and sword, destroying whatsoeuer they founde, as well people, cattell, as whatsoeuer els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so ouerrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamakie, where the saide Basha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was settled, and besieged it: whereupon the Basha seeing hee coulde not long indure to withstande them, fleeth thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent is a strong Castle which was built by Alexander the great, the situation whereof is such, that the Persians being without Ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamakie, the Persians entred the same and spoyled it, leauing therein neither liuing creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into Persia, and settled themselues about Teueris, where there grewe some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themselues together in a great armie and encountring the saide Turkes, set vpon them on the sudden, and vanquished them, putting them all to the sworde. This ouerthowe of the Turkes grieued the Basha of Derbent, and made him to haue the more care for his owne safetie.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Moreouer, newes was brought vnto him that the Kisel Bashaes, (that is to say the nobles & Gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set vpon him, and that neere vnto Backow there lay an armie readie to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of Derbent viewing the same, and the spyings that did come to it, and where he saw any cause of reformation it was amended.

The Latitude of Derbent (by diuers obseruations exactly there made) is 41. deg. 52. The variation of the Compasse at that place about 11. degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by land, 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamakie by land 45. leagues. From Shamakie to Backow about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles. From Backow to Bildih 5. or six leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Castle Derbent Eastwards there reache 2. stone walles to the border of the Caspian sea, which is distant one English mile. Those walles are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space betweene them is 160. geometrical paces, that is 800. foote. There are yet to be perceiued of the ruine of those walles, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile: Also from the Castle Westward into the land, they did perceiue the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wall as it is reported, did passe from thence

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg. 52. min.

to

to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the Caſtle Derbent was made.

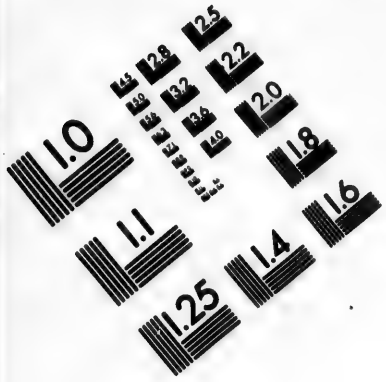
The 5. of October about noone the winde North Northeaſt they waied ancre, and ſet ſaile from Derbent, being long ere the coaſt to the Southwards to ſeeke their men, but as they had ſailed about foure leagues the winde ſtanced Eaſterly, ſo that they were forced to ancre in three fathome water.

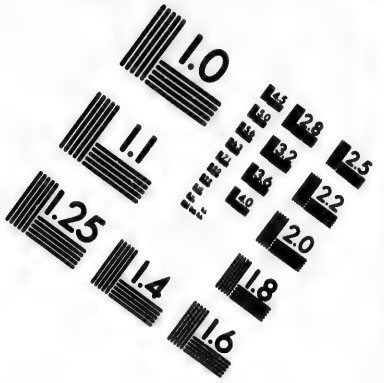
The 6. day they waied ancre, and bare further off into the ſea, where they ancred in 7. fathome water, the ſhippe being very leke and ſo rotten abaſte the maine maſte, that a man with his nailes might ſtrape through her ſide.

The 7. day about 7. of the clocke in the morning, they ſet ſaile, the winde Southweſt. They conſidered the time of the yeere was farre ſpent, the ſhip weake, leke and rotten, and therefore determining not to tarry any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes but to leaue them behinde, bent themſelues directly towards Aſtracan: and ſayling North Northeaſt vntill midnight about 16. leagues, the winde then came to the North Northweſt, and blew much, a very ſtorme, which cauſed them to take in all their ſailes, ſauing the foze coaſle, with which they were forced to ſteere before the ſea, South by weſt, and South ſouthweſt. And on the 8. day about 2. of the clocke in the morning their great boate ſunke at the ſhips ſterne, which they were forced to cut from the ſhippe to their great griefe and diſcomfort: for in her they hoped to ſaue their liues if the ſhippe ſhoulde haue miſcaried. About 10. of the clocke before noone they had ſight of the lande about 5. leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longſt the coaſt to the Southeaſtwards vnto Nezauoo, where they came at ancre in 3. fathoms and blacke oze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad as alſo that the winde was ſhifted to the Northweſt, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the reſt of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18. leagues to the weſtwards of Nezauoo, the place where againſt they rode at ancre, ſaw the ſhip as ſhe paſſed by that place, and ſent a man in the night following alongſt the coaſt after her, who came againſt the ſhip where ſhe rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree, made ſignes, which was perceiued by them in the ſhippe, whereupon they hoyſed out their ſkiffe, and ſent her a boate to learne what was ment by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherin he wrote that they were with ſuch goods as they had at the Armenian village, and praied that there they might be with the ſame goods be taken into the ſhippe. The 9. day it was little winde, they waied and bare a little further off into the ſea towards the ſaid village, and ancred. The 10. day they ſent their ſkiffe to the Armenian village to fetch thoſe men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde ſerued, that they could not returne to fetche the ſhippe, they of the ſhippe promiſed to come for them, againſt the ſaide village: this day it was calme.

The 11. day the winde Northweſt they rode ſtill. The 12. day the winde Southeaſt they waied ancre, and bare againſt and neere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the ſkiffe came aboorde and tolde them that our people at ſhoare, were like to be ſpoyled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the ſkiffe ſent backe againe to charge them at any hand they ſhould hatten aboorde the ſhippe whatſoeuer it coſt them. Wherevpon, all the companie came aboorde the ſame day ſauing Richard Relfe, and two Ruſſes, but as ſoone as the ſkiffe was returned aboorde the ſhippe, the winde blewe at Southeaſt, and the ſea was growen ſo as they were forced to take in their ſkiffe into the ſhip and rode ſtill till the 13. day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the ſkiffe was hoyſed out of the ſhippe, and ſent to ſhoare to fetch the ſaid Relfe and the two Ruſſes, which were readie at the ſhoare ſide, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captiues at the Goletta in Barbarie, which ſerued the Turke as ſouldiers. Theſe Spaniards (of Chriſtian charitie) they brought alſo aboorde the ſhippe to redeeme them from their captiuitie, which were brought ouer into England, and ſet free and at liberty here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at North Northeaſt, faire weather. The 14. day they ſent the ſkiffe to ſhoare, and filled freſh water. The 15. day they rode ſtill being little winde and fogge. The 16. day the winde Eaſt Southeaſt, they waied ancre and ſet ſaile bearing Northwards towardes Aſtracan, and the ſame night they ancred in 10. fathome water, about 5. miles from the ſhoare of the Shalkaules countrey, which place is 8. leagues North Northweſt from Derbent. The 17. day the winde at North very ſtormie, they rode till all the day & night. The 18. the winde all Southeaſt about one of the clocke afternoone, they waied ancre & ſailed thence til 4. of the clocke North Northeaſt 6. leagues, then might they ſee the land Northweſt about 10. leagues from the winde Southeaſt frō thence they ſailed til midnight North Northeaſt 12. leagues. Frō thence til p 19. day 7. a clocke in p morning they ſailed Northnortheaſt 8. leagues: the winde then Eaſt ſoutheaſt, a faire gale, they ſounded and had 17. fathoms, and ſand, being (as the M. iudged) about the head of Shelly: from thence till 12. of the clocke at noone they

Two Spaniards brought out of Barbarie.





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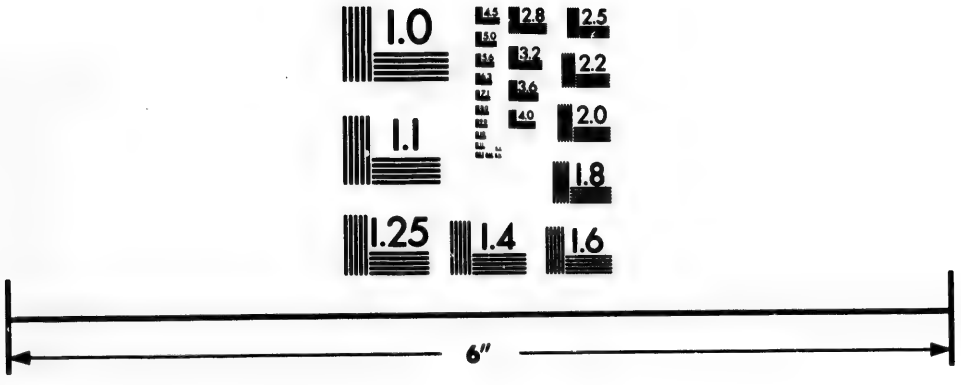

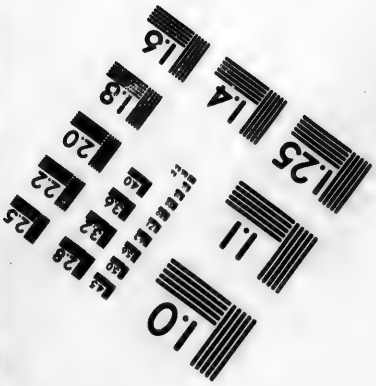

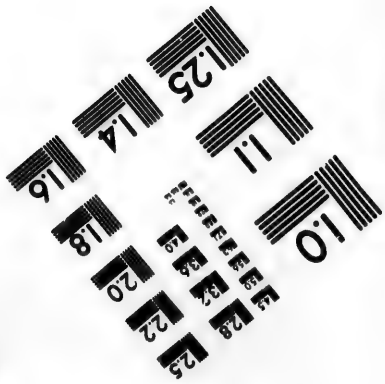

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sailed North 5. leagues, the winde then at East a faire gale, they sounded and had 5. fadoms. From thence till 8. of the clocke at night, they sailed North 7. leagues: the winde then at North-east with small raine, they tooke in their sailes and ancred in 3. fadoms water and soft ooze, where they rode still all night, and the 20. day and night the winde Northeast, as before with small raine.

The 21. day the winde Northwest, they likewise rode still. The 22. day about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, they waied ancre the winde West Northwest, and sailed from thence till five of the clocke at night North 4. leagues, then they ancred in 2. fathoms and a halfe soft ooze, the winde at West a small breath.

The 23. day about 7. of the clocke in the morning, they waied ancre and set saile being little winde Easterly, and sailed till 2. of the clocke after noone Northwest in with the shoare about five leagues, and then ancred in 6. foote water, hauing perfect sight of the lowe lande (sande hilles) being about three miles from the neerest land. This place of the land that they were against, they perceiued to be to the Westwards of the foure Ilands (called in the Russe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they founde it afterwards by due proofe, to be about 50. verstes, or thirtie English miles to the Southwest, or Southwest by South, from the said Chetera Bogori.

The 24. day the winde at East, and by South, a sea winde called Gillauar, caused them to ride still. The 25. day they thought good to sende in their skiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Russes, to rowe him longest Northwards by the shoare, to seeke the foure Ilands, and so to passe vnto the Vchooge, and there to land the saide Rob. Golding to proceede to Astracan, to deliuer Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to prouide Pauozes to meete the shippe at the saide Ilands, and the skiffe with the Russes were appointed to returne from the Vchooge with victuals to the shippe, which skiffe departed from the shippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28. and 29. dayes, the windes Easterly, and Northeast they roode still with their shippe. The 30. day the winde Southeast, they waied and set saile to the Northeast ward: but the shippe fell so on the side to the shoreward, that they were forced eftsoones to take in their sailes and ancre ageine, from whence they neuer remooued her. That day they shared their breade: but in their want God sent them two couies of partridges, that came from the shoare, and lighted in and about their shippes, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recouered his health.

A strange accident of prouision for their liuing.

November. The 4. of November the skiffe returned to the shippe with some victuals, and certified that the 4. Ilands were about 60. verstes from them to the Northeastwards. When Robert Golding came to Astracan, and deliuered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, Capteine of the place, was done to vnderstand of the ships arrtiual, and of the state they were in, and their request by Pauoses, who was very glad to heare of their safe returne, and appointed to be sent with all speede 2. Pauoses, and a Strooge, with gunners to garde and to defende them. With the which Strooge and Pauoses, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4. Ilands aforesaid, where he stayed with those barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5. day they purposed to send from the shippe their skiffe with the carpenter, and 4. Russes, to rowe him to the 4. Bowgories, to request Amos Rial to come from thence with the Pauoses to the ship with al possible speed. The skiffe with those men departed from the ship in the morning, and within one houre they met with a small boat with Russes, rowing towards the ship which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde swine and other victuals to sell: with the same boate the skiffe returned backe to the ship after the Russes had receiued and were satisfied for the victuals they brought. The same day they returned with their boate backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the same boate was sent the carpenter of the ship to the Chetera Bougori which were in their way, to declare vnto Amos Riall the message before appointed him. From the 5. vntill the 9. day the ship rode still with contrary winds Easterly. The same 9. day, came to the ship certaine Russes in a small boate, which brought with them some victuals sent by Amos Riall, and declared, that hee with the Pauoses and Strooge, had remained at the Chetera Boogori 5. dayes expecting the comming thither of the ship. The 10. day being doubtfull of the Pauoses comming, they sent Thomas Hudson master of the ship in the skiffe (and with her went the aforesaid skiffe boate) towards the Chetera Boogori to the Pauoses, to bring word whether they would come to the ship or not, the winde then at North-east with fogge. The 11. day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ship roode still. The 12. day Amos Rial, Christopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ship, and with them the M. Thomas Hudson returned (but the Strooge with the gunners remained at the Chetera Boogori) and from thence (when it began to freese,) returned to Astracan. Amos Rial declared that he sent the carpenter backe from the Chetera Boogori in a small boate on the 10. day, and marueiled that he

was

was not come to the ſhippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) miſſed the ſhippe, and ouerſhot her, and afterwards returning backe, hee found the ſhip at ancre, and nothing in her but the Ruſſes that were left to keepe her, and then hee departed thence, and went to the Vchooge, and there ſtayed. Preſently vpon the comming of the Pauoſes to the ſhippe, they vſed as much ſpeede as might be, to get the goods out of the ſhippe into them, and after the goods were taken in, they tooke in alſo of the ſhippes Ordinance, furniture and prouiſion, as much as they could.

The 13. day in the morning Amos Riall was ſent away in a ſmall boate towards Aſtracan, to prouide victuals and carriages to relieue and helpe them, who could paſſe no further then the foure Iſlands, but was there ouertaken with yce, and forced to leaue his boate, and from thence paſſed poſte to Aſtracan, finding at the Vchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremitie of the colde. The ſame day they departed alſo in thoſe lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leauing the ſhippe at ancre, and in her two Ruſſes, which with three more that went in the Pauoſes, to prouide victuals for themſelues and the reſt, and there with promiſed to returne backe to the ſhippe with all ſpeede, had offered to vndertake for twentie rubbles in money to carry the ſhippe into ſome harborowe, where ſhee might ſafely winter, or els to keepe her where ſhee rode all winter, which was promiſed to be giuen them if they did it: and the ſame day when with thoſe lighters they had gotten ſight of the 4. Iſlands being about eight verſts South weſt from them, the winde then at Northeaſt, did freeſe ſo ſea ſo, as they could not rowe, guide, ſtirre or remoue the ſaide lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them; And ſo they continued driuing with the yce, Southeaſt into the ſea by the ſpace of fourtie houres, and then being the ſixteene day the yce ſtoode. Whiles they droue with the yce the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and ſea did breake, pieces of it were tolled and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the ſame happened at ſometimes ſo neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it would haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter deſtruction: but God who hath preſerued them from many perils before, did alſo ſaue and deliuer them then.

Ice the 13. of Nouember in the mouth of the riuer of Volga.

The 16 day.

Within three or foure dayes after the firſt ſtanding of the yce when it was firme and ſtrong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourtie and eight bales or packes of rawe ſilke, &c. layde it on the yce, and couered the ſame with ſuch prouiſions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the good there vpon the yce, and to goe to the ſhoare: and thereupon brake vp their cheſts and Corobias, where with, and with ſuch other things as they could gette, they made ſleds for euery of them to drawe vpon the yce, whereon they layde their clothes to keepe them warme, and ſuch victuals as they had, and ſuch other thinges as they might conueniently carry, and ſo they departed from the ſaide goods and Pauoſes very early about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauayling on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the ſame day about two of the clocke in the after noone, they had ſight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillockes of Iſlands ſo called:) vnto the ſame they directed themſelues, and there remained that night.

Chetera Babas.

The goods and Pauoſes which they left on the yce, they iudged to be from thoſe Chetera Babas about 20. verſts.

And the next morning departed thence Eaſtwardes, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Iſlands before ſpoken of) before noone, (the diſtance betweene thoſe places is about fifteene verſtes) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Aſtracan: the next morning very earely they loſt their way through the perſwaſion of the Ruſſes which were with them, taking to much towardes the left hande, (contrary to the opinion of Maſter Hudſon:) Whereby wandering vpon the yce foure or fiue dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars lande or not, at length it fortuned they meete with a way that had bene trauailed, which croſſe backewardes towardes the Sea, that way they tooke, and following the ſame, within two dayes trauaile it brought them to a place called the Craſnoyare, (that is to ſay in the Engliſh tongue) redde cliffe, which diuers of the companie knewe.

There they remayned that night hauing nothing to eate but one loafe of bread which they happened to finde with the two Ruſſes that were left in the ſhippe to keepe her all the winter (as is aforeſaide) whome they chanced to meete going towards Aſtracan, about fiue miles before they came to the ſaide Craſnoyare, who certified them that the ſhippe was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard ſcaping with their liues.

In the morning they departed earely from Craſnoyare towardes the Ouchooge, and

about 9. of the clocke before noone, being within 10. verstes of the Vchooge, they metts Amos Riall, with the Carpenter, which he founde at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and also fiftie and fiue boates with so many Cassacks to guide them, and 50. gunners for garde, which broughte prouision of victuals, &c. And were sent by the Duke to fetche the goods to Astracan. The meeting of that company was much ioy vnto them.

The Factors sent backe with Amos Riall and the saide companie to fetche the goods, Thomas Hudson, the master, Tobias Paris his mate, and so they the saide Factors, and their companie marched on to the Vchooge, where they refreshed themselues that day, and the night following.

December. And from thence proceeded on towards Astracan, where they arriued the last day of November. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors trauailed the same day vntill they came within 10. verstes of the Chetera Babas, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babas, where they staied all night; But presently departed thence Thomas Hudson, with the Carpenter and gunner to seeke where the goods lay: who founde the same, and the next day they returned backe to their company, at the Chetera Babas, and declared vnto them in what sort they had found the said goods.

The 3. day early in the morning they departed all from the 4. Babas towards the saide goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could finde vpon the said sleds, and with al conuenient speede returned backe towardes Astracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great companie of the Nagays Tartars horsemen, which came shouting and hallowing with a great noyse, but our people were so inuironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter vpon them, but ranne by, and shotte their arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Russe, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day, they shewed themselues a good distance off from our men, being a very great troupe of them, but did not assault them any more. The same day our men with those carriages, departed from thence towards Astracan, where they arriued in safetie the 4. of December, about 3. of the clocke in the after noone: where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue escaped so many hard euents, trouble and miseries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cause therefore to praise the Almightie, who had so mercifully preserued and deliuered them. They remained the winter at Astracan, where they found great fauour and friendship of the Duke, Captaine and other chiefe officers of that place: But that winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

Their returne to Astracan.

In the spring of the yeere 1581. about the mids of March the yce was broken vp, and cleane gone before Astracan, and the ninth of Aprill hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media laden into a Strooge, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthewe Taileboyes, Giles Crowe, Christopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouse gunner, Randolfe Foxe, Th. Hudson, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the diet, Ric. the surgean, Rob. Golding, John Smith, Edward Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, hauing also 40. Russes, whereof 36. were Cassacks to rowe, the rest Marchants passengers, departed from Astracan with the said Strooge and goods vp the Volga towards Yeraslaue. They left behinde them at Astracan, with the English goods & Marchandise there remayning, Amos Rial, W. Wincol, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to sell & barter the same, or so much thereof as they could to the Tisiks, if there came any thither that spring, and to others as they might, & the rest with such as they should take in exchange to returne vp to Yeraslaue that summer, when the Emperours carriage should passe vp to the Volga. The 21. day they came with their Strooge to the Perauoloke, but made no stay at that place: for they had bene much troubled with yce in their comming from Astracan. The 3.

May. of May about noone they came to Oueke, and from thence proceeding vp the riuer, on the 17. day William Turnebul departed from the Strooge in a smal boate, and went before towards Tetusha to prouide victuals, and sende downe to the Strooge from which place they were then about 230. verstes. The 23. day they mette a boate with victuals, which William Turnebull sent from Tetusha, and the same day they arriued with their Strooge at Tetusha, where they staied all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, by [illegible]. Turnebull was gone in the small boat before to Cazan, to prouide necessaries from thence, and to make way for their dispatch. The 26. day they arriued with their Strooge at Cazan, where they remayned till the fourth of June: the Factors sent Giles Crowe from Cazan to the Mosco, with their letters the 30. of May. The fourth day of June they departed from Cazan with their Strooge, and arriued at Yeraslaue the 22. day about 5. of the clocke in the morning.

The 23. day they prouided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda: The 24. day hauing the

the goods laden vpon Telegos, they departed with the ſame towards Vologhda, and remained there fiue weekes from Yeraſlaue.

The 29. day, they came to Vologhda, with all their goods in ſafetie, and good order. The ſame 29. William Turnebull, and Peter Garrard, departed from Vologhda, poſt by water towards Colmogro: the third of July, hauing their goods laden in a ſmall Doſhenike, they departed with the ſame from Vologhda, towards Roſſe Iſland, by S. Nicholas, where they arriued in ſafetie the 16. of July, and founde there the Agentes of Ruſſia, and in the Rode the ſhips ſent out of England, almoſt laden ready to depart.

The 25. day departed for England (out of the rode of S. Nicholas) the ſhippe Elizabeth.

The 26. day departed thence the Thomas Allen, and Marie Suſan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbull, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudſon, and others. The goods returned of the Perſia voyage, were laden into the ſhippe, William, and Iohn, whereof was Maſter William Bigat, and in her with the ſame goods, came Peter Garrard, and Tobias Parris.

The 11. of Auguſt, the ſame ſhippe being laden, and diſpatched, departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in companie another of the companies fraighted ſhips, called the Tomaſin, whereof was Maſter Chriſtopher Hal. In their returne homewards, they had ſome foule weather, and were ſeparated at the ſea, the William, and Iohn, put into Newcaſtle, the 24. of September: from whence the ſaid Peter Garrard, and Tobias Parris, came to London by lande, and brought newes of the arriuall of the ſhippe.

The 25. of September, both the ſaid ſhippes arriued at the port of London in ſafetie, and anchored before Limehouſe, and Wapping, where they were diſcharged. 1581.

Obſeruations of the latitudes and Meridian altitudes of diuers places in *Ruſsia*, from the North to the South. *Anno* 1581.

Michael Archangel.	Meridian altitude obſerued at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minutes.	
	The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minutes.	
The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro.	The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro, in latitude, 64.d.25.m.	
	The meridian altitude there obſerued, the 29. of July, 42.d.15.m.	
Recola.	Meridian altitude the 30. of July, 41.d.46.m.	64.d.20.m.
	Declination, 16.d.6.m.	
Yeegris.	Meridian, 4. of Auguſt, 41.d.50.m.	62.d.59.m.
	Declination Northerly, 14.d.49.m.	
Towlma	Meridian altitude, the 15. of Auguſt, 40.d.45.m.	60.d.17.m.
	Declination Northerly, 11.d.2.m.	
Vologhda.	Meridian altitude, the 20. of Auguſt, 40.d.	59.d.17.m.
	Declination Northerly, 9.d.17.m.	
Vologhda.	Meridian altitude, 21. of Auguſt, 39.d.36.m.	59.d.20.m.
	Declination, 8.d.56.m.	
Yereſlaue.	Latitude by geſſe, 57.d.50.m.	
Swyaskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31.d.	56.d.4.m.
	Declination, 2.d.56.m.	
Ouſſona Monaſterie.	Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30.d.26.m.	55.d.51.m.
	Declination, 3.d.43.m.	
Tetuskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28.d.28.m.	55.d.22.m.
	Declination, 5.d.35.m.	
Oueeke.	Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30.d.12.m.	51.d.30.m.
	Declination, 8.d.18.m.	
Aſtracan.	Aſtracan Meridian altitude, 22. October, 29.d.36.m.	46.d.10.m.
	Declination, 14.d.16.m.	
Aſtracan.	Meridian altitude, 1. of November, 26.d.35.m.	46.d.9.m.
	Declination, 17.d.16.m.	

Certaine

Certaine directions giuen by Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, to Master Morgan Hubblethorne, Dyer, sent into Persia, 1579.

1 FOr that England hath the best wooll, and cloth of the woꝛld, and for that the clothes of the Realme haue no good vent, if good dying be not added: therefoꝛe it is much to be wished, that the dying of foꝛren Countreies were seene, to the ende that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellencie: foꝛ thereof will followe honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will followe the setting of our poore on woꝛke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: foꝛ which cause most principally, you are sent ouer, at the charge of the Citie: and therefoꝛe foꝛ the satisfying of the Lordes, and of the expectation of the Merchants, and of your companie, it behooues you to haue care to returne home with moꝛe knowledge, then you carried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, foꝛ a fifth, sixth, and seuenth part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefoꝛe to deuise to dye as good colours with the one halfe of the present price, were to the great commoditie of the Realme, by sauing of great treasure in time to come. And therefoꝛe you must haue great care to haue knowledge of the materials of all the Countreies, that you shall passe through, that may be vsed in dying, be they hearbes, weedes, barkes, gummes, earths, oꝛ what els soeuer.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrommed wooll, the best of the woꝛlde, and excellently coloured: those Cities and Townes, you must repaire to, and you must vse meanes to learne all the oꝛder of the dying of those thrommes, which are so died, as neither raine, wine, noꝛ yet vineger, can staine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not neede to learne dying of cloth. Foꝛ if the colour holde in yarne, and thromme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 Foꝛ that in Persia, they haue great colouring of silkes, it behooues you to learne that also, foꝛ that clothe dying, and silke dying, haue a certaine affinitie, and your Merchants minde to bring much rawe silke into the Realme, and therefoꝛe it is moꝛe requisite you learne the same.

5 In Persia, there are that weine linnen clothe: it is not amisse you learne it, if you can: it hath beene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They haue a cunning in Persia, to make in Buskins of Spanish leather, flowers of many kindes in most liuely colours, and these the Courtiers doe weare there, to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, oꝛ of the East partes of the woꝛld, be to be found in Persia, acquaint your selfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anyle there, if you can procure the herbe, that it is made of either by seede, oꝛ by plant, to carry into England, you may doe well to endeuour to enrich your Countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anyle, and if you can get the hearbe, you may sende the same dyre into England, foꝛ possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances, that they dye with all in Russia, and also in Persia, that your companie may see all.

10 In some litle pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing, whatsoeuer you shall learne from day to day, least you should forget, oꝛ least God should call you to his mercie, and by each returne, I wish you sende in writing whatsoeuer you haue learned, oꝛ at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that come death, oꝛ life, your Countrey may enioy the thing that you goe foꝛ, and not lose the charge, and trauell bestowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fixe, and make sure the colour to be giuen by logge wood: so shall we not neede to buy oade so deere, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of Leckar, and of all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note, from whence euery of them doe come, and where, and in what Countrey each of them doth growe, I meane where the naturall place of each of them is, as how neere to such a Citie, oꝛ to such a Sea, oꝛ to such a portable Riuer, in Russia, Persia, oꝛ els where.

15 If

15 If before your returne you could procure a singular good workeman, in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.

Commission giuen by Sir Rowland Hayward, Knight, and *George Barne, Aldermen and Gouernours of the company of English* Merchants, for discouerie of newe trades, vnto Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, for a voyage by them to be made, for discouerie of Cathay, 1580. in forme following.

IN the name of God Almightie, and euerlasting, Amen. This writing for commission Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May, Anno Domini, 1580. and in the two and twentieth yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene Sir Rowland Hayward, Knight, & George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and Gouernours of the companie of English merchants, for discouerie of newe trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the said companie, on the first partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratclife, in the Countie of Middlesex, Captaine, Maister, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the second partie, and Charles Iackman of Popler, in the saide Countie of Middlesex, Captaine, Maister, and Ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are nowe riding at anker in the riuer of Thames against Limehouse) on the third partie: witnesseth, that the said Gouernours, and companie, haue hired the said Arthur Pet, to serue in the said barke, called the George, with nine men and a boye: And likewise the said Charles Iackman, to serue in the said barke, called the William, with fiue men and a boye, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for search and discoueries of a passage by sea from hence by Boroughs streights, and the Iland Vaigats, Eastwards, to the countries or dominion of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the same vnto the cities Cambalu, and Quinsay, or to either of them.

The which passage (vpon authoritie of writers, and great reason) is conceaued to be from the Vaigats Eastwards according to the description in plat of spirall lines, made by master William Borough, whereof either of the said Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, haue one deliuered vnto them and also one other sailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it should not be in all points, according to that description, yet we hope, that the continent or firme land of Asia, doth not stretch it selfe so farre Northwards, but that there may be found a sea passeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we haue appointed you with these two barkes, to make triall of the same: wishing you both to ioyne in friendship together, as most deere friendes, and brothers, to all purposes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the same voyage. And likewise ouer your companies, that they of the one barke may haue such loue and care, to helpe and succour them of the other, as most deere friendes and brothers would doe: so as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is so appointed for your greater comfort and assurance) yet that you are wholy of one minde, and bende your selues to the vttermost of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed in.

Doe you obserue good order in your daily seruice, and pray vnto God, so shall you prosper the better.

We would haue you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, consult, and agree howe, and by what meanes you may best performe this purposed voyage, according to our intents. And at such meeting, we thinke it requisite, that you call vnto you your mates, and also Nicholas Chanceler, (whome we doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandize you shall buy, or sell, barter, or exchange) to the ende, that whatsoeuer God should dispose of either of you, yet they may haue some instructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your assemblies and consultations together, and the substance of matter you shall at euery time agree vpon, we would haue you to note them in the paper bookes that we giue you for that purpose, vnto each barke one. Wee doe appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admirall, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Iackman in the William, as Vice admirall, for good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of companie together, which we wish may be such, as you should neuer lose sight the one of the other, except by both your consents, to discouer about an Iland, or in some

some riuer, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, we referre the same to your good discretions.

And nowe for your good direction in this voyage, we would haue you with the next good wind and weather, that God shall send thereunto meete and conuenient, after the 22. day of this present moneth of May, saile from this riuer of Thames, to the coast of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouse, and from thence direct your course to haue sight of Willoughbies land, and from it passe alongst to the Noua Zemla, keeping the same lands alwaies in your sight on your larboord side (if conueniently you may) to the ende you may discouer, whether the same Willoughbies land be continent and firme land, with Noua Zemla, or not: notwithstanding wee would not haue you to entangle your selues in any Bape, or otherwise, so as it might hinder your speedie proceeding to the Island Vaigats.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would haue you to get sight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is ouer against the South part of the same Island, and from thence with Gods permission, to passe Eastwards alongst the same coast, keeping it alwaies in your sight (if conueniently you may) vntill you come to the mouth of the riuer Ob, and when you come vnto it, passe ouer the saide riuers mouth vnto the border of land, on the East side of the same (without any staye to be made for searching inwardly in the same riuer) and being in sight of the same Easterly land, doe you in Gods name proceede alongst by it, from thence Eastwards, keeping the same alwaies on your starboord side in sight, if you may, and followe the tracte of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may doe both) vntill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God prosper your voyage, with such good successe, that you may attaine to the same, doe you seeke by all meanes you can, to arriue to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinsay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you can not conueniently come to either of those places, or shall be driue to remaine a winter in some other port or place of his dominion, do you seeke by al meanes possible to winne fauour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or doe wrong to any people or nation whatsoeuer, but therein to bee innocent as doues, yet wise as serpents, to auoid mischiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you shall haue gotten friendship though your discreete ordring of your selues, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and shewe them one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, which she sendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one substance and effect, for ech of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Maiestie hath subscribed, and caused her signet seale to be set, the effect of the same letters you haue also written in English, for your owne vnderstanding thereof.

The same her Maiesties letters, you shall procure to deliuer vnto the same mightie Prince, or Gouernour, with some present to be giuen such as you shall thinke meete, and conuenient, vsing your selues in all pointes according to the effect of the same letters, and procure againe from the same Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God so prosper your voyage, that you may this summer passe the Streights, and compasse about the Northermost land of Asia, vnto the Countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priuiledge against the next yeeres spring, you may then after your first setting foorth, search and discouer some what further then you had discouered before your wintering, so farre as you shall thinke conuenient, with regard had, and alwaies prouided, that you may returne home hither, to giue vs aduice of your proceedings the same summer, or before the sharpenes or extremitie of winter ouertake you.

And if it happen you cannot this summer attaine to the border of Cathaye, and yet finde the land beyond the Ob, to stretch it selfe Easterly, with the sea adioyning vnto it nauigable, doe you then proceede on your discouerie (as before said) alongst the same continent, so farre as you can this summer, hauing care in the trauel to find out some conuenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it conuenient, put your selfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you shall deale with them, as we haue before aduised you to doe with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they haue a Prince or chiefe Gouernour, doe you procure to deliuer vnto the same Prince or gouernour, one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, as before said, and seeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you so happen to winter and obtaine letters of priuiledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to be such, that by vsing trade thither with the people, & by the commodities, it may be beneficiall vnto vs (as we hope you may) the same will be some good liking vnto vs: notwithstanding we would haue you the next summer (by the grace of God) at your first setting out of your wintering harborough, proceede alongst the

that tracte of land to Cathay, if you ſee likelihoode to paſſe it (for that is the Countrey that wee chiefly deſire to diſcouer) and ſeeing you are fully victualed for two yeeres and vpwards, which you may very well make to ſerue you for two yeeres and a halfe, though you finde no other helpe, you may therefore be the bolder to aduenture in proceeding vpon your diſcouerie: which if you do, we doubt not, but you ſhall atchieue the Countrey of Cathay, and deliuer to the Prince there, one of her Maieſties letters, bringing from thence the ſame Princes letters anſwerable: & ſo in the yeere of our Lord, 1582. returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not onely vnto vs the aduenturers in this voyage, but alſo to our whole Countrey, and nation, which God grant you may doe, Amen.

But if it happen that the land of Aſia from beyond the riuer Ob, extend it ſelfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the pole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that ſmall, or no hope may be looked for, to ſaile that waies to Cathay, doe you not withſtanding followe the tracte of the ſame land, as farre as you can diſcouer this ſummer, hauing care to finde out by the way a conuenient place for you to winter in, the which (if you may diſcouer the ſame lande of Aſia this ſummer to extend it ſelfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and vpwards, or to 85. degrees) we wiſh then that the ſame your wintring place may be in the riuer of Ob, or as neere the ſame riuer as you can, and finding in ſuch wintering place people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, &c. do you gently entreat with them as aforeſaid, & if you can learne þ they haue a prince or chiefe Gouernour amongſt them, doe you deliuer him one of her Maieſties letters, and procure thereof anſwere accordingly: doe you procure to barter and exchange with the people, of the merchandiſe and commodities that you ſhall carie with you, for ſuch commodities as you ſhall finde them to haue, &c.

If you ſo happen to winter, we would haue you the next ſummer, to diſcouer into the riuer Ob, ſo farre as conueniently you may: And if you ſhall finde the ſame riuer (which is reported to be wide or broade) to be alſo nauigable and pleaſant for you, to trauell farre into, happely you may come to the Citie Siberia, or to ſome other towne or place, habited vpon or neere the border of it, and thereby haue liking to winteer out the ſecond winter: vſe you therein your diſcretions.

But if you finde the ſaid riuer Ob, to be ſholde, or not ſuch as you may conueniently trauell in with your barkes, doe you then ehe next ſummer returne backe through Boroughs ſtreighes: And from that part of Noua Zembla, adioyning to the ſame ſtreights, doe you come alongſt the tracke of that coaſt Weſtwards, keeping it on the ſtarboord ſide, and the ſame alwaies in ſight, if conueniently you may, vntill you come to Willoughbies land, if outwards bound, you ſhall not happen to diſcouer and trie whether the ſaid Willoughbies lande ioyne continent with the ſame Noua Zembla, or not. But if you ſhall then proue them to be one firme and continent, you may from Noua Zembla direct your courſe vnto the ſaid Willoughbies land, as you ſhall thinke good, and as you may moſt conueniently: and from Willougbies land, you ſhall proceede Weſtwards alongſt the tract of it, (though it incline Northerly) euen ſo farre as you may or can trauell, hauing regard that in conuenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering.

And for your orderly paſſing in this voyage, and making obſeruations in the ſame, we referre you to the inſtructions giuen by Maſter William Borough, whereof one copie is annexed vnto the firſt part of this indenture, vnder our ſeale, for you Arthur Pet, an other copie of it is annexed to the ſecond part of this indenture, vnder our ſeale alſo, for you Charles Iackman, and a third copie thereof is annexed vnto the third part of this indenture, remaining with vs the ſaid companie, ſealed and ſubſcribed by the ſaid Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman.

And to the obſerning of all things contained in this commiſſion, (ſo neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the ſaid Arthur Pet, doe couenant by theſe preſents, to performe them, and euery part and parcell thereof. And I the ſaid Charles Iackman, doe for my part likewiſe couenant by theſe preſents to performe the ſame, and euery part thereof, ſo neere as God will giue me grace thereunto.

And in witnes thereof, theſe indentures were ſealed and deliuered accordingly, the day and yeere firſt aboue written. Thus the Lord God Almightie ſend you a proſperous voyage, with happie ſucceſſe, and ſafe returne, Amen.

Inſtructions

Instructions and notes very necessarie and needefull to be obserued, *in the purposed voyage for discouerie of Cathay Eastwards,* by Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman.

When you come to Orfordnesse, (if the winde doe serue you to goe a seaboord the sands) doe you set off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being against the said Nesse, turning then your glasse, whereby you intend to keepe your continuall watch, and appoint such course as you shall thinke good, according as the winde serueth you and from that time forwards continually (if your ship be lofe, vnder saile, a hull or trie) do you at the ende of euery 4. glasses at the least (except calme) sound with your dipsin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and also the ground. But if it happen by swiftnes of the shippes way, or otherwise, that you can not get ground, yet note what depth you did proue, and could finde no ground (this note is to be obserued all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come vpon any coast, or doe finde any sholve banke in the sea, you are then to vse your leade oftener, as you shall thinke it requisite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the keeping and sholding. And so likewise doe you note the depthes into harborroughs, riuers, &c.

Note to note before in his Iornall of the voyage, his dead reckoning, and other obseruations.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very necessarie that you doe note at the ende of euery 4. glasses, what way the shippe hath made (by your best proofes to be vsed) and howe her way hath bene through the water, considering withall for the lagge of the sea, to leewards, according vp as you shall finde it growen: and also to note the depth, and what thinges wrought the noting, happened in that time, with also the winde vpon what point you finde it then, and of what force, or strength it is, and what sailes you beare.

But if you should omit to note these things at the ende of euery 4. glasses, I would not haue you to let it slippe any longer time, then to note it diligently at the ende of euery watch, or 8. glasses at the farthest.

Doe you diligently obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possible, and also the variation of the compasse (especially when you may be at shoare vpon any lande) noting the same obseruations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you doe the same.

When you come to haue sight of any coast or land whatsoeuer, doe you presently set the same with your sailing compasse, how it beares off you, noting your iudgement howe farre you thinke it from you, drawing also the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares vnto you, noting diligently howe the highest, or notablest part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames also in sight of the same land at both endes, distinguishing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you haue sailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glasses (at the most) noting diligently what way you barke hath made, and vpon what point of the compasse doe you againe set that first land seene, or the partes thereof, that you first obserued, if you can well perceaue or discerne them, and likewise such other notable pointes or signes, vpon the land that you may then see, and could not perceaue at the first time, distinguishing it also by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the shape of the same land, as it appeareth vnto you, and so the third time, &c.

For noting the shape and forme of the land at first discouerie, &c.

And also in passing alongst by any and euery coast, doe you drawe the manner of biting in of euery Baye, and entrance of euery harborrough or riuers mouth, with the lying out of euery point, or headland, (vnto the which you may giue apt names at your pleasure) and make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether sande, hils, or woods, or whatsoeuer, not omitting to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any good purpose. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the obseruations in your booke, as aforesaid, and afterwards make demonstration thereof in your plat, you shall thereby perceaue how farre the land you first sawe, or the partes thereof obserued, was then from you, and consequently of all the rest: and also how farre the one part was from the other, and vpon what course or point of the compasse the one lieth from the other.

And when you come vpon any coast where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the highest and lowest water in euery place, and the slake or still water of full sea, & lowe water, and also which way the flood doth runne, howe the tides doe set, howe much water it high, and what force the tide hath to driue a shippe in one howre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can iudge it, and what difference in time you finde betweene the running of the floode, and the ebbe. And if you finde vpon any coast the current to runne alwaies one way, doe you also note the same truely,

For obserning of tides and currents.

duely how it ſetteth in euery place, and obſerue what force it hath to driue a ſhippe in one houre, &c.

Item, as often, and when as you may conueniently come vpon any land, to make obſeruation for the latitude and variation, &c. do you alſo (if you may) with your inſtrument, for tryall of diſtances, obſerue the platfoyme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conueniently ſee from time to time. Theſe orders if you diligently obſerue, you may thereby perfectly ſet downe in the plats, that I haue giuen you your whole trauell and deſcription of your diſcouery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, vnderſtande or perceiue, of the manner of the ſoile, or fruitfulneſſe of euery place and countrey you ſhall come in, and of the manner, ſhape, attire and diſpoſition of the people, and of the commodities they haue, and what they moſt couet and deſire of the commodities you carrie with you. It behoueth you to giue trifling things vnto ſuch people as you ſhall happen to ſee, and to offer them all curteſie and friendſhippe you may or can, to winne their loue and fauour towards you, not doing or offring them any wrong or hurt. And though you ſhould be offered wrong at their hands, yet not to reuenge the ſame lightly, but by all meanes poſſible ſeeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wiſely and with ſuch circumſpection that you keepe your ſelues out of their dangers.

To take the platfoymes of places within compaſſe of view vpon land.

Thus I beſeech God almighty to bleſſe you, and proſper your voyage with good and happie ſucceſſe, and ſend you ſafely to returne home againe, to the great ioy and reioycing of the aduenturers with you, and of all your friends, and our whole countrie. Amen.

By M. W. Burrough.

Certaine briefe aduiſes, giuen by Maſter Dee, to Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, to be obſerued in their Northeaſterne diſcouerie, Anno 1580.

IF we reckon from Wardhouſe to Colgoieue Iſland 400 miles for almoſt 10 degrees difference onely of longitude very neere Eaſt & Weſt, and about the latitude of 70 degrees and two third parts: From Colgoieue to Vaigats 200 miles for 10 degrees difference, only in longitude, at 70 degrees of latitude alſo: Frõ Vaigats to the Promontorie Tabin 60 degrees difference of longitude (the whole courſe, or ſhorteſt diſtance being Eaſt and Weſt) in the latitude likewiſe of 70 degrees, maketh 1200 miles: then is ſumma totalis frõ Wardhouſe to Tabin 600 leagues, or 1800 Engliſh miles. Therefore allowing in a diſcouery voyage for one day with another but 50 Engliſh miles, it is euident that from Wardhouſe to Tabin, the courſe may be ſailed eaſily in fiue and thirty dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finiſhed in much ſhorter time, both by helpe of liuing proſperous, and light continuall for the time requiſit thereunto.

When you are paſt Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142 degrees, as your chart ſheweth, by two, three, foure, or fiue degrees further Eaſterly, it is probable you ſhall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eaſtward, in which courſe you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous riuer Oechardes, or ſome other, which yet I coniecture to paſſe by the renowned citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50 or 52 degrees, and within 200 or 400 miles of Cambalu it ſelfe, being in the latitude about 45 degrees Southerly of the ſaid riuers mouth, or els that you ſhall trend about the very Northerne and moſt Eaſterly point of all Aſia, paſſing by the prouince Ania, and then in the latitude of 46 degrees, keeping ſtill the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with ſafety) you may enter into Quinſay hauen being the chiefe city in the Northeaſt China, as I terme it for diſtinction ſake, from the other better knowen.

M. Dee gaue them a chart of his owne making, which heere he refers them vnto.

And in or about either or both of theſe two ſame places, you may to great good purpoſe be occupied the whole winter, after your arriuall in thoſe quarters, as ſometime by ſea, ſometime in notable freſh riuers, ſometime in diſcreet view and noting downe the ſituation of the cities with all land, &c. and euer aſſaying to come by ſome charts or mappes of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by ſome of their bookes like wiſe for language, &c. You may alſo haue opportunity to ſaile ouer to Iapan Iſland, where you ſhall finde Chriſtian men, Ieſuits, of many countreys of Chriſtendome borne, and perhaps ſome Engliſhman, at whoſe hands you may haue great inſtruction and aduiſe for your affaires in hand.

The Notes

Notes in writing, beſides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen *by M. Richard Hakluyt, of Eiton in the countie of Hereford, Eſquire,*

Anno 1580: To M. Arthur Pet, and to M. Charles Iackman, ſent by the merchants of the Moſcouie companie for the diſcouerie of the North-east ſtraight, not altogether vnfit for ſome other enterpriſes of diſcouerie, heerafter to be taken in hand.

What reſpect of Iſlands is to be had, and why.

WHeras the Portingalles haue in their courſe to their Indies in the Southeaſt, certaine portes and fortifications to thruſt into by the way, to diuers great purpoſes: ſo you are to ſee what Iſlandes, and what portes you had need to haue by the way in your courſe to the Northeaſt. For which cauſe I wiſh you to enter into conſideration of the matter, & to note all the Iſlands, and to ſet them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to ſay, That we may deuiſe to take the benefit by them, And alſo foreſee how by them the Sauages or ciuill Princes may in any ſort annoy vs in our purpoſed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpoſe in this voyage to go, be no Chriſtians, it were good that the maſſe of our commodities were alwayes in our owne diſpoſition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did ſeeke out ſome ſmall Iſland in the Scithian ſea, where we might plant, fortifie, and ſtaple ſafely, from whence (as time ſhould ſerue) we might feed thoſe heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole maſſe in the bowels of their countrey.

And to which Iſland (if need were, & if we ſhould thinke ſo good) we might allure the Northeaſt naute, the naute of Cambalu to reſort with their commodities to vs there planted, & ſtapling there.

And if ſuch an Iſland might be found ſo ſtanding as might ſhorten our courſe, and ſo ſtanding, as that the naute of Cambalu, or other thoſe parties might conueniently ſaile vnto without their diſlike in reſpect of diſtance, then would it fall out well. For ſo, beſides leſſe danger, and more ſafetie, our ſhips might there vnlade and lade againe, and returne the ſelfe ſame ſummer to the portes of England or of Norway.

And if ſuch an Iſland may be for the ſtapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not ſaile, yet we might, hauing ſhippes there, imploy them in paſſing betweene Cambalu and that ſtapling place.

Reſpect of hauens and harbarowes.

AND if no ſuch Iſlands may be found in the Scithian ſea toward the firme of Aſia, then are you to ſearch out the portes that be about Noua Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the firſt yeere, if you be let by contrarie windes, and to the end that if we may in ſhort time come vnto Cambalu, and vnlade and ſet ſaile againe for returne without venturing, there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Noua Zembla: that the ſummer following, you may the ſooner be in England for the more ſpeedy vent of your Eaſt commodities, and for the ſpeedyer diſcharge of your mariners: if you can not go forward and backe in one ſelfe ſame ſummer.

And touching the tract of the land of Noua Zembla, toward the Eaſt out of the circle Arctick in the more temperate zone, you are to haue regarde for if you finde the ſoile planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme woollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you ſhall ſpeciallie note what plentie of whales, and of other fiſh is to be found there, to the end we may turne our new found land fiſhing or Iſland fiſhing or our whalefiſhing that way, for the ayd and comfort of our new trades to the Northeaſt to the coaſts of Aſia.

Reſpect of fiſh and certaine other things.

AND if the ayre may be found vpon that tract temperate, and the ſoile yeelding wood, water, land and graſſe, and the ſeas fiſh, then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingalles do in Braſill, & ſo they may in our fiſhing in our paſſage, and diuers wayes yeeld commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling vs.

And

And it may be, that the inland there may yeelde mulk, pechzare, hempe, and all things for the vse, as plentifully as Estland doth.

The Ilands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

TO note the Ilands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine, or flat, grauelly, clay, chalkie, or of what soile, woody or not woody, with tymber and riuers or not, and what wilde beasts they haue in the same.

And whether there seeme to be in the same apt matter to build withall, as stone free or rough, and stone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the same withall.

To note the goodnesse or the badnesse of the hauens and harborowes in the Ilands.

If a straight be found what is to be done, and what *great importance it may be of.*

AND if there be a straight in the passage into the Scithian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be keepe. I say it is to be noted as a thing that doth much import: for what prince soeuer shall be Lord of the same, & shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall haue the trade out of their regions into the Northeast parts of the world for himselfe, and for his priuate profit, or for his subiects only, or to enioy woonderfull benefit of the toll of the same, like as the king of Denmarke doth enioy of his straightes, by suffering the merchantes of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the elevation, the high or lowe land, the hauens there, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and all the mariners in the voyage are to be sworne to keepe close all such things, that other Princes preuent vs not of the same, after our returne vpon the disclosing of the mariners, if any such thing should happ.

Which way the Sauage may be made able to purchase our *cloth and other their wants.*

IF you finde any Iland or maine land populous, and that the same people hath neede of cloth, then are you to deuise what commodities they haue to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile, and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to inrich them, that hereafter they may haue something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable riuer, and shall finde any great woods, you are to note what kinde of timber they be of: that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, masts, deale boord, clapboord, or for building of ships or houses, for so if the people haue no vse of them they may be bought perhaps to vse.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

YOu must haue great care to preserue your people, since your number is so small, and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

BRing home with you (if you may) from Cambalu, or other ciuill place, one or other young man, although you leaue one for him.

Also the fruites of the countries, if they will not of themselues dure, vse them, and so preserue them.

And bring with you the cornels of peares and apples, and the stones of such stone fruits as you shall finde there.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs and flowres, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so farre off, will delight the fancie of many, for the strangenesse & for that the same may grow and continue the delight long time.

If you arriue at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that country, for so shall you haue the perfect description which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they haue had print there, before it was deuised in Europe, as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

If you arriue in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Nauie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armor, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the walles and bulwarks of their cities, their ordinance, and whether they haue any caliuers, and what powder and shot.

To note what armor they haue.

What swoords.

What pikes, halberts, and billes.

What horses of force, and what light horses they haue.

And so throughout, to note the force of the countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make coniectures by.

TO take speciall note of theyr buildings, and of the ornaments of theyr houses within.

Take a speciall note of theyr apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a merchant may make a gesse, as well of their commoditie, as also of theyr wants.

To note theyr shoppes and warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see theyr shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so giue a gesse of many things.

To note theyr fields of graine, and their trees of fruit, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plentie or scarcitie of fish they haue.

Things to be carried with you, whereof more or lesse is to be *carried for a shew of our commodities to be made.*

KArsies of all orient coulers, specially of stamell, brodecloth of orient coulers also.

Frizadoes, motlyes, Bristow frizes, Spanish blankets, bayes of all coulers, specially with stamell, woorsteds, carels, sayes, woadmols, flanels, rash, &c.

Felts of diuers coulers.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe cappes for mariners coulered in stamell, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted cappes of Leuant taffeta of diuers coulers, for the night.

Knit stocks of silke of orient coulers.

Knit stocks of Jerzie yerne of orient coulers, whereof if ample vent might follow the poore multitude should be set in worke.

Stocks of karsie of diuers coulers for men and for women.

Garters of silke of seuerall kindes, and of coulers diuers.

Girdles of Buffe, and all other leather, with gilt and vngilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of veluet.

Gloues of all sorts, knit, and of leather.

Gloues perfumed.

Points of all sorts of silke, threed, and leather, of all maner of coulers.

Shooes of Spanish leather, of diuers coulers, of diuers lengths, cut and vncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Veluet shooes and pontophles.

These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a show then for any other cause.

Purses knit, and of leather.

Night cappes knit, and other.

A garnish of pewter, for a show of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glasses of English making.

Venice glasses.

Looking glasses for women, great and fayre.

Small

Small dials a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do heere.
Spectacles of the common sort.
Dehers of Christall trimmed with siluer, and otherwise.
Howre glasses.
Combes of Iuorie.
Combes of Box.
Combes of Horne.
Linnen of diuers sorts.
Handkerchiffes with silke of seuerall coulers wrought.
Glazen eyes to ride with against dust.
Knines in sheathes, both single and double, of good edge.
Needles great and small of euery kinde.
Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, any such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundrie coulers.
Boxes with weights of golde, and of euery kinde of the coine of golde, good and bade, to shew that the people heere vse weight & measure, which is a certeine shew of wisedome, and of a certaine gouernement seiled heere.
All the seuerall siluer coines of our English moneyes, to be carried with you to be shewed to the gouernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more, then you imagine.
Locks and keyes, hinges, boltes, hasps, &c. great and small of excellent workemanship, whereof bent may be, heercafter we shall set our subiectes in worke, which you must haue in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that can be wrought in this realme, is more worth to our people besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Sauoy, and all the Hospitals of England.

For banketing on shipboord persons of credit.

FIrst the sweetest perfumes to set vnder hatches to make the place sweet against their comming aboord, if you arriue at Cambalu, Quinsey, or in any such great citie and not among Sauages.
Marmelade.
Sucket.
Figges barrelled.
Reisens of the sunne.
Comfets of diuers kindes, made of purpose by him that is most excellent, that shall not dissolue.
Prunes damaske.
Dyed peares.
Walnuts.
Almonds.
Smalnuts.
Olives to make them taste their wine.
The apple John that dureth two yeeres to make shew of our fruits.
Bullocke.
Sacke.
Vials of good sweet waters, and casting bottles of glasses to besprinkle the guests withall, after they comming aboord.
Suger, to vse with their wine, if they will.
The sweet oyle of Sanctæ, and excellent French vineger, and a fine kinde of Basket stuffed in the same doe make a banketting dish, and a little Suger cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man.

Cynamom water } is to be had with you to make a shew of by taste, and also to comfort your
Imperiall water } sicke in the voyage.

With these and such like, you may banket where you arriue the greater and best persons.
Or with the gift of these Marmelades in small boxes, or small viols of sweet waters you may reuoke by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England set out in fayre coulers, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come.

And also the large mappe of London, to make shew of your citie. And let the riuer be vsually full of shippes of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of mappes with you, to marke all these regions, it were not amisse, and if need were, to present the same to the great Cam, for it would be to a Prince of maruellous account.

The booke of the attire of all nations.

Such a booke carried with you and bestowed in gift, would be much esteemed, as I perswade my selfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball, and such bookes as make shew of herbes, plantes, trees, fishes, fowles and beastes of these regions, it may much delight the great Cam, and the nobilitie, and also theyr merchants to haue the view of them: for all things in these parties so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them, by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

TAke with you the booke of Rates, to the end you may picke all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to finde in Cambalu, in Quinsey, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchement, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lyes in small roome.

Glew.

To carrie Glew, for that we haue plentie, and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To seeke vent because we haue great mines of it, and haue no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To trie what vent it may haue, for that we make of both kindes, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

To trie what vent you may haue of Saffron, because this Realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours, may set the poore greatlie in worke to their relief.

Aquauitæ.

By new deuises woonderfull quantities may be made here, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conie skinnes.

To trie the vent at Cambalu, for that it lyes towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.

Thread

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may ſet our people in worke.

Copper Spurres, and Hawkes bels.

To ſee the vent, for it may ſet our people in worke.

A note and a Caueat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to ſale, you indeuour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither veluet, taffata, ſpice, or any ſuch commoditie that you your ſelfe deſire to lade your ſelfe home with, you muſt not ſell yours deare, leaſt hereafter you purchaſe theirs not ſo cheape as you would.

Seedes for ſale.

Carie with you for that purpoſe, all ſortes of garden ſeedes, as well of ſweete ſtrawing herbes and of flowers, as alſo of pot herbes, and all ſortes for roots, &c.

Lead of the firſt melting.

Lead of the ſecond melting of the ſlags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kindes.

Engliſh iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To trie the ſale of the ſame.

Brimſtone.

To trie the vent of the ſame, becauſe we abound with it made in the Realme.

Anthimonie a minerall.

To ſee whether they haue any ample vſe there for it, for that we may lade whole nauies of it, and haue no vſe of it, vnleſſe it be for ſome ſmall portion in founding of bels, or a litle that the Alcumiſts vſe of this you may haue two ſortes at the Appoticaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint and matches, and Tinder, the matches to be made of Iuneper, to auoid the offence of Brimſtone.

To trie and make the better ſale of Brimſtone by ſhewing the vſe.
Candles of Mllare to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perchaps they haue not the vſe of them.

A pot of caſt iron.

To trie the ſale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be ſold there or to the leſſe ciuill people by the way where you ſhall touch.

What

What I would haue you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they vse in these regions, and therfore to note their garments and ornaments of houses: and to see their die houses and the materials and simples that they vse about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serue this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne vse.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come: So false and sophisticate commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

The discouerie made by M. Arthur Pet, and M. Charles Iackman, of the Northeast parts, beyond the Island of Vaigats, with two Barkes: the one called the George, the other the William, in the yeere 1580. Written by Hugh Smith.

May. VPon Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the wind being at South, and to the Eastward. The ebbe being spent we could not double the poole, and therefore were constrained to put in againe vntill the next day in the morning, being the last of May: which day wee waied our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being West southwest. The same day we passed Orfordnesse at an East Sunne, and Stamford at a West Sunne, and Yarmouth at a West northwest sunne, and so to Winterton where we did anker all night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

June. The next day being the first of June, we set saile at 3. a clock in the morning, and set our course North, the wind at the Southwest, and at South southwest.

The 2. day of June by my dead reckoning, I was 40. leagues from Winterton due North.

The 3. day the wind was at the West southwest, and at 12. a clocke by my reckoning I was 70. leagues North from Winterton. The same day I did obserue the sunne, where I found the pole to be eleuated aboue the Horizon, 56. deg. 50. minutes. This day in the afternoone at 6. of the clocke the wind came to the South and by West with a very good gale.

The 4. day about 6. of the clocke in the morning, the winde came to the Southeast with raine and foule weather, and after to the East southeast, the same night it brake vp very faire weather.

The 5. day in the morning at 4. or 5. of the clocke, the wind came into the West northwest, and to the Northwest: the same day I did find the pole to bee eleuated 58. deg. 23. minutes. This day about 3. in the afternoone, the wind with a faire and gentle gale came to the South, and so did continue till the next day in the morning.

The 6. day about 5. in the morning, the wind came to the Southeast, and to the East southeast, with a very cruell storme all the same day. And about 3. in the afternoone we lost the companie of the William, in the night the weather came very faire.

The 7. day was faire, the wind being at South by East. This day I did find the pole to be eleuated, 60. deg. 58. minutes: this day and all night it was very calme.

The 8. day at 10. of the clocke, the wind came to the Southwest for the space of 2. howers, & then grew calme for 3. howers. Then the winde came to the North, and to North northeast, and so did continue vntill the next day.

The 9. day the wind being at the North northeast, we did lie East and by North.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, we put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the sounds is called Bottel: the other headland is called Morle. There is also an Island called Kene. Here I did find the pole to be eleuated 63. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foote not aboue.

Kene an island of Norway.

The 11. day in the morning the wind came to the South & to the Southeast: the same day at 6. in the afternoone we set saile, & bare along the coast: it was very foule weather with rain & fog.

The

The 12. day about 8. in the morning, the wind came to the Southwest, and to the West southwest, and so did continue the same night.

The 13. day I did find the pole to be eleuated 64. degrees, 3. minutes. The same day the winde was at West southwest.

The 14. day the wind came to the Southwest about 12. of the clocke with raine and fogge.

The 15. day the wind Southwest, and this day I found the pole eleuated 66. deg. 50. minutes, in the after noone we had very much raine, and foule weather.

The 16. day we did fall with faire Neild.

The 17. day the wind came to the South, and to the South Southeast with raine and fogge. We ranne along the coast North northeast, and by North.

This day in the afternoone the wind came North with very much wind, and we did lie a hoan in the space of 8. howers.

The 18. day about 5. in the morning, the wind came to the West and by North, and to the West and then we set saile, and set our course Northeast. This day we did find the pole eleuated, 69. deg. 36. minutes.

The 19. day the wind at West, and West and by North, faire weather with some showers, wee hald along the coast Northeast, and Northeast and by East, and East northeast.

The 20. day we had very faire weather, the wind at South, and South by East, so that we hald along the coast East & by North, the weather was very cloke, so that we could not obserue ỳ sunne.

The 21. day was very calme till about 11. of the clocke, at which time the wind came West and West southwest, with some raine, the same night was faire.

The 22. day the wind being at West, we did hall the coast East northeast, and East. The same day at 6. in the morning, we did double the north Cape. About 7. in the afternoone we past Skites beare neese, and hald along the coast East, and East southeast, and all the same night wee hailed Southeast, and Southeast by East. The north Cape doubled.

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouse, the wind at the Northwest. The cause of our comming in, was to seeke the William, whose companie we lost the 6. day of this moneth, and to send letters into England. About one of the clocke in the afternoone the William also came into Wardhouse to vs in good safetie, and all her company in good health. Wardhouse.

The 24. the wind came to the East northeast. This day the William was hald a ground, because she was some what leake, and to mend her sterrage. This night about 12. of the clocke, wee did hale a fleete againe.

The 25. day the wind was at East northeast.

The 26. day the Tobie of Harwich departed from Wardhouse for London, Thomas Greene being master, to whom we deliuered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South southeast, and the 28. also.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the West northwest for the space of one hower, and presently to the East againe, and so was variable all the same night.

The 30. about sixe in the morning, the wind came to East southeast, and continued so all the same day.

The first of July about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at North northwest: and about 7. of the clocke we set saile from Wardhouse East and by South. 1. July.

The second day about 5. in the morning, the wind was East, and East southeast, and we did lie as the shore wayes. And about 10. in the morning, the wind came to South southeast, and we laid it to the Eastward: sometime we lay East by South, sometime East southeast, and sometimes East by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Kegor, because we thought her to bee out of trie, and sailed very ill, where we might mend her sterrage: whereupon master Pet not willing to goe into harborough, said to master Iackman, that if he thought himselfe not able to keepe the sea, he should doe as he thought best, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcell of our direction, and would meet him at Veroue Ostroue, or Vaigats, and so we set our course East northeast, the wind being at Southeast. Willoughbies land.

The 3. day the wind at Southeast we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 46. minutes. The same night at 12. of the clocke we sounded, but had no ground, in 120. fadomes, being fiftie leagues from the one side by our reckoning East northeast from Kegor. 56. leagues from Kegor.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated, 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeast with a gentle gale, wee hald along Southeast by East.

The

The 5. day the wind at South west, we hald East and East by South this day we saw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, so that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone the wind at North northwest, we hald East southeast with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme: we with saile and oares laid it to the Northeast part, hoping that way to cleare vs of it: for that way we did see the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night wee did thinke it to be ice of the baie of S. Nicholas, but it was not as we found afterwards.

A sight of perfect land.

The 7. day we met with more ice, at the East part of the other ice: we hald along a weather the ice to finde some ende thereof by East northeast. This day there appeared more land North from vs being perfect land: the ice was betweene vs and it, so that wee could not come neere to it.

The same morning at sixe of the clocke, we put into the ice to find some way through it, we continued in it all the same day and all the night, following the winde by the North Northwest. Wee were constrained to goe many poynts of our compasse, but wee went most an Easterlie course.

The eight day the wind at North northwest, wee continued our course, and at fiue in the morning we sounded, and had 90. fadoms red oase. This day at 4. in the afternoone wee sounded againe, & had 84. fadomes oze, as before. At sixe in the afternoone wee cleared our selues of the ice, and hald along Southeast by South: we sounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fadoms sandie oase.

The 9. day at two in the morning, we sounded againe, and had 45. fadomes, then there appeered a shadow of land to vs East Northeast, and so we ranne with it the space of two howers, and then perceiuing that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeast.

This day at 2. in the afternoone we sounded and had 50. fadomes blacke oase. Our latitude was 70. degrees 3. minutes. At ten a clocke at night we sounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms blacke oase.

The tenth day the wind being at North northwest, we hailed East and by North, which course we set, because at ten of the clocke afore noone we did see land, and then wee sounded hauing 35. fadomes blacke oase. All this day there was a great fogge, so that wee durst not beare with the land to make it, and so we kept an outwardly course. This day at 6. in the afternoone wee espied land, where with we hailed, and then it grew calme: we sounded and had 120. fadoms blacke oase: and then we sent our boat a land to sound and prooue the land. The same night we came with our ship within an Iland, where we rode all the same night. The same night wee went into a baie to ride neere the land for wood and water.

An Iland.

The maine land.

The 11. day the wind came to the East southeast: this day about a league from vs to the Eastwards, we saw a very faire sound or riuer that past very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Iland in the midst.

The 12. of July the wind was East Southeast. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare downe to the water side, and tooke the water of his owne accord, we chased him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he got to land and escaped from vs, where we named the baie Bearebaie. This day at 7. in the afternoone we set saile, for wee had good hope that the wind would come Westerly, and with saile and oares we gate the sea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

Beare baie.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fogge, and as it cleared vp wee met with great store of ice, which at the first shewed like land. This ice did vs much trouble, and the more because of the fogge which continued in this ice vntill the 14. day, 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were imbaied with ice, that we were constrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodnesse of God, otherwise it had bene impossible, and at 12. of the clocke we were cleare of it, the wind being at South and South by West. The same day we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: we lay along the coast Northwest, thinking it to be an Iland, but finding no end in rowing so long, we supposed it to be the maine of Noua Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone wee laid it to the Southward to double the ice, which we could not doe vpon that boord, so that wee cast about againe and lay West along vnder the ice. About 7. in the afternoone we got about the greatest part thereof. About 11. a clocke at night we bought the ice Southeast of vs, and thus we were rid of this trouble at this time.

The supposed maine of Noua Zembla.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at South southwest: we cast about and lay to the Eastwards, the wind did Wester, so that we lay South southwest with a flawne sheete,

and

and so we ran all the same day. About 8. in the after noone we sounded, and had 23. fadoms small grey sand. This night at twelue of the clocke we sounded againe, and had 29. fadoms sand, as afore.

The 16. day vnto 3. in the morning we hald along East Southeast, where we found 18. fadoms red sand, then we hald along Northeast. In these soundings wee had many ouerfals. This day at 10. of the clocke wee met with more ice, which was very great, so that wee could not tell which way to get cleare of it. Then the wind came to the South Southeast, so that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleare our selues of it, but that way we had more ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the East. Then wee lay to the Southwards that wee had 30. fadoms blacke oase. This day we found the pole to be eleuated, 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. of the clocke, we had 41. fadoms red sand. Many ouerfals.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by West, at the depth aforesaid, red sand, being but shallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the wind with a shower and thunder came to the Southwest, and then wee ranne East northeast. At 12. at night it came to the South and by East, and all this was in the baie of Pechora. The baie of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the head land of the baie, where we found two Islands. There are also ouerfals of water or tides. We went betweene the maine and the Island, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole eleuated, 69. deg. 13 minutes. This day we had sight of Vaigats: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend Southeast, we hald East southeast, and had 10. fadoms oase all the same day vntill 4. in the afternoone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the same night.

The 19. day at two in the morning, we set saile, and ranne South and South southwest all the same day, at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigats: this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found shallow water, sometime foure fadoms, sometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe, there wee ankered and sent our boat away to sound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foote, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigats and the other side: finding no more water, there was no other way but to goe backe as we came in, hauing the winde Northwest, so at twelue at night we set saile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the wind by the Northwest, we hald along the coast North and North northwest, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southwest, wee bare along the coast of Vaigats, as wee found it to lie North and by West, and North northwest, and North. The wind blew very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Island where we found great store of wood and water, there were 3. or 4. goodly sounds. Under two points there was a crosse set vp, and a man buried at the foote of it. Vpon the said crosse master Pet did graue his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewise vpon a stone at the foote of the crosse, and so did I also, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might haue knowledge that wee had bene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northwest, wee set saile and turned out of the baie. The same night the winde came to the West, so that we lay North along the land. An Island hauing store of wood & water

The 23. day at fiue in the morning, the wind came to the Southwest, a sea boord wee sawe a great number of Islands, to the number of sixe: a sea boord of these Islands, there are many great ouerfals, as great streames or tides: wee hald Northeast and East northeast as the lande did trend. At eight aforenoone the winde came to the Southeast with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great store of ice a sea boord: so we lay to the Southwest to attaine to one of the Islands to harbour vs if the weather did so extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete so to doe, and not to tow her in such weather. About twelue of the clocke it became very calme vpon the sudden, and came vp to the West Northwest, and Northwest by West, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe so much wind, as we were not able to steere afore it, with corse and bonets of each, we hald South with the land, for so the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we sailed vnder a great land of ice, we sailed betweene the land and it, being not able to crosse it. About twelue at night wee found the ice to stretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eastward, so wee laid it to the shore, and there we found it cleare hard aboord the shore, and we found also a very faire Island which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms. 6. faire islands

This

An Island to the East of Vaigats, 4. or 5. leagues.

This Island is to the Eastward of Vaigats, 4. or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doeth trend Southeast, and Southeast by East. It is a very faire coast, and euen and plaine, and not full of mountains nor rockes: you haue but shallow water of 6. or 7. fadomes, about a league from the shore, all this morning we halled East southeast. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 69 degrees, 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke wee were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to haue some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had sight of the William, and when we sawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and vs, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag vpon her foretopmaste in token that she did see vs: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foresaile and maine topsaile, seeking the best way through the broken ice, she making away the best that she could to follow vs, we put out our flagge to answer her againe with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then wee mored our ship to a piece of ice to tary for the William.

The William and ye George meete againe.

The 25. day about fiue in the morning, the William came to vs, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang cleane besides the sterne, so that she could in no wise porte her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and whē we had brought her forward all that we could, we brought a cable vnder her sterne, and with our capstaine did winde vp her sterne, and so we made it as well as the place would giue vs leaue, and in the ende we brought her to steere againe. We acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and so gaue his maiestie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our rest being made fast vpon a piece of ice: the wind was at West Northwest, but wee were so inclosed with ice that wee could not tell which way to passe. Windes wee haue had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our wils, if it had pleased the Lorde God otherwise.

The 26. day the wind was at West Northwest: we set saile to the Northwardes, to seeke if we could finde any way cleare to passe to the Eastward, but the further wee went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that wee could goe no further. So about foure in the afternoone we were constrained to more vpon another piece of ice. I thinke we sailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadomes oase, and this oase is all the chanell ouer. All the same day after foure of the clocke, and all the night we taried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despaire. This day master Jugman did see land East Northeast from vs, as hee did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land, but the fogges hath many times deceiued vs.

The 27. day the winde was at Northwest. This day at nine in the morning wee set sayle to seeke the shore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at seuen in the afternoone wee moored to a piece of ice, and the William with vs, here we had 14. fadomes oase. At 3. in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At 9. in the afternoone we mored againe to a piece of ice vntill the next day. All this night it did snow with much wind, being at West Northwest, and at Northwest, and by West.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southwest, and South southwest: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone master Pet, and master Jackman did conferre together what was best to be done considering that the windes were good for vs, and we not able to passe for ice, they did agree to seeke to the land agayne, and so to Vaigats, and there to conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another, to get from them if it were possible: here were pieces of ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped vntill 9. in the afternoone, and then wee mored both our ships to a great and high piece of ice, vntill the next morning.

Their returne.

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the Southwest, wee set saile at fiue in the morning to plie into the shore if it were possible, wee made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the wind doeth the currant runne. This day by misfortune a piece of ice stroke of our greepe afore at two afore noone, yet for all this wee turned to doe our best. The William being incombred with ice, and perceiuing that she did little good, tooke in all her sailes, and made her selfe fast to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone she set saile to follow vs. Wee were afraid that she had taken some hurt, but she was well. At seuen afore noone we tooke in all our sailes to tarie for the William, and made our ship fast to a piece of ice: the William before she came to vs tooke in all her sailes, and mored to another piece of ice, and thus we continued vntill the next morning.

The currant runneth with the wind.

The

The 30. day the winde at Southeast, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we set saile, and sooner would haue done if ye William had bene by vs, but we did tarrie for her to know whether all was well with her: But as soone as we made saile, she did the like. All this day wee did our best to seeke our way as the yce would giue vs leaue, sometime we lay South, sometime West, and sometime East, and thus we continued vntill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our shippe fast to a piece of yce, and went to supper. In the meane time the winde with a faire gentle gale, came vp to the East, and East and by South, but there came downe a showre of raine with it, which continued the space of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, so that we could doe no good all that night, but tooke our rest vntill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southwest, wee set saile to turne to windewarde at three a clocke in the morning. In this morning wee did litle good, for the currant would not giue vs leaue. For as the winde is, so is the currant. Wee did our best vntill teune of the clocke, and then perceiuing that wee did no good, and being inclosed with yce, wee made our shippes fast to a piece of yce; All this day the William lay still, and did as much good as we, that did labour all the forenoone. Thus wee tooke our rest all the same day.

In the afternoone wee set saile the winde being at South and by East, wee lay to the Westwards, as Southwest, and Southwest, and by South, and sometime to the Westward as wee might. Thus we continued vntill nine at night, and then we coulde goe no further for yce; so wee with the William were constrained to make our shippe fast to a piece of yce all the same night. This day wee founde the pole eleuated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here wee had 17. fathoms oze.

The first day of August was very calme in the morning, the winde being at West Northwest. About twelue the winde came to the West, and continued so all the same night with great fogge. August.

The 2. day the winde was at Southwest all day, with raine and fogge. All this day we were inclosed with yce, so that wee were forced to lie still. Here wee had 21. fathoms oze. At sixe in the afternoone the winde was at West with very much foule weather, and so continued all the same night.

The thirde day the winde was at West, and West by North, and West Northwest, this day we lay still inclosed with yce, the weather being darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leasure, we continued [illegible] patience, And sounding we found 71. fathoms.

The 4. day wee laye still inclosed with yce, the winde being at West Northwest: this yce did every day increase vpon vs, yet putting our trust in God, wee hoped to be deliuered out of it in good time.

The fift day all the morning, it rained with very much winde, being at South Southeast: about 3. in the afternoone wee set saile, and presently it became calme for the space of one houre, then the winde came to the North Northeast, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southwest, and Southsouthwest, West, as we might finde our way for the space of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, so that we could goe no further: here we moared our ship to tarrie for a further opening. Here wee found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

The 6. day hauing no opening of the yce, wee lay still the winde being at West and West by South: here we had 63. fathoms oze: all the same night the winde was at the West Northwest.

The 7. day the winde was at West, and West and by North all day. And all this day we lay still being inclosed with yce, that we could not stirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came vpon vs. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggie. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South Southwest: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze, all the night was foggie.

The 9. day the winde was at Northwest, and by West, all the afternoone we lay still because of the yce, which did still inclose vs. This day wee founde the pole eleuated 70. degrees 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very faire night, but it freesed: in the morning we had much a doe to goe through the same: and wee were in doubt that if it should haue freesed so much the night following, we should hardly haue passed out of it. This night there was one starre that appeared to vs. 70. degr. 4. min. The appearing of the starres, signe of winter.

The 10. day the winde was at East Northeast with a very small gale. Wee with saile and oares made way through the yce; about fiue in the morning wee set saile: sometime wee laye Southwest, and sometime South, and sometime West, as wee might best finde the way.

About 3. in the afternoone the gale began to freſh: about 6. in the afternoone the winde was at Northweſt with fogge. Here we had 88. fathoms: we bare ſaile all the ſame night, and it fnowed very much.

The 11. day we were much troubled with yce, and by great hope bee made our way through it, which wee thought a thing impoſſible, but extremitie doeth cauſe men to doe much, and in the weakeneſſe of man Gods ſtrength moſt appeareth. This day wee had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southweſt, wee were forced to make our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, for wee were incloſed with it, and tarried the Lordes leaſure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the winde was at the Southeaſt not very much but in a manner calme: at 11. of the clocke the winde came to the Weſt Southweſt: all the day was very darke with ſnowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we ſet ſaile the winde being at the North northeaſt: all this night we bare away Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, as well and as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: all this night we found the yce ſomewhat fauourable to vs, more then it was before, whereupon we ſtood in good hope to get out of it.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning the winde was at the Northeaſt, and Northeaſt and by Eaſt: all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blowe againſt a piece of yce, we broke the ſtocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had againſt the yce, that it was marueilous that the ſhippe was able to abide them: the ſide of our boate was broken with our ſhippe which did recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ſhippe, and it periſhed the head of our rudder. This day was a very harde day with vs: at night wee founde much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, ſo that wee laye in drift with the yce, and our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great ſtore of ſnowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, and let her drine with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our fleerage: all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had fifteene and two fathoms. Thus we lay a drift all the ſame night.

The 15. day wee ſet ſaile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeaſt. At 9. afternoone wee entred into a cleare ſea without yce, whereof wee were moſt glad, and not without great cauſe, and gaue God the praiſe. Wee had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in Southweſt all the morning vntill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we hailed Weſt, till we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northweſt, for ſo the lande doeth trende: At 12. of the clocke wee had ſight of the lande, which wee might haue had ſooner, but it was darke and foggie all the ſame day: for when we had ſight of the lande, wee were not paſſing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole eleuated 69. degrees 49. minutes. All day wee ranne along the coaſt in 10. and 9. fathoms, pepered lande. It is a very goodly coaſt and a bolde, and faire ſoundings off it, without ſands or rocks.

69. deg. 49. min.

They are thwart of againſt Vaigats.

The 16. day the winde was at Eaſt: this day wee were troubled againe with yce, but we made great ſhift with it, for we gotte betweene the ſhoare and it. This day at twelue of the clocke wee were thwart of the Southeaſt part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great ſtore of yce, ſo that wee ſtoode in doubt of paſſage, yet by much adoe wee got betwixt the ſhoare and it: about 6. in the afternoone was founde a great white beare vpon a piece of yce: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all night wee hailed North and North by Weſt, and ſometime North and by Eaſt, for ſo doeth the land trend.

Sands.

The 17. day in the morning wee hailed Weſt, for ſo doeth the lande lye. The winde was at Southeaſt, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the ſhoare wee fell a ground, but God bee praiſed without hurt, for wee came preſently off againe: The William came to an ancre to ſtay for vs, and ſent ſome of their men to helpe vs, but before they came wee were vnder ſaile, and as wee came to the William wee did ſtowe our boates, and make ſaile, wee went within ſome of the Iſlands, and hailed Weſt Southweſt.

The Iſlands.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, wee ſet our courſe Southweſt and by South: ſo we ranne Southweſt vntill twelue at night, that the winde came to the North Northeaſt, and then we hailed Weſt.

The 18. day at 6. in the morning wee had 16. fathoms reede ſand: at 9. in the morning 13. fathoms. At 10. 14. fathoms, and we hailed Weſt Northweſt. At 12. a clocke the winde came to the Eaſt, and Eaſt by South, we hailed Weſt and by North all the ſame day and night. At 6. in the afternoone we had 17. fathoms red ſand.

The

The 19. day the winde was at East Northeast: at 6. in the morning wee had 19. fathoms red sand: at 12. of the clocke the winde lie in North and North by East, we had 17. fathoms water, at 3. in the afternoone 15.

The 20. day the winde was at Northeast, and North Northeast: at 7. in the morning wee had 30. fathoms blacke ooze: at twelue of the clocke wee were vpon the suddaine in shoale water, among great sands, and could finde no way out. By sounding and seeking about, wee came a ground, and so did the William, but we had no hurt, for the winde was off the shoare, and the same night it was calme: all night we did our best, but we could not haue her a flote. These shoales do lye off Colgoyeue: it is very flat a great way off, and it doeth not high aboue 2. or 3. foote water, it is weth Northeast, and Southwest. Shoales off Colegoyeue.

The 21. day the winde was at Southwest, and being very faire weather wee did lighten our shippes as much as was possible for vs to doe, by reason of the place. The same high water by the helpe of God we got both a flote, and the winde being at the Southwest did helpe vs, but caused it to flowe the more water.

This day wee found the pole to be elevated 68. degrees 40. min. In the afternoone wee both sailed to seeke way to get out of these sands, our boate a head sounding, hauing 6. 7. and 8. fathoms all within the sand which was without vs. We bare to the Southwarde, and the William bare more to the Eastwards, and night being at hande the winde came to the Southeast, whereupon we layde it to the Southwards, lying Southwest, and South & by West, and ranne to 19. and 12. and 14. fathoms. & presently we had but 6. fathoms, which was off the sands head, which wee were a ground vpon the day before. Then we cast about to the Eastwards for deepe water, which we presently had, as 10. 15. and 20. and so to 23. fathoms.

The 22. day at 8. in the morning, wee cast about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we saw the William vnder our lee as farre as wee could see her, and with a great fogge we lost the sight of her, and since wee haue not seene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fathoms blacke ooze, which wee had at twelue of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone wee had twentie and three fathoms, and then wee ranne West Northwest, and West by North all the same night following. They lost the William here, where she perished.

The 23. day we had at 6. in the morning 27. fathoms, at 8. a clocke 28. fathoms: at 9. the winde being at East Southeast, wee hailed West Northwest: this day wee had sight of the lande of Hugi-land. At twelue of the clocke we had 32. fathoms sande. This day wee ranne West and by North, and came to fiue fathoms off the bay of Morzouers. Then wee layde it to the Northwards, so that wee lay North Northeast off. The winde after came to the North, and North by East, and we lay East, and East by North. then we layd it to the Westward againe: and thus we lay till we came to 40. fathoms, and then we went Northwest till we came to 14. fathoms, and so to 16. fathoms. Then wee cast about to the Eastwards and lay East, and East by North all the same night. The land of Hugi. The bay of Morzouers.

The 24. day at 8. in the morning we had 32. fathoms. We ranne Northwest till we came to 11. fathoms, then we lay to the Northwards til 12. at night, and then wee came to 40. fathoms, then the winde at Northeast we lay to the Westwards, and hailed Northwest along.

The 25. at 4. in the morning wee had 37. fathoms, wee ranne Northwest, the winde at North Northeast very much.

The 26. day we ran with the same winde, and found the pole to be elevated 70. deg. 40. min.

The 27. at 7. in the morning we saw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we hailed Northwest and North by West to double the North Cape.

The 28. day at 3. in the morning we ran Northwest, and so all day. At night the winde came to the Southwest, and we ran Northwest all that night.

The 29. day we put into a sound called Farie, and the towne is called Hungon: wee came to an anker at 5. in the afternoone, at 25. fathoms very faire sand. This sound is very large and good, and the same night we got water aboord. The towne of Hungon.

The 30. day in the morning the winde at Northeast, and but litle, wee set saile, and with our boate an head we got the sea about 12. of the clocke: the winde with a faire gale came to the East Southeast, and all this day and night we ran West Northwest.

The 31. day at 12. of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the winde being at East Southeast, we hailed West all the same day, and at night we ran West Southwest. They double the North Cape in their returne.

The 1. day of September the winde was at Northeast with very much fogge: all this day wee ranne West Southwest: at 2. in the afternoone the winde came North.

The second day at 5. in the morning we doubled Fowlnesse, & the winde was this day variable

at all parts of the Compaſſe. In the afternoone we made but little way: at 6. a clocke the winde came to the Southweſt, and wee went Northweſt. At 9 in the night there came downe ſomuch winde by the Weſt Southweſt, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we hald it to Northwardes by the ſpace of 2. houres, and then we layd our head to the Southwardes, and at the breake of day we

Fowlneſſe. ſaw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the Countrey Fowlneſſe. It is within full of ſmall Iſlands, and without full of rockes very farre out, and within the rockes you haue faire land at 20. fathoms.

The 3. day in the morning we bare with the ſounde afore land: Within it is but ſhoale water, 4. 5. and 3. fathoms, ſandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is ſeene is called Hoe like Kirke. It doeth high here not aboue 8. or 9. foote.

The 4. day was reaſonable weather. the winde at South ſouthweſt.

The 5. 6. and 7. dayes very foule weather, with great and vehement blaſts of raine, and happy was the ſhippe that was then in harbour.

The 8. day the winde was at Weſt by North, and reaſonable weather.

The 9. day at 12. of the clocke we ſet ſaile, and at 3. in the afternoone we cleared our ſelues of the land, and then we hald Weſt Southweſt, with a good ſtiffe gale all day and night. We found the pole elevated 69. degrees 20. minutes.

The 11. day the winde was at Northeaſt all the forenoone, the afternoone was calme, and all the night, and we found the pole elevated 68. deg. 16. min.

Lowfoote. The 12. day at 3. in the afternoone, wee put into a ſounde by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southweſt, and by South, and doeth high 7. or 8. foote water.

The 13. day much winde at Weſt: wee had a ledge of rockes in the winde of vs, but the roome was reaſonable good for all Southerly and Weſterly windes. Wee had the maine land in the winde of vs: this day was ſtormie with raine.

The 14. day the winde was South, and Southweſt reaſonable weather.

The 15. day was windie and raynie at Weſt Southweſt.

The 16. day very foule weather, with raine and fogge.

The 17. day at 3. of the clocke we were cleare of the lande, and wee hailed Southweſt all the ſame night.

The 18. day we kept the ſame courſe. And found the pole elevated, 66. degr. 30. min.

The 19. day the pole was elevated to vs 64. degr. 50. min. We hald this day South by Eaſt, and ſo like wiſe all night.

The 20. day at 4. in the morning the winde was at Eaſt, at 6. after we had ſight of land: this day the pole was elevated to vs. 63. degr. 30. min. the night was calme, and the winde variable vpon all points of the Compaſſe.

The 21. day the winde was at the Southeaſt all the forenoone: all the after noone at the ſouth ſouthweſt, and all the ſame night variable with raine.

The 22. day the winde was at the South, all the after noone was calme, and ſo was all the night.

The ſounde of Romeſall. The 23. day at 4. of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a ſounde called Romeſall, where it floweth South Southeaſt, and doeth high 8. foote water: this place is full of lowe Iſlands, and many good ſounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great ſtore of wood growing, as firre, birche, oke, and haſell: all this night the winde was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 24. day was like vnto it.

The 25. 26. and 27. we had very much winde with great and ſtormie blaſts.

The 28. day in the morning the winde being at Eaſt Northeaſt we ſet ſaile at 8. of the clocke, and hailed out of the bay Weſt Southweſt, and Southweſt, having a goodly gale vntill one of the clocke, and then the winde came to the Southeaſt, and to the South with raine, and fogge, and very much winde: at 6. of the clocke wee came into a very good rode, where wee did ride all the ſame night in good ſafetie.

The 29. day wee put into a good ſounde, the winde by the Southweſt: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much winde by the South, and all night, with vehement blaſts, and raine.

The 30. day all day the winde was at Weſt Southweſt. And in this ſounde the pole is elevated 63. degr. 10. min.

October. The firſt day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, & vehement blaſts.

The 7. day wee ſet ſaile: ſtaying from the firſt of this moneth vntill this 7. day, for had very foule

weather

weather, but ſpecially the fourth day when the winde was ſo great, that our cables brake with the very ſtorme, and I do not thinke that it is poſſible that any more winde then that was ſhould blow: for after the breaking of our cable, we did driue a league before our ancres would take any holde: but God be thanked the ſtorme began to ſlacke, otherwiſe we had bene in ill caſe.

The 7. day at night we came to an ancre vntill the next day, which was the 8. day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon wee ſet ſaile and returned into the ſound againe: and at our firſt comming to an ancre, preſently there blew ſo much winde, that although our beſt ancre was out, yet the extremitie of the ſtorme droue vs vpon a ledge of rocks, and did bruiſe our ſhip in ſuch ſore, that we were conſtrained to lighten her to ſaue her, & by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ſhip and ſtopped our leakes, and moared her in good ſafetie abiding for a winde. We rid from this day by reaſon of contrary winds, with fogge and raine vntil the 14. day, which day in the morning the winde came to the Northeaſt, and at 8. of the cloche wee ſet ſaile. This ſound is called Moore ſound, where it higheth about 5. foote water, and floweth South ſoutheaſt. The next day being the 15. day wee put into a ſounde which is called Vlter ſound, where was a ſhippe of the king of Denmarke put into another ſound there by, being two leagues to the ſouthwards of vs, that came out of Iſland: the winde was contrary for vs at ſouth-South weſt. ‖ More ſound.

The 12. day of November we ſet ſaile the winde being at the Eaſt Southeaſt, and paſt through the ſound where the kings ſhip did lie: which ſound is called Sloure ſound. But as wee did open the ſound, we found the winde at the Southweſt, ſo that we could doe no good, ſo that we moared our ſhip betweene 2. Iſlands vntil the 18. day, and then the weather being faire and calme, wee ſet ſaile, & went to ſea hoping to finde a faire wind, but in the ſea we found the wind at the ſouthweſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt, ſo that we were conſtrained to returne into the ſame ſound.

The next day being the 19. the kings ſhip came out alſo, becauſe ſhe ſaw vs put to ſea, and came as farre out as we, and moared where we did moare afore: And at our returne backe againe, wee moared our ſhip in an other ſound called Scorpe ſound, becauſe the kings ſhip was without victuals, and we did not greatly deſire her companie, although they deſired ours. In this ſound the pole is elevated 62. degr. 47. min.

Thus we lay ſtill for a winde vntill the 1. of December, which day we ſet ſaile at 6. a clocke in the morning, and at 4. in the afternoone we layde it to the inwards.

The 3. day at three in the morning, there aroſe ſo much winde, that we could beare but our foreſaile. The 4. day was calme weather, ſo was the 5. but wee were leake, and it was as much as we were able to doe, to free our ſhip, the leake was ſo great, and yet we pumped euery halfe glaſſe.

The 5. day we brought a Bonnet vnder her foreſoote baſted with Occam, which did ſtop much of our leake.

The 6. day the winde was at Southeaſt, the 7. day at Southſoutheaſt.

The 8. day was calme with litle winde Northerly.

The 9. day we had ſight of the coaſt of Scotland which was Bowfamneſſe.

The 10. day we were open off the Frith.

The 11. day at 4. in the morning we were thwart of Barwike: at 6. wee were thwart of Bamburghe: the ſame day at 10. at night we were ſhot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the winde came to the South and Southeaſt, ſo that we laye ſtill vntill the next day in the morning, and then we were conſtrained to put with Tinmouth. The ſame day at night we halled a ground to ſtoppe a leake, which we found to be in the ſkarfe afore. The winde continued by the Southeaſt & ſouth-ſoutheaſt vntill the 20. day, and then we ſet ſaile about 12. at night, bearing along the coaſt.

The 22. day by reaſon of a Southeaſt winde, we thought we ſhould haue bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the Weſt, ſo that we haled Southeaſt: and at 3. in the afternoone we halled a ſea bouyd the ſands, and had ſhoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4. fathoms off them. The next day we hald as we might to ſeaſe Oxfordneſſe.

The 24. day we came thwart of the Naſe, about 8. in the morning.

The 25. day being the Natiuitie of Chriſt, we came to an ancre betweene Old hauen, and Tilberie hope. The ſame day we turned as high as Pozſhet.

The 26. day wee turned as high as Radliffe, and praiſed God for our ſafe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

The 2. iournal of M. Arthur Pet and M. Charles Iackman in *their discouerie Northeast ward in the yeere 1580. Writ-* ten by Nicholas Chanceller, which was in the aforesaid discouerie: with two barkes, the one called the William, the other the George.

The iournal beginneth from Wardhouse.

FRiday the 1. of July about 5. in the afternoone, the winde came to the South Northwest. About 7. a clocke in the afternoone we set saile from Wardhouse: our course was East and by South, And as we were waying our ancres preparing to depart, I Nicholas Chanceller was sent by M. Pet aboord the William to M. Charles Iackman, to deliuer him a note in writing as followeth.

M. Iackman, M. Pet determineth to direct his course East and by South, if the winde will serue thereto: and if wee should chaunce to loose companie, you shall heare of vs at Vorousko Ostroue not farre off Vaygats: it is an high piked Iland. If there be any Russes there you shall receiue a letter of them: if there bee none, then you shall finde a letter vpon the highest part of the Southeast side thereof vnder a warle or heape of stones. The Lorde blesse vs in these our affaires. At the roade of Wardhouse the last of June 1580. The Iland of Vorousko standeth North Northeast of the Southwest part of Vaigats, and is foure or fiue leagues distant from Vaigats.

Vorousko Ostroue an high Iland.

The 2. day about 5. in the morning the winde came to the East, and East southeast, & we bare to the shorewards, and about ten a clocke the winde came to Southsoutheast, & wee bare to the Eastwards, sometime we lay East and by south, sometime East and East & by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, she was willing to go with Kegor. The cause was (as we did thinke) that she was out of her trimme, and sailed very ill, & therefore would mend her stirrage. Whereupon M. Pet, not willing himselfe to go into Kegor, said to M. Iackman that he would goe East & by north to discouer Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, & so would meete with him at Vorousko or Vaigats. And so we departed & set out course East Northeast, the winde being at southeast. The 3. day we had the wind at Southeast. This day we found the pole eleuated 70. degrees, 46. min. The winde changed to south & by East. At 12. a clocke at night we founded and had no ground at 120. fathoms, we being 50. leagues frō Kekor by our reckoning.

He called because in his iournal which was found in his ship after his death, was found mention that he had seene such a coast.

The 4. day all the morning was very calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 71. degrees, 31. min. At nine in the euening the winde came to the Northeast with a gentle gale: wee haled along Southeast and by East.

The North land discouered.

The 5. day the wind Northnortheast, we haled East, and East and by south. This day we did see land, but we could not make it perfit, the winde being so Northerly that we could not come neere to it. The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone the winde North Northwest, we haled East southeast with a faire gentle gale. This day we met with yce. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme, and we with saile and oares layed it to the Northeast, hoping that way to cleare our selues of the yce, and about 12. at night we gate cleare of it. We supposed it had bene yce of S. Nicholas bay, but it was not as we afterward found it.

Part of the North land againe discouered.

The 7. day we met with more yce being the Easter part of the other yce: wee haled along the weather part thereof to finde ende of it East northeast. This day we saw land North from vs, being very desirous to haue had more knowledge thereof: but extremitie of yce kept vs backe there frō contrary to our desire. We were inforced by the said yce, which we found to lye a long the said land to go though it with much trauaile, wherein we continued all the day and night following.

The 8. day the wind being at Northwest, we were troubled all the day with the aforesaid yce. At 5. in the morning we sounded, & had 90. fathoms red ooze: at 4. in þ afternoone we sounded againe and had as before. At 6. in the afternoone we gate cleare off the yce, with going South southeast, and Southeast, whereof we were very glad. Wee had sailed in the said yce 40. or 50. leagues as we esteeme it: for we had a fine winde, and bare all our sailes. Wee haled along Southeast and sounded at 10. at night, and had 45. fathoms sandie ooze.

The 9. at 2. in the morning we sounded and had 45. fathoms. There appeared to vs a shadowe of land East Northeast, and so we ranne with it for the space of 2. houres, and then perceiuing that it was but a fogge we haled along Southeast. At 2. in the afternoone we sounded and had 50. fathoms blacke ooze. The same day our latitude was 70. degrees 3. min. At nine a clocke at night we sounded againe, and had 50. fathomes blacke ooze.

The 10. the wind at North northwest, we haled East & by North. We did set this course for that

ten of the clocke at afternoone, we had sight of land, which we thought to haue bene Morzouets: but afterward we found it to be Colgoycue by the soundings: and then we sounded, and had 53. fathoms blacke oaze. Presently there fell a great fogge, wherefore we durst not beare with the land, to make it: and so we kept an outwardly course, which draue vs to Noua Zembla. At sixe in the afternoone, we had sight of the land againe, and bare with it: afterward the wind dulled, and was very calme: we sounded and had 120. fathoms blacke oaze: we sent also our boate on land, to sound and proue the land, and we came with our shippe within an Island, where wee roade all the same night.

Colgoyeue Island.

Noua Zembla.

Our men arriue at Noua Zembla.

The 11. day in the morning, we went into a Baye to ride, to prouide vs wood and water.

The 12. day, the wind at Southeast, about 11. of the clocke, there came downe a great white Beare, to the water side, and tooke the water of his owne accord. We chased him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he gate to land, and scaped from vs. At 7. in the afternoone, we being furnished with wood and water, did set saile, for that we hoped the wind would come Westerly, and with sailes and oares we gate to the sea: al the night it was calme with fogge. This lande aforesaid is Noua Zembla.

A great white Beare.

Wood and water taken vpon Noua Zembla.

The 13. in the morning, the wind was very variable with fogge, and as it cleered vp, we met with great store of yce, which shewed to vs at the first like land. It did put vs to great trouble, and much the more for the fogge: we continued in it all the day, and all the night following.

Yce.

The 14. day in the morning, we were inclosed with the aforesaid yce, so that wee were constrained to goe out the same way that we came in: which fortuned to vs by the prouidence of God, otherwise it had bene vnpossible. For when we were almost inclosed with mightie great landes of yce, and could not perceaue any way out, being partly in despaire of getting out, but there to perish: it pleased God to turne the wind, which made way through the yce, and caried vs cleere of it: by 12. of the clocke at noone, the wind came to the South, and South and by West. This day we founde the pole eleuated 70. degrees, 26. minutes. We laide it along the coaste Northwest. By the lying of it wee found it to be Noua Zembla. About 2. of the clocke in the afternoone, wee laid it to the Southward, to double the yce, but we could not vpon that bord: so we cast about againe, and laye West along vnder the yce. About seuen in the afternoone, wee gate about the greatest part of the said yce, and at 11. at night, we brought the yce Southeast of vs, and so were we cleere of the trouble of it.

The 15. day, about three in the morning, the wind South Southwest, we cast about, and lay to the Eastwards: as we lay to Southeast, the wind did wester, so that we lay South Southeast, with a flawnd sheate, and so we ranne all the day. About eight in the euening, we sounded, and had 23. fathoms small sand. At one at night we sounded againe, and had 29. fathoms sande, as before.

Satturday the 16. at three in the morning, we haled along East Southeast, where we founde 18. fathoms red sand: then we haled along Northeast. In these soundings wee had many ouer fals, & at 10. of the clocke before noone, yce which was very great, so that we could not tel which way to cleere our selues thereof. The wind came to the South Southeast, so that we laye to the Northwards: we thought that way to cleere our selues of it, but we met with more yce. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came East, then we lay to the Southwards: we sounded and had 30. fathoms blacke oaze. This day we found the pole eleuated 69. degrees, 40. minuts. At 12. at night, we sounded, and had 42. fathoms red sand.

Sunday the 17. at three in the morning, we had 12. fathoms, and at 9. in the morning, we had 8. and 7. fathoms. All this day we ranne South and South, and by West. At this depth aforesaid, we had red sand. All this way we had but sholled water. At 8. in the afternoone, the winde with a shower and thunder, came to the Southwest, and then we ranne East Southeast. All this was in the Baye of Pechora.

The Bay of Pechora.

Munday the 18. at 7. in the morning, we had sight of the head land of the Northest side of Pechora, where we found 2. Islands, the Wester side of them lieth North Northwest, and South Southeast. There is a long point or lande on the Easter side, whereupon standeth an heape of crosses: it lieth off the West side Southwest, and Northeast, and of the Easter side it falleth south Southeast, and is a great Baye, wherein we sawe no land, sauing Vaigats, which lay Northeast from vs. The Norther point of the said headland, and the Souther point of the Island, lie due East and West, and is not past a mile distant from the other. And there are two fathoms and an halfe water betweene them. And when we had gotten past the said Islands, within Vaigats it was calme: whereupon we ankered in 8. or 9. fathoms water. The Masters mind was much to goe with Vaigats, for that we sawe no land to the Southwards, and had bene much troubled with yce,

Vaigats Island.

Note.

on

on Noua Zembla side.

They arrive at Vaigats.

The 19. day, at two in the morning, we set saile, and came South, and South southwest all the same day, in 8. 7. 6. fathoms. This was the South part of Vaigats. This part of the land lyeth South and North. At 4. in the afternoone, we found sholde water, sometime 4. fathoms, sometime 3. and 2. and one and a halfe, and then ankered, and sent our boate away to sound, and all to leewards, we had but 4. and 3. foote: there was not water ynough for our boate, betweene Vaigats, and the other side: and finding no more water, there was no other way for vs, but to goe backe againe as we came in. And hauing the wind at northwest, at 12. of the clocke at night, we set saile, and turned out. The Southside of Vaigats hath two Ilands, which are very sholde. The Southside of Vaigats is a very faire and a greene land.

The Southside of Vaigats a faire land.

The 20. day, we plied to the Northwards, and got deeper water, at 6. and 7. fathoms.

The 21. day, the wind northwest, we turned about the coast north, and north northwest, and had 8. 9. and 10. fathoms.

Friday the 22. at a South sunne, we ankered in a Baye of the West side of Vaigats, betweene two Ilands, and there furnished our selues with wood and water, supposing it had bene Vorousko Ostroue, and here sent for our consorte, according to appointment, where wee found a goodly harbour, with Russes crosses at eche side, and many Ilands scant to be numbred, with faire baies,

* Note. * to the northwards: and at a northwest sunne we waied, and turned out, and by a north northeast sunne we doubled the Westermost land, and found the land to trend much to the Eastward, where we found many faire Ilands, and many ouer falls in the offing (or putting off.) Note, that we went within none of the Ilands.

Saturday the 23. we had the wind at southwest, with thicke weather, which afterward cleered vp to the southeast very much winde and thicke: wherupon we cast about to the Westwards, meaning to lease the land, but we could not, for that it was much wind, and a growen Sea. So we were put off againe, till we were among the yce, which forced vs to cast about againe, and afterward we had the wind larged to the West southwest, and we had faire weather, and small water: then we scoured our boate, which we towed 5. daies before. Then it increased yet more to a great and extreame gale of wind to the northwest: so we tooke in our maine saile, and went with our foresaile, and about a north northwest sunne, I suppose we were thwart the southeast ende of Vaigats, hauing a great land of yce to the sea boord of vs, which also afterward did growe on head of vs, and so troubled vs, that it caused vs to pype to the shoare, where we thought we saw an Iland, which chanced to be a faire Iland, lying halfe a mile from the shoare, and a mile in length, and halfe a mile ouer. To the northwest of it lieth a point a mile off, and betweene them a Baye,

A faire Cape. A good tide.

and to the southeast, three leagues of riseth as it were a faire Cape like to beach: the maine, is euen and trendeth Southeast and Northwest. There goeth a good tide betweene the Iland and the maine.

A great Baye with two head lands.

Sunday the 24. we had the eleuation of the pole at 69. degrees, 4. minuts. At a West and by South sunne, we passed by a great arme, or a baye, which had two head lands: and being ouer against it, foure leagues from the shoare, wee sounded, and had 10. fathoms, and oazie sande: at a northwest and by north sunne, we had sight of the William. All this day we bare along the shoare, being continually among the yce: and at a north and by West sunne, we bare north and by East, to the seaboord, seeking to be cleere of the yce. After that, we had sight of the William, we bare off to the sea wards, meaning to cleere our selues of the yce: and for that the yce gre we thicker, we tooke in our sailes, at a northeast sunne.

Mundaye the 25. we ankered with our grapnell vpon a peece of yce, to tary for the William, to speake with her, fearing that we should be inclosed, and not able to come together, to speake one with another. We are as we esteeme, from the southeast part of the aforesaide Cape, which we esteeme like beach, to the southeast part of the riuer or Baye, which wee passed the 24. daye, 25. leagues, and from the maine 6. or 7. leagues, where we continued all the day and night, to mend the Williams false sterne poste, which was broken with the yce, the foure and twentieth day.

Tuesday the 26. we continued at the aforesaid yce, till a Southwest and by South sunne, and went north and by East, to seeke to cleere vs of the yce, being enuironed therewith, the wind being West northwest, and sailed 4. miles, and then had no way: so we came to anker at a peece of yce, at a West and by south sunne.

Wensday the 27. we put off from the yce, where wee roade at a Southeast and by East sunne, and sayled three or foure howres to the Southwards towards the lande, and then roade at an Iland againe, till we had dined, and after we haled along the yce, to the landward, till a Northwest Sunne,

sunne, and then the fogge came vpon vs, whereby we could goe no further that night: so we ankered there all that night. It did snowe all that night, and blewe much wind at West Northwest. Fogge. Snowe.

This euening, Master Iackman, and George Sparrowe, came aboord the George, to conferre together with vs, where they determined concerning our matters in hande, for the proceeding or returne of this our voyage: where Master Pet, and Master Iackman both, were very willing in their determination, to doe for the best aduantage, and profite of the company. This to conclude was the generall voice of Master Pet, Master Iackman, Hugh Smith, George Sparrowe, and me Nicholas Chanceler. First we laid before our eies, the cause of our let present, which was the innumerable quantitie of yce, with the hugenes thereof: and not onely that, but also the vnlike dissoluing of the said yce, the summer being so farre spent, & further the snowe falling with the frost gathered vpon the same, is an augmenter vnto the yce, and no diminisher vnto the same. And further we finde that no currant runneth here, to be a disperser of the said yce, and no sea goeth here to dissolue it to water. We haue had in the meane time very faire windes, sufficient to haue passed the furthermost land, extending North, according to the estimate of those that gaue vs instructions of this said voyage. This also we finde by proofe of trauell, that the farther we runne of to the sea, to get the maine Ocean, the thicker we finde the yce, and small hope of a cleere sea. All these things duely considered, our determination is, to seeke by all meanes to get to the shoare, hoping there to get some cleere, to get to Vaigats, and there to conferre further, as time and place shall giue occasion. The George the chiefe ship. They resolue to returne.

Thursday the 28. at noone, all we aforesaid, meeting together aboord the George, agreed and made full determination of the premisses aforesaid: and at 3. in the afternoone, we warped from one peece of yce to another, to get from them, if it were possible: wee continued in warping from yce to yce, till nine at night, then we mored both our barkes to a great peece of yce, all that night.

Friday the 29. the winde at Southwest, at fiue in the morning, wee set saile to plye into the shoare, if we might possible attaine thereto: we made many a turne, but to small purpose. At two in the afternoone, by missortune, hitting a great peece of yce, we brake off our grepe before: yet neuerthelesse we did our endeuour in turning. The William encombred with yce, and pestered, doing little good, tooke in al her sailes, and made fast to a peece of yce: howbeit she perceauing that we continued still turning vp and downe, about 4. in the afternoone did set saile to followe vs. At 7. in the afternoone, we tooke in our sailes, and made fast to a peece of yce, to tarry for the William: she perceauing that we stroke saile, did the like, and made fast to a peece of yce, a league and better from vs.

Saturday the 30. the wind being at Southeast, and by South, at a Southeast sunne, we set saile, and would sooner haue done, but that we taried for the William, to haue knowen in what state they were, because they came not to vs ouer night: but they moued not, till they sawe vs begin: thus we continued all the day, seeking our best way, as the yce would permit vs: sometime we went South, sometime East, sometime West, continuing thus till eight at night, the winde waxing calme, we mored to a peece of yce, and there staied till the next day.

The 31. at three in the morning, we set saile, the winde being Southwest, to turne to windewards, wherein we did little good: for the current was against vs: for as the winde is, so setteth the current: neuerthelesse we did our best, vntill 10. of the clocke, and then perceauing that wee got nothing, and also being inclosed with yce, we made fast to a peece of yce. All this day the William stoode still, and did as much good as we that aboured all the foorenoone. The wind comming to the South and by East, in the afternoone we set saile, and lay Southwest, and Southwest and by South, and sometime to the Westwards, as we might, till nine at night, and then could passe no farther for the yce: so we and the William made fast to a peece of yce. This day the eleuation of the pole was 69. degrees, 20. minutes. We had 87. fathoms water, and oaze. A Current.

August.

The first day, the winde being calme, about 12. the winde came to the West, with a great fogge.

The 2. the wind at Southwest, with raine and fogge all day, wee were inclosed so with yce, that we could not stirre. In the afternoone the wind came to the West, with much foule weather, and continued all night.

The third day, the wind at West, and West and by North, and West Northwest, all the day darke with fogge: we continued all day and all night inclosed in the yce, thus abiding the Lords leisure, beseeching him to strengthen vs with patience and faith in him. Here we had 21. fathoms.

The

The 4. day, we continued inclosed with yce, which increased more and more vpon vs.

The 5. day, all the morning raine, with much wind, at South and South southeast, and South east. The said wind a little separating the yce, made vs some way: at a Southwest time we set saile, and suddenly it became calme for the space of an howre: then the winde came to the North north east: we made way through the yce, as we could finde passage betweene them for the space of three howres: then we met with an whole land of yce, that wee could passe no further for it: so we made our ships fast to it, and roade by it all the night, which was very darke with fogge.

The 6. we lay still all the day and night, inclosed with yce.

The 7. we continued still so inclosed with yce, that we could not stirre, but defend the yce from the ships side, as it came grating vpon vs.

The 8. day, very faire and calme, but a fogge towards night: the winde came to the South southeast a prettie gale, which did a little cause the yce to open: all the night was fogge. Here wee had 70. fathoms water.

The 9. the wind Northwest and by West, and all the afternoone West southwest: wee lay still, for that we were still inclosed with yce: the eleuation of the pole was 70. degrees, 4. minutes: we sounded and had 68. fathoms ooze. It did freese so hard in the night, that in the morning wee had much adoe to passe through it. If we had continued there, and it had frosen the next night, wee should hardly haue gotten out of it. Frost.

The 10. day, about 5. in the morning, wee set saile, the winde at East northeast, a very small gale, with our boate a head to wing vs, and breaking the yce with their oares, which had frosen the night before. Sometime we lay Southwest, sometime West, as we might best finde way. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to Northeast with fogge, yet we bare saile all the night. Here we sounded, and had 88. fathoms. There fell much snowe in the night. Snowe.

The 11. day, we were much troubled with yce, so that wee were constrained to beare so forcibly through it, in such sort, that it may be thought impossible for such small barkes to passe it, but extremitie causeth men to doe much. About noone we sounded, and had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone, the wind came to the Southwest, and we being inclosed with much yce, were constrained to take in all our sailes, and to ride by a peece of yce. The 12. in the morning, the wind south east, in manner calme. At 2. in the afternoone, the wind at South southwest: all the day darke with fogge and snowe. At 6. in the afternoone, the winde being north northeast, we set saile, and went all night Southwest, and South southwest, as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: wee found the yce more fauourable to vs then we did before, hoping to get cleere of it. Snowe.

The 13. the wind at northeast, & northeast and by east. At 7. in the morning we brake an anker stocke, being vpon the boome of our ship, with a blow which we had against a peece of yce. All this day we were very much troubled with yce, & had so many great blowes against them, that it was marueil that the ship was able to abide them: also the ship giuing backe, bare the boate to a peece of yce, & brake her side, the boate being thwart her sterne, & with the same blow perished the head of our rudder. This was a very hard day with vs. At night we came among much broken yce, and the wind did blowe very much at north, which caused the yce to driue: wee driue with it, for our drift was South. All the night it did snowe very much. Much snow. The 14. day, in the morning, we made our ship fast to a peece of yce, & did mine with it, the wind being northerly. In the meane time we mended our boate, and the head of our rudder, so we continued all the day and night in drift.

The 15. day, the wind at northeast, we set saile at 6. in the morning, bearing through the yce, & at 9. at night, we entred into a cleere sea, at which light our hearts did greatly reioyce, as the bird which was escaped out of ỹ cage, wherein she was kept long as prisoner. At this time we sounded, & had 19. fathoms. We ran in south west all ỹ morning, til we came to 14. fathoms: then we haled West, til we came to 10. fathoms: then we went northwest, for so the land trendeth. At noone we had sight of the land, being within three leagues of it: we might haue seene it sooner, if the fogge had not bene. This day we had ỹ pole eleuated 69. degrees, 19. minuts: we kept along the coast in 10. & 9. fathoms. The shore along is euen & faire sounding, & without shoals of sands or rocks. A cleere sea.

The 16. day, the wind East, we were troubled againe with yce, but we made great shift with it: for we gate betweene the shoare and it. At noone we were thwart the south part of Vaigats, where we found great store of yce all alongst it, which gaue vs doubt of passage through it: yet with much trouble we gate betweene the shoare and it. All the afternoone was a fogge. At 6. of the clocke, we found a great white Beare vpon a peece of yce. At the night we haled North, and north and by East, and sometimes East, for so doeth the land trende. The 17. day, the wind Southeast in the morning, wee haled along West, for so the land doeth runne, it being darke with fogge, and we running too neere the shoare our ship was on ground: but, God be praised, A white Beare.

we gate no hurt: for it being flood, we came off againe presently. The William being on head of vs, and seeing vs strike our sailes, did anker by Vorousko Ostroue to stay for vs, and sent some of her men to helpe vs, but we were vnder saile before they came neere vs: and when we came to the William, we spoke in our boate, and so did the William: then we made saile, and went between some of the Ilands: we haled West southwest, so we passed Vaigars, and the Makers "came not together to conferre, as they had appointed the 28. day of July. About two in the after- "This was Arthur Pets sault.
noone, we set our course southwest and by south, and southwest, and ran so, till 12. at night, then the wind came to north northeast, and we haled West.

The 18. day, at five in the morning, we sounded, and had 16. fathoms red sande. At nine wee sounded, and had 14. and 10. fathoms: we haled West northwest. At 12. the winde came to the East, and East and by South: we haled West and by North all the day and night following. At six in the evening, we sounded, and had 17. fathoms sand.

The 19. day, the wind at East northeast, at five in the morning, were sounded, and had 19. fathoms red sand, the wind north and by East. At three in the afternoone we sounded, and had 15. fathoms.

The 20. day, at 7. in the morning, we sounded, and had three fathoms blacke ooze. About noone we were vpon the sudden in sholde water among sandes, which lye thwart of Colgoyeue: and running vp & downe, seeking to get cleere of them, continually sounding, we came on ground, and the William also which was a league from vs. In the night, it being calme, we laid all our cables, ankers, ropes, and such like, vpon the sand in the water, and made a rafte, with such prouision as we had, and laid thereon such things as lay uppermost in our shippe that it would beare, but could not get her on flote that night.

The 21. day, at an high water, we gate off, and the William also, the wind being at southwest, caused the water to be the higher, which was a great helpe to vs. This day we found the pole to be elevated 68. degrees 40. minuts. In the afternoone the William and we did set saile, seeking to 61. deg. 40. mi.
cleere our selues of the said sholdes, both our boates being on head of vs, sounding to seeke for the deepest water: we gat into 6. 7. and 8. fathoms, the lands being without vs: we bare to the southwards, and the William bare more to the Eastwards. The night being at hand, and the wind south east, we lay southwest, and south and by West, and came to 10. and 12. fathoms, and suddenly we came to five fathoms, which was the head of the sand, whereupon we were before on ground: then we did cast about to the eastward, for deeper water, and gate in short time 16. and 20. and 23. fathoms.

The 22. in the morning, we cast about, and went southwest and by south. This morning were Here they lost
we by sight of the William, vnder our lee, as farre as we could see her, and in a great fogge were lost sight of the
sight of her, and since we haue not seene her. Thus we continued till three in the afternoone, then Williams,
we bare West northwest, and West and by north, all the night following. where they was cast away.

The 23. day, at five in the morning, we had 27. fathoms: afterwards we had sight of the coast of Vgori, and at 7. in the afternoone, the wind came to the East, and we laye West and by north: Vngori.
running this course, we came to fiue fathoms, thwart the Baye of Morzouetz, then we lay north The bay of
northeast off: then the wind came north, and we lay East, and East and by north, and sometimes Morzouetz.
to the Westwards againe, vntill we came to 40. fathoms. Afterwards we lay East and East and by north, all the same night.

The 24. day, we continued our course northwest, till we came to 21. fathoms, then were laye to the northwards, vntill midnight, and then we came to 40. fathoms, then the wind came to the north east, and we lay northwest along.

The 25. day, the wind being north northeast a very stiffe gale, we continued our course northwest. At 4. in the morning we sounded, and had 36. fathoms.

The 26. day, the wind at northeast, we continued our course northwest. This day we found the 70. deg. 40. mi.
pole elevated 70. degrees, 40. minuts.

The 27. day, at 7. in the morning, we had sight of land, which we made to be Kegor, the winde being East, we haled north and by West, and North northwest, and North, to double the North Cape.

The 28. at three in the morning, we set our course northwest, and ranne so all the day, and all the night following. The same night the wind came to the Southwest.

The 29. at 5. in the afternoone, the wind being at West, we did put into a certaine sound. The sound by it is called Vngon, and ankered in 25. fathoms faire sand. The same night we gate in 21 towne called
fresh water, which we had neede of. Vngon.

The 30. day in the morning, the wind came to the Northeast little wind: we set saile, and with

our

our boate on head, we gate to the sea. In the afternoone the wind came to the East, and we came West northwest.

The North Cape doubled.

The 31. day the wind at East southeast, at noone, wee doubled the North Cape, and haled long West all the day following, and at night we were West southwest.

September.

The first day the wind at Northeast, with thicke fogge, we continued our course West southwest.

The second day, at three in the morning, we doubled Fowlnes. All this day the wind being variable, we did little good. In the evening the wind came to Southwest, and we bare West northwest, and northwest. And betweene nine and ten of the clocke in the night, the winde came to the West, a very stiffe gale, that we were faine to lay it on hull to the northwards, for the space of two houres. After we laid her head to the southwards, and at breake of day, wee had sight of South Fowlnes.

The third day, in the morning, we bare with the foresaid land, and harbored our selues among the lowe Ilands in 4. or 5. fathoms water.

The fourth day, the wind at South southwest, reasonable weather.

The 5. 6. and 7. dates very foule weather, with vehement blasts, and such raine, that we thought our selues blest to be in harbour.

The eight day reasonable weather, the wind being West and by North.

The ninth day, the wind at East, at twelue of the clocke, we set saile, and by three in the afternoone wee cleered our selues of the lande, and went West Southwest, and so continued all the night.

The tenth day, the wind at East northeast, a faire gale, we continued our course aforesaid. This day we found the pole elevated 69. degrees, 20. minuts.

The 11. day, the wind northeast in the afternoone, and all the night calme. This day we found the pole elevated 68. degrees, 16. minuts.

The 12. day, the winde South southwest, and in the afternoone south, and to the Eastwarde. At three in the afternoone, we did put into an harbour to the southwards of Lawestafte, where we came, having a ledge of rockes to windward of vs, and continued there till the 17. day, having the weather for the most part very tempestuous, with great showers, the winde continuing all the time betweene the South and the West.

The 17. day at noone, the wind came to the Northeast, and at two in the afternoone, we set saile, and bare along southwest, all the same night.

The 18. day, we went southsouthwest, the wind being north northeast. This day the pole was elevated 66. degrees, 30. minuts.

The 19. day, the wind at East northeast. This day the pole was elevated 64. degrees, 50. minuts. At 6. in the afternoone the wind came to the East southeast, we went South and by East, all the same night.

The 20. day, in the morning, the wind came to the East. We founde the pole elevated 63. degrees, 30. minuts, all the night was calme.

The 21. day all the forenoone, the wind at southeast, and in the afternoone it came to the south southwest, and all the night variable with wind.

The 22. in the morning, the winde South, all the afternoone and night following, calme.

Ramsdall.

The 23. day the wind south, at foure in the afternoone, wee put into a sound called Ramsdall, where we found many lowe Ilands, and good sounds, without the high land. That was the first

Where wood was first seen vpon the coast.

place that we saw any wood growe on vpon this coast. We continued in the said harbour, untill the 28. day, the weather being very stormie and rainie.

The 28. in the morning, we set saile, the wind being East northeast, and haled along southwest. In the afternoone the wind came to the South, then we cast about, and by five of the clocke got to harbour, and roade vnder an Iland all night.

The 29. day, we shifted from the aforesaid Iland, into a better place, betweene two Ilands, where we roade more quietly.

Thus by reason of contrary windes, we were forced to stay longer vpon the coast of Norway, then we wished: so that it was the 25. day of December, before we could get home into the mouth of the Thames.

A letter of Gerardus Mercator, written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, touching the intended discouerie of the Northeast passage. Anno 1580.

LIteræ tuæ (vir humanissime) 19. Iunij demùm mihi redditæ fuerunt: vehementer dolui visis illis tantam, non modo temporis, sed multò magis tempestiuæ institutionis iacturam factam esse. Optassem, Arthurum Pet de quibusdam non leuibus ante suum discessum præmonitum fuisse. Expeditissima sane per Orientem in Cathaium est nauigatio: & sæpe miratus sum, eam fœliciter inchoatam, desertam fuisse, velis in Occidentẽ translatis, postquam plus quàm dimidium itineris vestri iam notum haberent. Nam post Insulam Vaigats, & Noua Zembla continuò ingens sequitur sinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quæ vniuersam Regionẽ Sericam perluentia, vtque existimo, in intima continentis vsq; magnis nauigijs peruia, facillimam rationẽ exhibent quaslibet merces ex Cataio, Mangi, Mien, cæterisq; circumfusis regnis contrahendi, atque in Angliam deportandi. Cæterùm cùm non temere eam nauigationem intermissam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Russorum & Moscouiæ obstaculum aliquod interiectum fuisse: quod si verò cum illius gratia vlterior illac nauigatio detur, suaderẽ profecto non primùm Tabin promontorium quærere, atque explorare, sed sinum hunc atque flumina, in ijsq; portum aliquem commodissimum, stationémq; Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo deinceps maiore opportunitate, minoribúsq; periculis Tabin promontorium, & totius Cathai circumnauigatio indagari posset. Esse autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrens promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantùm, verùm & alijs scriptoribus, & tabulis aliquot (licèt rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longè vltra Tabin situm esse, certis Magnetis obseruationibus didici: circa quem & Tabin plurimos esse scopulos, difficilémq; & periculosam nauigationem existimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium accessum fore opinor, ea qua nũc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet hæc nauigatio polo Magnetis, quàm altera, ad quem propiùs accedere non puto tutum esse. Quia verò Magnes alium quàm Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte respicit: quò propiùs ad eum acceditur, eò directorium illud Nauticũ magnetis virtute imbutum, magis à Septentrione deuiat, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientalior, vel occidentalior est illo Meridiano, qui per vtrumq; polum Magnetis, & Mundi ducitur. Mirabilis est hæc varietas, & quæ nauigantẽ plurimùm fallere potest, nisi hanc Magnetis inconstantiam nôrit, & ad poli eleuationem per instrumenta subinde respiciat. In hac re si non sit instructus D. Arthurus, aut ea sit dexteritate, vt deprehensò errore eum inuenire & castigare possit, timeo ne deuias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, & semperacto negotio, à gelu præoccupetur: Aiunt enim sinum illum fortiùs quotannis congelari. Quod si contingat, hoc quod consultius mihi visum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, vt in eo sinu, ijsq; fluminibus quæ dixi, portum quærat, & per Legatum aliquem, cum magno Cham, nomine sereníssimæ Reginæ notitiam, amicitiámque contrahat, quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratissimam fore propter remotissima cõmercia. Opinor ab ostijs Bautisi & Oechardi fluminum maximorum, vsq; ad Cambalu Regiam summã Chami, non vltra 300. miliaria Germanica esse, & iter sumendum per Ezinam vrbem regni Tangut, quæ 100. tantùm miliarijs Germanicis ab ostijs distare videtur, & paret Magno Cham.

Valde optarem cognoscere, quàm altè communiter exurgat æstus maris in eo Moscouiæ portu, quem vestri pro statione habent, & in alijs versùs orientem locis vsq; ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc distrĩctu semper in vnam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentẽ fluat, an verò pro ratione æstuũ fluat, & refluat, in medio inquam canali, hoc est, an ibi sex horis in occasum, & iterum sex in ortum fluat, an verò semper in eandem partem: aliæ enim speculationes non parum vtiles hinc dependent. Idem optarem à D. Frobisero in occidentem obseruari. Quod ad finum Merosro, & Canadam, ac Nouam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis desumpta sunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quæ à quodam sacerdote ex earum ditionum Naucleri peritissimi Galli descriptione excerpta fuit, & illustrissimo Principi Georgio ab Austria episcopo Leodiẽsi oblata: Non dubito, quin quantùm ad littorum situm attinet & poli eleuationem, ad veritatem ea quàm proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula præter scalam graduum latitudinis per medium sui extensam, aliam præterea particularem Nouæ Franciæ littoribus adiunctam, qua deprauatæ latitudines, occasione erroris Magnetis ibi commissæ, castigarẽtur. Iacobi Cnoyen, Buscoducensis itinerariũ per omnem Asiam, Affricã, & Septentrionẽ, olim mihi Amicus Antuerpiæ ab alio mutuò acceptum cõmunicauit, eo vsus sum, & reddidi: post multos annos eũdem ab amico repetij, & reminisci ille non potuit à quo accepisset. Guilielmi Tripolitani & Ioãnis de plano Carpini scripta non vidi, tantùm excerpta ex illis quędã in alijs scriptis libris inueni.

Postulata Mercatoris, de quibus certior fieri cupit.

Abelfedæ Epitome gaudeo verti, vtinam citò habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis reſpondenda putaui: ſi quid eſt aliud quod à me deſideres, libentiſſimè tibi communicabo: hoc viciſſim amanter à tua humanitate petens, vt quæ ex vtriuſque nauigationis curſu obſeruata nanciſci poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, & quæcunq; inde collegero, fideliter ad te perſcribam, ſi forte ad pulcherrimum, vtiliſſimúmq; orbi Chriſtiano hoc nauigationis inſtitutum aliquid opis & conſilij adferre poſſint. Bene vale, vir doctiſſime. Duisburgi in Cliuia, 28. Iulij, 1580.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæſo diſcas ab illo quæ optaui, & num alicubi in ſuo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum ſalſum inuenerit: ſuſpicor enim mare inter Noua Zembla, & Tabin dulce eſſe.

T. H. paratiſſimus quantus quantus ſum, *Gerardus Mercator.*

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

SIr, I receiued your letters the 19. of June: it grieued me much that vpon the ſighe of them the time being ſpent, I could not giue any conuenient inſtructions: I wiſh Arthur Pet had bene inſtourmed before his departure of ſome ſpeciall pointes. The voyage to Cathaio by the Eaſt, is doubtleſſe very eaſie and ſhort, and I haue oftentimes maruelled, that being ſo happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the courſe changed into the Weſt, after that more then halfe of your voyage was diſcouered. For beyond the Iſland of Vaigats, and Noua Zembla, there followeth preſently a great baie, which on the left ſide is incloſed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the middes hereof there fall great riuers, which paſſing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke nauigable with great veſſels into the heart of the continent, may bee an eaſie meanes whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and tranſport them out of Cathaio Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England: But conſidering with my ſelfe that that nauigation was not intermitted, but vpon great occaſion, I thought that the Emperour of Ruſſia and Moſcouie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If ſo bee that with his grace and fauour a further nauigation may be made, I would counſell them certainely not firſt to ſeeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to ſearch this baie and riuers aforeſayd, and in them to picke and chooſe out ſome conuenient porte and harborough for the Engliſh merchaunts, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and leſſe perill the promontorie Tabin, and all the coaſt of Cathaio may be diſcouered. And that there is ſuch a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perſwaded not onely out of Plinie, but alſo other writers, and ſome Maps (though ſomewhat rudely drawen): and that the pole of the Loadſtone is not farre beyond Tabin, I haue learned by the certayne obſeruations of the Loadſtone: about which pole and Tabin, I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous ſailing: and yet a more hard and difficile paſſage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the Weſt, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadſtone, to the which I thinke it not ſafe to approach. And becauſe the Loadſtone hath another pole then that of the worlde, to the which from all partes it hath a reſpect, the neerer you come vnto it, the more the needle of the compaſſe doeth varie from the North, ſometimes to the Weſt, and ſometimes to the Eaſt, according as a man is to the Eaſtward or to the Weſtward of that Meridian, that paſſeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

The beſt courſe to be taken in diſcoueries.

This is a ſtrange alteration and very apt to deceiue the Sailer, vnleſſe hee know the vncertaintie and variation of the compaſſe, and take the eleuation of the pole ſometimes with his inſtruments. If maſter Arthur bee not well prouided in this behalfe, or of ſuch dexteritie, that perceiuing the errour he be not able to correct the ſame, I feare leaſt in wandering vp and downe he loſe his time, and be ouertaken with the ice in the midſt of the enterpriſe. For that gulfe, as they ſay, is froſen euery yeere very hard, which if it be ſo, the beſt counſell I could giue for their beſt ſafetie, were to ſeeke ſome harborough in that baie, and thoſe riuers whereof I haue ſpoken, and by ſome Ambaſſador to make friendſhip and acquaintance with the great Cham, in name of the Queenes maieſtie, which I beleeue will be grateful to the mightieſt Emperour in the world, yea moſt excellent for the length of the traffique, and great diſtance of the places. I thinke from the mouths of the mightie riuers Bautiſus & Oechardus to Cambalu the chiefeſt ſeat of the prince, the Cham, there are not paſt 300. Germane miles, and to paſſe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which ſeemeth to be but 100. German miles frō the mouthes of ỹ ſaid riuers, & is ſubiect to great Cham.

I would gladly know how high the ſea doeth flowe commonly in the porte of Moſcouia where your men do harborough, and in other Eaſterly places vnto Tabin. And alſo whether the ſea in this ſtreight do ſtirre all waies one way to the Eaſt or to the Weſt, or whether it doe ebbe and flowe according

ding to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanell, that is to say, whether it flow there sixe houres into the West, and as may backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance: I would wish M. Frobisher to obserue the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfe of Merosro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawen by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman, a Pilot very skilfull in those partes, and presented to the worthie prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege: for the trending of the coast, and the eleuation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: for the Charte had, beside a scale of degrees of latitude passing through the middest of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, where with the errour of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected. The historie of the voyage of Iacobus Cnoyen Buscoducensis throughout all Asia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had vsed it, I restored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Guiliemus Tripolitanus, and Ioannes de Plano Carpini, I neuer saw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abelfada is translated, I would we might haue it shortly.

Upon the obseruations of the tides depend great speculations.

Thus much Sir I thought good to answere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will most willingly communicate it with you, crauing this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoeuer obseruations of both these voiages shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoeuer I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie vnto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light vnto this most excellent enterprise of nauigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth. Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburge in Cliuia, 28. of Julie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I haue requested, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt: for I suppose the Sea betweene Noua Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours to my power to be commanded, *Gerardus Mercator.*

The first of Iune, 1582. London.

Instructions made by the companie of English merchants for discouerie of new trades, vnto Richard Gibs, William Biggat, Iohn Backhouse, William Freeman, Iohn Hall, and Iames Woodcocke, &c. masters of the 9. ships, and one barke that wee haue freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. Nicholas in Russia, and backe againe: which ships being now in the riuer of Thames, are presently readie to depart vpon the sayd voyage, with the next apt windes that may serue thereunto, and with this Fleete afterwards was ioyned M. Christopher Carlile with the Tyger.

FOrasmuch as the number of ships which we purpose to send in this Fleete together for S. Nicholas in Russia, is greater then at any time heretofore wee haue sent thither, as also for that some speaches are giuen out that you shall bee met withall by such as with force and violence will assault you as enemies, to the ende that good order may be established among you for keeping together in companie, and vniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your nauigation, as also for your more safetie and strength against the enemie, we haue thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and viceadmirall, and that all of you and euery one particularly shall bee bound in the summe of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Because the Salomon is the biggest ship, best appointed, and of greatest force to defend or offend the enemie, we doe therefore appoint that ship Admirall, which shall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ship and well appointed, and for that the master of her is the ancientest master of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the same ship to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the fore top.

4 And for that the master of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the master of the Admirall and Viceadmirall shall conferre, consult and agree vpon the courses and directions that shall be vsed in this voiage, and it shall be lawfull

full vnto the master of the Admirall, with the consent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggat, or one of them to make his courses and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and obserue the same without straying or breaking of company at any time vpon the penaltie before specified.

5 The appointing of the ships for Admirall and Vicеadmirall, and those men to consult and agree vpon the courses and directions of the voyage, as aforesaid, hath bene done by the consents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly obserue the premisses.

6 Item, we haue thought good to put you in mind, that at such times as you may conueniently from time to time, you doe assemble and meete together, to consider, consult, and determine vpon such articles as you shall thinke necessarie to be propounded touching your best safetie and defence against all forces that may bee offered you in this voiage, as well outwardes bound, and while you shall remaine in the roade and baie of S. Nicholas, as also homewardes bound, and that which you shal agree vpon, or that which most of you shall consent vnto, cause it to be set downe in writing for record, which may serue for an acte amongst your selues to binde you all to obserue the same.

7 We haue appointed James Woodcocke in the smal barke to attend vpon you, and to receiue his directions from you. You are therefore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching the sayd barke, to what purposes she may best serue, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to giue your order and direction vnto him, as the time and place shall require.

8 Item, if you shal vnderstand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what aduise hath bene giuen you for your stay at Berozoua Vstia, till you haue by spials viewed and vnderstood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the Sea either outwardes or homewardes, or in the time of your abode at or at Saint Nicholas, you shall bee assaulted by force of any, as enemie whatsoeuer, you are to defend you selues with such forces as you may or can: trust not too farre, neither giue place to inconuenience.

10 You will not forget what conference wee had touching your passing outwards bound by Wardhouse, to view & vnderstand what you can at that place, & to shew your selues, to see if there be any there that haue a mind to speake with you, for that we thinke it better then and thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you shall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, bee circumspect and careful to haue your ships in readinesse, and in good order alwayes, and vpon all suddens. The greatest danger vnto you in that place, will be while you shall shift your ships: therefore you are to consider of it, but the fittest time for you to doe the same, will bee when the winde is Southerlie off the shore, or calme, and at such time you may the better doe it without daunger. You must take such order among you, that your companies may bee alwayes willing and readie to helpe one the other, and appoint among your selues such ships to shift first, and such after, in such sort and fourme as you shall thinke best and most conuenient. And while they shall bee in discharging, shifting, and lading, let the rest of your companies which haue not then to doe in lading or discharging, helpe those shippes that shall haue labour to doe, as well for carying the Barkes from ships to the shore, or from shore to the shippe with your boates, as also for any other helpe that they shall haue neede of.

12 Remember what hath bene said vnto you touching the moying of your ships, &c. for bling aduantage against the enemie, if you shall be assaulted in that place.

13 See that you serue God, abolish swearing and gaming, bee carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to consult and agree among your selues vpon signes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of companie together, and also the maner how and by what meanes, reliefe, aide, or helpe may be giuen by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to send you a prosperous voiage and safe returne.

The

The opinion of maſter William Burrough ſent to a friend, requiring his iudgement for the fitteſt time of the departure of our ſhips towards S. Nicholas in Ruſſia.

WHereas you requeſt mee to perſwade the companie not to ſend their ſhippes from hence before the fine of May, I doe not thinke the ſame ſo good a courſe for them to obſerue: for you know that the ſooner wee ſend them hence, the ſooner we may looke for their returne. If we ſend them in the beginning of May, then may they be at S. Nicholas by the fine of the ſame moneth: and by that time the greateſt part of your lading of neceſſitie muſt be come downe, eſpecially the flaxe: but if it ſhould fall out ſo lateward a breaking vp of the riuer of Dwina, that by the end of May the goods cannot bee brought to S. Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ſhippes can come thither, the goods may bee brought downe to that place: and if though ice the ſhippes bee kept backe any time, the loſſe and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the ſhips, and yet will the Owners put that in aduenture, rather then tarie longer time before their going hence.

Now ſeeing by ſending our ſhips hence in the beginning of May, their arriuall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the ſame moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the laſt of June, and returne home hither by the 10. of Auguſt with commodities to ſerue the market then, it cannot be denied but we ſhould reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be obiected, that if all our ſhips bee ſent then to returne as aforeſaid, you ſhall not bee able to ſend vs in ſo much cordage, Waxe and Oyles, as otherwiſe you ſhould doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to bee ſent in them as you would doe.

For anſwere thereunto this is my meaning, though I wiſh the greateſt part of our ſhipping to goe as aforeſayd, yet would I haue one good ſhip or two at the moſt well furniſhed in all points that ſhould depart alwayes from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10. day of June: and the ſame to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the firſt arriuall there vntill the middeſt of Auguſt, or to bee diſpatched thence ſooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the ſame: by this order theſe commodities following may enſue.

1 You may haue our commodities there timely to ſend vp the riuer before it waxe ſhallow, to be diſperſed in the countrey at your pleaſure.

2 The greateſt part of our goods may be returned hither timely to ſerue the firſt markets.

3 Our late ſhips remaining ſo long here, may ſerue to good purpoſe, for returning anſwere of ſuch letters as may be ſent ouer land, and receiued here before their departure.

4 Their remayning ſo late with you ſhall ſatiſfie your deſire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring ſuch cordage, Waxe, Oile, and other commodities, as you can prouide before that time: and chiefly may ſerue vs in ſtead to bring home our goods that may be ſent vs from Perſia.

Now ſeeing it may be ſo many wayes commodious to the company to obſerue this order, without any charge vnto them, I wiſh that you put to your helping hand to further the ſame.

A copie of the Commiſſion giuen to Sir Ierome Bowes, authorizing him her Maieſties Ambaſſadour with the great Duke of Ruſſia, Anno 1583.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix, &c. Vniuerſis & ſingulis præſentes literas viſuris, & inſpecturis, ſalutem. Cùm Sereniſſimus Princeps, Ioannes Baſilius, Rex, & magnus Dux Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ, Moſcouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Rex Caſſani, & Aſtracani, Dominus Pleſcoæ, & magnus Dux Smolenſcoæ, Tuerl, Vgori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum: Dominus & magnus Dux Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Razanæ, Poloſcoæ, Ratſauiæ, Yeraſlauiæ, Belozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condenſiæ, & gubernator in tota prouincia Seberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, frater, & Amicus chariſſimus, Nobilem virum, Feder Anderwich Spiſemski, nuper ad nos ablegauerit, ad certa quædam negotia nobiſ-

Theodore Anderwich Spiſemski Muſcouite Ambaſſadour to the Queene.

cum agenda, quæ honorem vtrinque nostrum quàm proximè attingunt, quæque rectè definiri concludique nequeunt, nisi Ambassiatorem aliquem & oratorem ad præfatum serenissimum principem amandauerimus: Hinc est, quòd nos de fidelitate, industria, prouida circumspectione, & satis magno rerũ vsu, prædilecti nobis famuli nostri, Hieronimi Bowes Militis, ex nobilibus domesticis nostris vnius, plurimùm confidentes, præfatum Hieronimum Bowes Militem, nostrum verum, & indubitatum Ambassiatorem, Oratorem, & Commissarium specialem facimus, & constituimus per præsentes. Dantes, & concedentes eidem Hieronimo Bowes Militi oratori nostro tenore præsentium, authoritatem, & mandatũ, tam generale, quàm speciale, ita quòd specialitas non deroget generalitati, nec è contrà generalitas specialitati, nomine nostro, & pro nobis, cum præfato serenissimo principe, eiúsque consiliarijs, & deputatis quibuscunq; de præfatis negotijs & eorum singulis, tractandi, conferendi, concludẽdi appunctuandiq; prout præfato Oratori nostro æquum, & ex honore nostro videbitur: Nec non de, & super huiusmodi tractatis, concluſis, appunctuatisq;, cæterisq; omnibus & singulis, præmissa quouismodo concernentibus, literas, & instrumenta valida & efficacia, nomine nostro, & pro nobis tradendi, literásq; & instrumenta consimilis vigoris & effectus, ex altera parte petendi, & confici, & sigillari debitè procurandi, & recipiendi, & generaliter omnia, & singula, præmissa quaeliter cunq; concernentia, faciendi, exercendi, & expediendi, in, & eodem modo, sicut nos ipsi faceremus, & facere possemus, si essemus præsentes, etiamsi talia sint, quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, omnia & singula, quæ per prædictum Ambassiatorem, & oratorem nostrum appunctuata, promissa, conuenta, concordata, & concluſa fuerint in hac parte, nos rata & grata, & firma habituras & obseruaturas, & super inde literas nostras patentes confirmatorias, & approbatorias in forma valida, & autentica, prout opus fuerit, daturas. In cuius rei testimonium, his præsentibus manu nostra signatis, magnum sigillum nostrum regni nostri Angliæ apponi fecimus. Datæ e Regia nostra Grenwici, quinto die mensis Iunij, Anno Dom. 1583. Regni verò nostri vicesimo quinto.

¶ The same in English.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all and singular, to whom these presents shal come & be seene and red, greeting. Whereas the most excellent prince Iohn Basiliwich king, and great duke of all Russia, Volodomere, Moscouie, and Nouogrode, king of Casan and Astracan, lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Pernia, Valca, Bolhar and others, lord great duke of Nouogrode in the low countrey of Cherinega, Rasar, Polotsco, Rostaue, Yeraslaue, Belozer, Lifland, Oudor, Ohdor and Condene, and gouernour of all the land of Seberia, and of the North parts and others, our most deare brother and friend did of late send vnto vs one Feder Anderwich Spisemsky, a noble man of his to deale with vs in certaine speciall businesses, respecting very neerely the honour of either of vs, and being such as without the speeding of some Ambassadour of ours to the foresaid most excellent prince, cannot be sufficiently determined and concluded: For this cause we hauing great confidence in the fidelitie, industrie, prouident circumspection and conuenient experience of our welbeloued seruaunt Ierome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our houshold, do by these presents make and constitute the foresaid Ierome Bowes knight, our true and vndoubted Ambassadour, Orator and speciall commissioner, giuing and graunting to the same Ierome Bowes knight, our Orator, by the vertue of these presents authoritie and commandement, as well generall as speciall, so that the speciall shall not preiudice the generall, nor on the other side the generall the speciall, to intreat, conferre, conclude, and appoint in our name, and for vs with the foresayd most excellent prince and his counsellors and deputies whatsoeuer, concerning the foresayd businesses, and each of them, according as it shall seeme good, and for our honour to our foresayd Orator, as also of and vpon such things intreated, concluded and appointed, as in all and singular other things, any maner of way concerning the premisses, to deliuer in our name and for vs sufficient and effectuall letters and instruments, and to require letters and instruments of the like validitie and effect of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to bee made and sealed, and them to receiue them, and generally to vse, execute, and dispatch all and singular other things concerning the premisses, in, and after the same maner, as we our selues would and might do if we were present, although they bee such things as may seeme of themselues to require a more speciall commandement: promising in good faith & in the word of a prince, that we will hold & obserue all, and singular the things which by our Ambassador aforesaid shalbe apointed, promised, agreed, accorded

and

and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gratefull, and firme, and therupon as need shall require, will giue our letters patents, confirmatorie and approbatorie, in forme effectuall and autenticall. In witnesse wherof, we haue caused our great seale of our kingdome of England to be put to these presents, and signed them with our owne hand.

Giuen at our pallace of Greene wich the fourth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord, 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentith.

A letter sent from her highnesse to the sayd great Duke of *Russia, by Sir Hierome Bowes aforesayd, her* Maiesties Ambassadour.

Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Basilio, Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Russiæ, Volodomeræ, &c. Regi Cassani, &c. Domino Plescoæ, &c. Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodiæ, &c. & Gubernatori in tota Prouincia Seberiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo.

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defensatrix, &c. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Basilio, eadem Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Russiæ, Volodomeræ, Moscouiæ & Nouogrodiæ, Regi Cassani & Astracani, Domino Plescoæ, & magno Duci Smolenscoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valcæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum, Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Razanæ, Polotscoæ, Ratstouæ, Iroslauæ, Belozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condencæ, & Gubernatori in tota prouincia Seberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, fratri & amico suo charissimo, Salutem.

Serenissime princeps, frater & amice charissime, ex ijs quæ nobiscum egit, S. V. illustris legatus, intelleximus, quàm gratè vobis faceremus satis, si legatum aliquem cum mandatis instructum, ad S. V. ablegaremus. In quo certè quidem instituto adeò nobis ex animo placuit, quod est honestè postulatum, vt non nisi prestita re, possemus nobis quoquo modo satisfacere. Atq; cum id haberemus apud nos decretum, nobis non incommodè incurrit in mentem & oculos Hieronimus Bowes miles, ex nobilibus nostris Domesticis, plurimùm nobis dilectus, quem in præsentiarum ad S. V. ablegamus, cuius prudentiæ & fidei, totum hoc quicquid est, quod ad Serenitatũ mutuò nostrarũ dignitatem ornandam pertinere posse arbitramur, commisimus. In quo munere perfungendo, quin omnem curam & diligentiam sit collaturus, neutiquam dubitamus: à S. autẽ V. rogamus, velit ei eam fidem habere in ijs persequendis quæ habet à nobis in mandatis, quam nobis habendam putaret, si essemus præsentes. Præterea, cùm nobis multum charus sit Robertus Iacobus medicus, quem superiori ‖ anno, ad S. V. misimus, rogamus vt eum eo loco S. V. habeat, quo virum probatissimum, & singulari quàm plurimarum virtutum laude ornatum habendum esse, boni principes censent. Quem à nobis neutiquam ablegauissemus, nisi amicitiæ nostræ, & studio gratificandi S. V. plurimùm tribuissemus. In qua dum voluntate manemus erga S. V. non nisi optimè de bonis vestris meritis in præfatum Iacobum nobis pollicemur. Et Deum Opt. Max. precamur, vt S. V. saluam conseruet, & incollumem. Datæ è Regia nostra Grenouici 19 die mensis Iunij, Anno Domini 1583, regni verò nostri vicessimo quinto. ‖ 1582.

S. vestræ bona soror.

¶ The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the most excellent Prince and Lord, John Basiliwich, by the same grace of God, King and great Duke of all Russia, Volodomere, Moscouie, and Nouogrod, King of Cassan and Astracan, Lord of Plescoe, and great Duke of Smolenscoe, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permie, Valca, Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the lowe countrey of Cherniga, Razan, Polosso, Rotstaue, Iroslaue, Belozer, Lifland, Oudor, Ondor, and Conden[illegible], and Gouernour of all the lande of Seberia, and of the North partes and others, her deerest brother and friend, Salutations.

Most

Moſt excellent Prince, moſt deare brother and friend, by thoſe things which the worthy ambaſſador of your excellencie declared vnto vs, we haue vnderſtood how kindely it would be taken, if we ſhould ſend to your excellency an ambaſſador from vs, with commandement and inſtructions. In which matter your honourable requeſt hath ſo much pleaſed vs, that we could not any manner of way ſatisfie our ſelues, except we performed the ſame. And hauing purpoſed with our ſelfe ſo to doe, we thought of, and remembred Ierome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our houſe holde, a man very much beloued of vs, whome at this preſent we ſend vnto your Maieſtie, and to whoſe wiſedome and faithfulneſſe we haue committed all, whatſoeuer we take to appertaine to the aduancement of both our honours indifferently. In the diſcharge of which ſeruice, we doubt not but that all care and diligence ſhall be vſed on his part, ſo that we intreat your Maieſtie to giue him credence in the proſecuting of thoſe thinges which he hath from vs in commandement, no leſſe then to our ſelfe if we were preſent. And whereas Robert Iacob, doctor of phiſicke, is a man very deare vnto vs, whome the laſt yeere we ſent vnto your excellency, we deſire that he may haue the fauor and eſtimation with you, which good princes thinke a moſt honeſt and vertuous man worthie of: for had we not carryed great reſpect to our mutuall friendſhippe, and indeuor to gratifie your Maieſtie, we ſhould in no caſe haue parted with him. And ſeeing we continue ſtill the ſame good will towards your excellency, we do euen promiſe to our ſelfe your honorable kindneſſes towards him: and we pray the almighty God to preſerue your Maiеſty in good ſafetie and health. Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich, the 19 day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne, the fiue and twentith.

Doctor Iacob

Your Maieſties good ſiſter.

The maner of the preferring of ſutes in Ruſsia, by the *example of our Engliſh merchants bill, exhibited* to the Emperour.

IOhn Baſiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, the Engliſh merchants, William, ſonne of Thomas, with his company ſue vnto.

Lord, in the 7082 yeere of the worlds creation, thy Maieſties treaſurer, named Gregorie Meekeeuich Borozden, tooke of vs for thy vſe 12 poods of lowe ſugar, priſed at 8 robles the pood, which ſugar was ſent to the ‖ Sloboda. Item, the ſaid Gregorie treaſurer, tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie 200 reames of paper, priſed at 20 altines the reame, for all which the money hath not beene payd which amounteth to 216 robles.

‖ The Emperours houſe of recreation.

And in the 84 yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo, tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie copper plates, for the ſumme of 1032 robles and one fourth part vnpayd for.

Alſo in the ſaid 84 yeere thy Maieſties diakes called Iuan Blaſghoy, and Iuan Sobakin, tooke of vs for thy vſe, ſundry commodities, and haue not payd 630 robles, the reſt of the money due for the ſayd goods.

In the 85 yeere thy Maieſties treaſurer Peter Gholouen tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie, cloth of ſundry ſorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538 robles.

In the 88 yeere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Iſtomay Yeuskoy, tooke of vs lead for thy Maieſty, to the value of 267 robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the ſame yeere thy Maieſties diake Borees Gregoriwich, had for thy vſe 15 broad cloches of diuers ſorts, priſed at 210 robles, wherof 90 robles are vnpayd.

Alſo in the ſaid 88 yeere thy diake Andrea Shalkan, tooke from vs 1000 robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Maieſties appointment.

And alſo in the 89 yeere (Lord) thy diake Andrea Shalkan, tooke from vs for thy Maieſtie 500 robles, we know not whether by thy Maieſties order or no, becauſe that thy authorized people doe priuely take away from vs, neither do they giue vs right in any cauſe.

All the money (Lord) which is not payd vs out of thy Maieſties treaſury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from vs by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273 robles 25 altines.

Right noble king and Lord, ſhew thy mercy, and cauſe the money to be payd vs which is owing for our goods, as alſo that which hath beene taken from vs: extend thy fauor, King and Lord.

The

A briefe discourse of the voyage of Sir Ierome Bowes knight, her *Maiesties ambassador to the Emperour of Muscouia, in the yeere* 1582:

and printed this second time, according to the true copie I receiued of a gentleman that went in the same voyage, for the correction of the errours in the former impression.

The Emperour of Russia that then liued, by name Euan Vassilliwich, hauing deliberately considered how necessary it were for the strengthening of his estate, that a sure commerce and entercourse of merchants should be againe renued betweene him and her sacred Maiestie of England, with such further immunities and priuileges for the honor and vtility of both their dominions, and subiects of the same, as vpon mutuall treatie of persons interposed on both sides, might be assented vnto: sent ouer into this realme, in the yeere of our Lord 1582, as his ambassadour for that purpose, an ancient and discrete gentleman of his housholde called Pheodor Andreuich Phisemskie, accompanied with one of his secretaries, for his better assistance in that expedition: and besides his many other directions, whereof part were to be deliuered by word of mouth, and the rest set downe in a letter under the Emperors signature, addressed to her Maiestie: he had in speciall charge to sollicit her Maiestie to send ouer with him to his maister an ambassador from her, to treat and contract of such affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his implementes hither. Whereupon her Maiestie very graciously inclining to the Emperours motion, and at the humble suite of the English merchants trading those countries, being caries with the same princely respects, to satisfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of Sir Ierome Bowes, a gentleman of her court, ordinarily attending vpon her Maiesties person, towards whom was apparantly expressed her princely opinion and fauor by the credit of this negociation.

After he had receiued his commission, with other speciall letters to the Emperor, with all other instructions appertaining to his charge, and that the said Russe ambassadour was licenced to returne home to his maister, being honorably entertained and rewarded, the English ambassador being attended vpon with forty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, to take his leaue of her Maiesty at the court at Greenewich, the xviii of Iuue, and he with the other ambassador, with theyr seuerall companies, embarked themselues at Harwich the xxii. of the same, and after a stormy voyage at the sea, they arriued both in safetie, in the road at S. Nicholas the xxiii. of July next following.

The Russe ambassador lodged himselfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas: and the English ambassador was lodged and well interteined by the English merchants, at theyr house at S. Nicholas, standing in an Island called Roase Island.

The Russe ambassador hauing reposed himselfe one whole day, tooke his leaue of the English ambassador, and departed towards Musco.

The English ambassador abode yet at S. Nicholas foure or fiue dayes, when hauing made prouision of boats, & meanes to that purpose, he went forward vpon his iourney towards Musco, to a towne called Colmagro, about foure score miles distant from S. Nicholas.

You must heere vnderstand that before the English ambassadors going into Russia, there were riuers strangers, but especially certaine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themselues to trade into those countries. Notwithstanding a priuilege of the sole trade thither, was long before granted to the English merchants, these Dutchmen had already so handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes woonne three of the chiefest councellers to the Emperour to be theyr assured friends, namely, Mikita Romanauich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancellor: for besides daily gifts that they bestowed vpon them all, they tooke so much money of theyrs at interest at xxv. vpon the hundred, as they payed to some one of them fiue thousand marks yeerely for the vse of his money, and the English merchants at that time had not one friend in court.

The ambassadour hauing now spent fiue weeks at S. Nicholas & at Colmagro, there came to him then a gentleman sent from the Emperor to intercine him, and had in charge to conduct him vp the riuers towards Musco, and to deliuer him prouision of all kinde of victuals necessary.

This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancellor, was by him (as it seemed) foisted into that seruice of purpose, as afterward appeared by the course he tooke, to offer discourtesies, and occasions of mislike to the ambassador: for you must vnderstand, that the chanceller and the other two great councellers (spoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpose to oppose themselues directly against her Maiesties ambassage, especially in that point, for the barring of all strangers from trading into the Emperors countrey.

This gentleman conducted the English ambassador a thousand miles vp the riuers of Dwyna and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where receiued him another gentleman sent from the Emperor, a man of better countenance then the other, who presented the ambassador from the Emperor with two faire geldings well furnished after theyr maner.

At a citie called Yerassaue vpon the riuer Volga there met the ambassador a duke well accompanied, sent from the Emperor, who presented him from the Emperor a coach and ten geldings for the more easie conueying of him to Musco, from whence this city was distant fiue hundred miles.

Two miles on this side Musco there met the ambassadour foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horsse: who after a little salutation, not familiar, without imbracing, tolde him that they had to say to him from the Emperour, and would haue had him light on foot to haue heard it, notwithstanding themselues would still haue sit on horssebacke: which the ambassadour soone refused to doe, and so they stood long vpon termes, whether both parties should light or not: which afterwards agreed vpon, there was yet great nicenesse whose foot should not be first on ground.

Their message being deliuered, and after hauing embraced ech other, they conducted the said ambassador to his lodging at Musco, a house builded of purpose for him, themselues being placed in the next house to it, as appointed to furnish him of all prouisions, and to be vsed by him vpon all other occasions.

The ambassadour hauing beene some dayes in Musco, and hauing in all that time beene very honorably vsed from the Emperor (for such was his will) though some of his chiefest councellors (as is said) had another purpose, and did often times cunningly put it in vse: He was sent for to Court, and was accompanied thither with about fortie gentlemen, honorably mounted, & sumptuously arrayed, & in his passage from his lodging to the court, were set in a ward fiue or sixe thousand shot, that were of the Emperors guard. At the entry into court, there met him foure noblemen apparelled in cloth of golde, and rich furres, theyr caps embrothered with pearle and stone, who conducted him towards the Emperour, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperor, in which passage there stood along the walles, and sate vpon benches and fourmes in row, seuen or eight hundred persons, said to be noblemen and gentlemen, all apparelled in garments of coloured satins and cloth of golde.

These foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperours chamber dore, where met him the Emperors herald, whose office is there held great: and with him all the great officers of the Emperors chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperor sate in his state, hauing three crownes standing by him, viz. of Muscouia, Cazan, & Astrakan, & also by him foure young noblemen of about twenty yeares of age, of ech side twaine, costly apparelled in white, holding vpon theyr shoulders ech of them a brode axe, much like to a Galloglas axe of Ireland, thin and very sharpe, the steale or handle not past halfe a yard long, and there sate about the chamber vpon benches and other low seats, about a hundred noblemen richly apparelled in cloth of golde.

The ambassador being thus brought to the Emperor to kisse his hand, after some complements and inquiries of her Maiesties health, he willed him to goe sit downe in a place prouided for that purpose, nigh ten pases distant from him, from whence he would haue had him to haue sent him her Maiesties letters and present, which the ambassador thinking not reasonable, stept forward towards the Emperour in which passage the chancellor came to meet him, and would haue taken his letters, to whom the ambassador said, that her Maiestie had directed no letters to him, and so went on, and deliuered them himselfe to the Emperors owne hands.

And after hauing thus deliuered her Maiesties letters, and what he had else to say at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where hauing had conference with the councell of matters of his ambassage, he was soone after sent for againe to the Emperor, where he dined in his presence at a side table, neere vnto him, and all his company at another boord by, where also dined at other tables in the same place all the chiefe noblemen that were about the court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperor vsed many fauors to the ambassadour, and about the midst of dinner (standing vp) dranke a great carouse to the health of the Queene his good sister, and sent him a great bowle full of Rhenish wine and sugar to pledge him.

The ambassadour after this, was often called to court, where he had conference both with the Emperor and his councell, of the matters in question, touching both ambassages, which diuers times raised many iarres: and in the end after sundry meetings, the Emperour finding himselfe not satisfied to his liking, for that the ambassadour had not power by his commission to yeeld to euery thing that he thought fit, as a man whose will was seldome wonted to be gainesaid, let loose

his

his passion, and with a sterne and angry countenance tolde him, that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambassador greatly misliking these speeches, & being very vnwilling (how dangerous soeuer it might proone to his owne person) to giue way to the Emperor, to derogate ought from the honour and greatnesse of her Maiestie: and finding also that to subiect himselfe to the angrie humor and disposition of the Emperour, was not the meanes to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to answere his, tolde him that the Queene his mistresse, was as great a prince as any was in Christendome, equall to him that thought himselfe the greatest, well able to defend her selfe against his malice whosoeuer, and wanted not meanes to offend any that either she had, or should haue cause to be enemy vnto. Yea (quoth he) How sayest thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? Marry (quoth the ambassador) I holde the Queene my mistresse as great as any of them both. Then what sayest thou (quoth he) to the Emperour of Germany? Such is the greatnesse of the Queene my mistresse (quoth the ambassadour) as the king her father had (not long since) the Emperor in his pay, in his warres against France.

This answere misliked the Emperor yet so much more, as that he tolde the ambassadour, that were he not an ambassadour, he would throw him out of the dores. Whereunto he answered that he might doe his will, for he was now fast within his countrey: but he had a mistresse who (he doubted not) would be reuenged of any iniury that should be done vnto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great sudden bad him get him home. And he with no more reuerence then such vsage required, fa[illegible] the Emperor, and went his way.

All this notwithstanding, the ambassadour was not much sooner out of the chamber, and the Emperors choller some wat setled, but he deliuered to his councell that stood about him many commendations in the fauor of the ambassador, for that he would not indure one ill word to be spoken against his mistresse, and therewithall wished himselfe to haue such a seruant.

The ambassador had not beene much more then one houre in his lodging, but the Emperour imagining (as it seemed) by the extraordinary behauior of the ambassador (for he wanted not wit to judge) that he had found what was the Emperors case, sent his principall Secretary vnto him, to tell him, that notwithstanding what had past, yet for the great loue that he bare to the Queene his sister, he should very shortly be called againe to Court, and haue a resolution of all the matters in question: and this Secretary was now further content to impart, and said to the ambassador that the Emperour was fully resolued to send a greater noble man home with him, in ambassage to the Queene his sister, then euer he yet at any time sent out of his country: and that he determined also, to send to the Queene a present woorth three thousand pounds, and to gratifie himselfe at his departure, with a gift that should be woorth a thousand pounds: and tolde him also that the next day the Emperor would send a great noble man vnto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuses done him by Shalkan the chancellor, and his ministers.

And so the day folowing he sent Bodan Belskoy the chiefest counceller he had, and a man most in credit with him; this man examined all matters wherewith the ambassador had found himselfe grieued, and supplied him with what he wanted, and righted him in all things wherein he had beene wronged.

Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperor caused to be set downe in his owne presence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambassador then he had had before, and shortly after sent the same to the ambassadour by his principall Secretarie Sauio Frollo. This diet was so great, as the ambassadour often times sought to haue it lessened, but the Emperour would it not by any meanes.

The scroule of the new diet was this:

One bushell of fine meale for three dayes.
One bushell of wheat meale for a day and a halfe.
Two liue geese for one day.
Twenty hennes for the day.
Seuen sheepe for a day.
One oxe for three dayes.
One side of porke for a day.
Seuentie egges for a day.
Ten pound of butter.
Seuenty peny white loaues of bread.
Twelue peny loaues of bread.
One veather or gallon of vinegar.
Two veathers of salt cabiges.
One pecke of onions.
Ten pound of salt.
One altine, or sixe peny woorth of waxe candles.
Two altines of tallow candles.
One fourth part of a veather of cherie mead.
Ten much of Mallynouomead.
Halfe a veather of burnt wine.

One teather of fowre meales called Obarni.
Three teathers of thre meals.
Ten teathers of white meale.
Fiftene teathers of ordinary meale.
Foure teathers of finer meale.
Fiftene teathers of beere.
Twelue teathers of wine.
Three fullockes of Malmesie.
One fat of Malmesie.
One fullocke of muskedine.
Two fullocks of cloues.
Three fullockes of Malmesie.

Prouender, { One bushell of oates. One load of hay. One load of straw. }

Now he began to enter into deuice how to put in execution to worke her Maiesties purpose, as he saw to the ambassador, intreating him that his seruice, and secretly vnder his English philition, might be set before the eyes of the religious in this England, which the ambassador vsed to be done accordingly, and sent them vnto him: who seeing it well to like them, as he gaue them (with much good allowance) to be publikely vsed before diuers of his councell, and many others of his nobilitie.

Now he vpon hope againe to practise, to marry some kinswoman of her Maiesties, & that he would send againe into England, to haue some one of them to wife, and if her Maiestie would not vpon his next ambassage send him such a one as he required, himselfe would then go into England, and carry his treasure with him, and marry one of them there.

Heere you must vnderstand that the yeere before this ambassage, he had sent to her Maiestie by his ambassador, to haue had the lady Mary Hastings in marriage: which intreaty by meanes of her inhabilitie of body, by occasion of much sickenesse, euer hanging on her great liking either of her selfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambassador was now to haue growen into the Emperors fauor, and his affection so great to England, as those great councellors that were the ambassadors great enuyers before, were now desirous of some publike countenance at his hands, for their aduantage to the Emperour: neither durst they now any more interpose themselues betwixt the Emperor & him: for not long before this, the Emperor for abusing the ambassadors man (whereof his seruant aboue him) beaten Shalkan the chancellor very grieuously, and had sent him word, that he would not know any of his race since.

Now to whilest the ambassador was thus strongly possessed of the Emperors fauor, he imployed himselfe in all he might, not only for the speedy dispatch of the negociation he had in hand, but laboured also by all the good meanes he might, further to bee with his country and countrymen, and in not long after, came at the Emperors hands, not onely all those things he had in commission to treat for by his instructions, but also some other of good and great importance, for the benefit of his marchants.

Priuate sutes obteined of the Emperor by the ambassador.

LEaue for Richard Francklin an Englishman and physitian to the Emperor, his wife and children, to come home into England, euery thing with him all such goods as he had gotten there.

He obteined like leaue for Richard Hynes an Englishman one of the Emperors surgions.

He also got leaue for Iane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutch man, and physician to the Emperor, who for treason practised with the king of Pole against the said Emperor, was rosted to death at the city of Munes, in the yeere 156[illegible]

These following he obteined for the behoofe of the merchants.

HE procured for the merchants, a priuiledge for recompence for certaine goods taken from their factors by robberie vpon the Volga.

He obtained like suite, the repayment of fiue hundred marks, which was payd for ten perres before his going into Russia (by the Emperours receipt) for wrong of a house that they had at Vologda.

He also got graunted for them, the repayment of fifteene hundred marks, which had been taken of them the time that perres before [illegible]

the gat also for them, either for the repaiment of an olde and desperate debt of three thousand marks, a debt so desperate, as diuers persons left out of their accomps, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be vrged with, for too much offending the Emperour, or impeaching his other businesse, which was thought as least otherwise sufficient, and was therefore left out of his instructions from her Maiestie.

He obteined thirdly strong and large priuiledges for them, and more then any other Nation had in Russia, and that the passage and trade to all the Emperors Dominions, townes and countries, from the vttmost house to the citie of Do should be wholy free to the English nation.

Lastly of a great value he had so to the merchants gaue, without mention either of themselues here, or their agents there, or any other for them, the obteining of the Emperour, the abatement of all their customs which they had long before paid, and agreed still to continue, which customs, the Dutch men and Genigers being resident, did vse to haue agreed, compound to two thousand pounds yerely.

All these were greeuous, some also neuer paid before his comming from Muscouia, the olde priuiledge renewed, newly written, signed and sealed, and vsed to be deliuered to the ambassadour at his next coming to court, before to him, the Emperour fell sicke of a fistes, and so died.

After whose death the case was woonderously altered with the ambassadour: for whereas both in diuerse conclusions in all men opinion else, he was in great forwardnes to haue growen a great mate with the Emperour, what for the loue he bare to her Maiestie, and the particular liking he had of himselfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mikita Romanouich and Andre Shalkan the chancellor, who after the death of the Emperour, tooke the speciall gouernement of the realme vnto themselues, and so presently caused the ambassadour to be shut vp a close prisoner in his owne house, for the space of nine weeks, and was so straightly guarded, and basely vsed by those that attended him, as he vnlyly suspected some further mischiefe to haue followed: for in this time there grew a great vproare in Moscow of nigh twenty thousand persons, which, remembring that his entertainment, somewhat amazed the ambassador, but per afterwards the matter fell out against the great councellor Bodan Belskoy, whom all men before to be speciall man in the olde Emperours fauour, who was in no wise withstanding so outragiously assaulted, as that he was forced to seeke the Emperors chamber for his safetie, and was afterwards sent away to Cazan, a place he had in gouernment, fiue hundred miles from Muscow, where he hath remained euer since, and neuer as yet called againe to court, at which time the ambassador expected some such like measure, and prepared himselfe as well as he could, for his defence: yet happily after this, was sent for to court, to haue his dispatch, and to take his leaue of the Emperour. Whither being conducted (not after the wonted manner) and brought to the councell chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chancellor and a brother of his, who without more adoo, tolde him for the summe of his dispatch, that this Emperour would not treat of further amitie with the Queene his mistresse, then such as was betweene his late father and hir, before his comming thither: and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambassador, but presently rauished both himselfe and all his company to be disarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperor. In which passage there were such outrages offered him, as had he not vsed more patience, then his disposition afforded him, or the occasion required, he had not in likelihood escaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the presence of the Emperor, who said nothing to him, but what the chancellor had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Maiestie, which the ambassador (for that he knew it concerned nothing that he concerne his ambassage) refused till he saw his danger grew to too great: neither would the Emperour suffer the ambassadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpose taken away his interpreter, being yet vnwilling (as it seemed, and suspecting the ambassadours purpose) that the Emperor and others should know how vnhonorably he had beene handled: for there was at that time, for that purpose a noble borne gentleman, one Borris Phedarouich Gordino, brother to the Emperour that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour did alwayes vse the ambassador most honorably, and would very willingly haue done him much more kindenesse, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperour: but notwithstanding sent often vnto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honorable fauours with a present of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a pyldes of very good sables: and desired that as there was kindnesse and brotherhood twixt the Emperor and her Maiestie, so there might be loue and brotherhood twixt him and the ambassador. Hauing from this man, there was now no more loue, nor friendship left for the ambassador in Muscouia: for the chancellor Shalkan had now sent him word that the English Emperor was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and disgraces too many, and a hasty dispatch from the Muscow, that he might not tary the coronation

of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long iourney, ouely one meane gentleman appointed to accompany him to the sea side, expecting daily in his passage some sudden reuenge to be done vpon him, for so he vnderstood it was threatened before his comming from the Mosco, and therfore with resolution prouided by all the meanes he might, by himselfe and seruants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen such, as the English merchants did altogether leaue him, although he commanded them in her Maiesties name to accompany him) that if any such thing should happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that should offer to execute it, should die with him for company: which being perceiued (was thought) did make his passage the safer. So afterward being driuen to disgest many iniuries by the way, at length he recouered S. Nicholas, where remembring his vnfortunate losse of the olde Emperour: and his ill vsage since then at the Mosco, his being forced to take a bare letter for the summe of his dispatch, conteining nothing of that he came for, and the poore and disgracefull present sent him (in the name of the Emperour) in respect of that that was meant him by the olde Emperour, knowing all these to be done in disgrace of her Maiestie and himselfe, determined now to be discharged of some part of them in such sort as he could, and so prouiding as he might to preuent his danger, in getting to his shippe, furnishing and placing his men to answere any assault that should be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the vncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by three or fonre of the valiantest and discreetest men he had, he sent to be deliuered him or lost at his lodging, his maisters weake letter, and worsse present, and so afterwards happily (though hardly) recouered his shippe in safetie, although presently afterwards, there was great hurlie burlie after him, to force him to receiue the same againe, but failed of theyr purpose. So came the ambassadour from S. Nicholas the twelfe day of August, and arriued at Grauesend the twelfe of September following, and attended her Maiestie at the court at Otelands, where, after hauing kist her Maiesties hands, and deliuered some part of the successe of his ambassage, he presented her an Elke or Losse, the Red deere of the country, and also a brace of Raine deare, Bucke & Do, both bearing very huge hornes: they in her Maiesties presence drew a sled & a man vpon it, after the maner of the Sammites, a people that inhabit in the Northeast from Russia, and were that yeere come ouer the sea in the winter season vpon the ice, in their sleds, drawen with these deere into Russia, where the ambassadour brought of them seuenteene, whereof he brought nine aliue into Kent.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to the worshipfull M. William *Sanderson, conteining a briefe discourse of that which* passed in the Northeast discouerie for the space of three and thirtie yeeres.

MAster Sanderson, as you lately requested mee, so haue I sought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine olde letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I haue briefly and as truly as I may, drawen out as followeth: The rough hewing may be planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First the honourable attempt to discouer by sea Northeast and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuiledge from king Edward the sixt, and other his nobilitie, by and at the cost and sute of M. Sebastian Cabota, then gouernor for discoueries with sir Andrew Iudde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garret, M. Anthonie Hussie, and a companie of merchants, was in the last yeere of his Maiesties reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Maisters, Merchants and Mariners, hauing three shippes well furnished, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonaduenture, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaduenture, Richard Chanceller being Pilot, and Steuen Burrough Maister, hauing discouered Wardhouse vpon the coast of Finmarke, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayd of people at a village called Newnox.

Anno 1553. M. William Burrough was then yõg and with his brother in this first voyage.

The other two shippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets founde after written by sir Hugh Willoughbie) was in September encountred with such extreame colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the saide baye fell vpon a desert coast in Lappia, entring into a Riuer immediatelie frozen vp, since discouered, named Arzina,

Reca,

Reca, distant East from a Russian Monastery of Monkes called Pechingham, from whence they never returned, but all to the number of 70. persons perished, which was for want of experience to have made canes or stoues. These were found with the shippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Russe fishermen, and in Anno 1555. the place sent vnto by English Merchants as heereafter appeareth. Note.

Anno 1554. the saide shippe Edward Bonaduenture (although robbed homewards by Flemings) returned with her companie to London, shewing and setting foorth their entertainments and discoueries of the conueryes euen to the citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priuilege written in Russe with the kings or great dukes seale, the other two ships looked for & vnknowen to them where they were. Anno 1554.

An. 1555. the said companie of Merchants for discouerie vpon a new supply, sent thither again with two ships, to wit, the Edward Bonaduenture, & another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Phillip and Marie, whose Maiesties by theyr letters to the said Moscouite, recommended sundry theyr subiects then passing, wherof certaine, to wit, Richard Chanceller, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Bay, and passing vp Dwina to Vologda, went first vp to Mosco, where vpon knowledge of the said letters, they with their traine had speciall entertainment, with houses and diet appointed, and shortly permitted to the princes presence, they were with gentlemen brought through the citie of Mosco, to the castle and palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They entred sundrie roomes, furnished in shew with ancient greue personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, gold, tissue, baldekin, and violet, as our vestments and copes haue bene in England, suitable with caps, ie vels, and chaines. These were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Moscouites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it. Anno 1555. The King and Queenes letters.

Then entring into the presence, being a large roome floored with carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number aboue an hundred set square: who after the said English men came in, doing reuerence, they all stood vp, the prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hand, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be seene massie siluer and gilt plate, some like & as big as kilderkins, and washbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the prince was set bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe standing vpon a pinnacle by. Not farre distant, sate his Metropolitane, with diuers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none sate ouer against him, or any, at other tables, their backs towards him: which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the Englishmen, named by the Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, to wit, strangers or merchants by ship, a table in the middest of the roome, where they were set direct against the prince: and then began the seruice, brought in by a number of his yoong Lords and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is aboue specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding theyr owne furniture) they had his whole messes set ouer all in massie fine golde, deliuered euery time from him by name to them, by their seuerall Christian names, as they sate, viz. Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewise bread and sundry drinks of purified mead, made of fine white and clarified honie. At their rising, the prince called them to his table, to receiue each one a cuppe from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Master George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, and pleasantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, said in Russe, this is Gods gift. As in deed at that time it was not only thicke, broad, & yellow coloured, but in length fiue foot & two inches of assize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied & followed with a number, carying pots of drinke, and dishes of meat dressed, to our lodging. M. Killingworths beard of a marueilous length.

This yeere the two shippes, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent vnto by Master Killingworth, (which remained there in Mosco, Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recouered and saued.

Anno 1556. The companie sent two ships for Russia, with extraordinary masters and sailers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the riuer of Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from England sailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe ambassador, named Ioseph Nepey, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chanceler, in the Edward. But so it fell out that the two which came from Lappia, with all theyr new Masters and Mariners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought seas, after theyr two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is supposed, vnstanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also diuers Russes merchants, and seruants of the ambassador. Anno 1556.

A third ship the Edward aforesaid, falling on the North part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was also lost, and Maister Chanceler, with diuers other, drowned. The said Russe ambassador hardly escaping, with other his men, mariners, and some goods saued, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the messenger being M. Doctor Laurence Hussie, and others) And then, as in the chronicles appeareth, honorably entertained and receiued at London.

This yeere also the companie furnished and sent out a pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discouer the harborowes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discouerie was beyond the Bay, toward the Samoeds, people dwelling neere the riuer of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Carde or Mappe. In that place they threw foowe out of their said pinnesse, with shouels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintered at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. Anno 1557. The companie with foure good ships, sent backe the said Russe Ambassador, and in companie with him, sent as an Agent, for further discouerie, Master Anthony Ienkinson, who afterward anno 1558, with great fauour of the prince of Moscouia, and his letters passed the riuer Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by land, was by manie troupes and companies of vnciuil Tartarians, encountred, and in danger: but keeping companie with merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, & Vrgeme, trauelling with camels, he with his company, went to Boghar, and no further, whose entertainment of the king is to be had of master Ienkinson, which returned anno 1559. to Moscouie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England, which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse of shipwracke, or dead fraight, and burnings. And at this time was the first trafike to the Narue in Liuonia, which confines with Lituania, & all the dominions of Russia, with the markets, faires, commodities, great townes & riuers, were sent vnto by diuers seruants: the reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and deliuered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of olde time hath beene long since frequented by our English nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Boghar voyage.

1560.

The first trade to the Narue. 1560.

Anno 1561. the said Master Anthony Ienkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all the riuer of Volga to Astracan, and ouer the Caspian sea, arriued in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry voyages after Master Ienkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcocke, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Bannister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spoile neere Volga had not preuented by rouing theeues) had altogether salued and recouered the companies (called the olde companies) great losse, charges, and damages: but the saying is true, By vnitie small things grow great, and by contention great things become small. This may be vnderstood best by the companie. The frowardnes of some few, and euill doing of some vniust factors, was cause of much of the euill successe.

Alcocke slaine in Persia. Bannister died in Media. Edwards died at Astracan

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Ieronie Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further discoueries, freedomes, & priuileges, wherewith I medle not. But in conclusion, for their paines and aduentures this way (as diuers doe now adayes other wayes) as woorthie Gentlemen sent from princes, to doe their Countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Magarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

Yours Henrie Lane.

The late ambassage of Master Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the *Ciuill Law, sent from her Maiestie to the Emperour* of Russia, Anno 1588.

In the yeere 1588, was sent Ambassador from her Highnesse, into the Countrey of Russia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Ciuill Law, as well to treat with the new Emperour Phedor Iuanowich, about league and amitie, in like manner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich, as also for the reestablishing and reducing into order the decayed trade of our English men there. Who notwithstanding at his first arriuall at the Mosco, founde some partes of hard intertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors, concerning the late nauall victorie, which was there reported

parted to haue fallen on the Spanish side, as also for some dislike conceiued against the priuileged trade of our English merchants. Yet in the end obtained of the Emperour many good & equall conditions, and was courteously and honorably dismissed by him. The principall points which he intreated of, and were granted vnto him by the said Emperour, were these:

1 A continuation of league and amitie betweene her Highnesse, and the said Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich.

2 A confirmation and reestablishment of the former priuileges of the company of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principall points, with diuers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those countries hereafter, viz. That the state of the priuilege granted before in the names of some priuate and particular men, be altered in that point, and the same granted by the name and stile of their incorporation, viz. To the fellowship of English merchants, for the discouerie of new trades.

3 That vpon euery surmise and light quarrell, the said priuilege be not reuoked, and annulled, as before time it hath beene.

4 That iustice shall be administred to the said companie and their agent, without delay, vpon such as shall offer them any despite or iniurie, or shall exact or impose vpon them anie paiment, taxation, or imposition whatsoeuer, contrary to the freedome of the said grant.

5 That the goods and commodities of the said companie, be not forcibly taken, as before time they haue beene by the Emperors officers, or people of authoritie, either for the vse of the said Emperour or of his officers. But in case they haue need of the said commodities, the same to be taken at reasonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the said companie be not charged heereafter with the answering of such debts as are made by any English man, not being of the societie.

7 That the Emperours authorized people, shall not heerafter repute any English man resiant in that country, to be any factor, seruant, or dealer in the said companies affaires, but such as the agent shall inregister by name, within the offices where custome is entred in all such places of the land, where the said companie haue residencies to traffike.

8 That the names of such as shall so be inregistred, be no longer continued in record, nor themselues reputed as factors or dealers, for the said company, then the agent shal thinke good. But in case the said agent in his discretion shall thinke meet to strike out of the register any name of such as haue beene imployed in the companies seruice, the said person to be held as priuate, and whose act in bargaining or otherwise, shall not charge the said company.

9 That if any English man within the countrey of Russia, be suspected for any notorious crime, as fellony, treason, &c. the same be not straightwaies set vpō the Pudkey, nor otherwise tormented, till such time as he shalbe conuicted by plaine and euident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be sent ouer to the Queene of England.

10 That the said priuilege, with the additions, shall be published in all townes and parts of the Emperors dominions, where the said company haue traffike.

11 That the said companie shall be permitted to vse a sole trade through the Emperours countries, by the riuer Volga, into Media, Persia, Bogharia, and the other the East countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the said companie, the summe of 23553. markes of debt, made by certaine of their factors for the said company, for paiment wherof, their whole stocke was in danger of arrest, by publike anthoritie: Further also 2140. rubbles for custome and houserent, he obtained a rebatement of seuenteene thousand, eleuen hundred, fiftie and three marks of the said debt.

The said Ambassador Master Giles Fletcher, as I vnderstand, hath drawen a booke, intituled, Of the Russe Common wealth, containing:

First, a Cosmographicall description of the countrey, which hath these chapters.

1 Of the length and bredth of the countrey of Russia, with the names of the shires.
2 Of the soile and climat.
3 Of the natiue commodities of the countrey.

Secondly a description of their pollicie, conteined in these Chapters, viz.

1 Of the constitution or state of the Russe Common wealth.
2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.
3 Of the Russe Nobilitie, and meanes, whereby it is kept in an vnder proportion, agreeable to that state.
4 Of the maner of gouerning their prouinces or shires.

5 Of

6 Of the Emperours priuie counsell.
7 Of the Emperours reuenues, with the practise for the increase thereof.
7 Of the Russe commodities, and their condition.
8 Of their publike iustice, and maner of proceeding therein.
9 Of the Emperours forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, & their salarie or pay.
10 Of their maner of musteringe, armor, and prouision for victuall.
11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall discipline.
12 Of their colonies, and pollicie in maintaining their purchases by conquest.
13 Of their borderers, with whom they haue most to do in warre and peace.
14 Of their church offices, and degrees.
15 Of their liturgie, or forme of church seruice.
16 Of their maner of administring the Sacraments.
17 Of the doctrine of the Russe church.
18 Of the maner of solemnizing their marriages.
19 Of the other ceremonies of the Russe church.

Thirdly the Oeconomie or priuate behauior of the Russe, containing these chapters.

1 Of the Emperours housholde officers, and order of his house.
2 Of the priuate behauior and maner of the Russe people.

The booke it selfe he thought not good, for diuers considerations, to make publike at this time.

A testimony of the Northeastern discouerie, made by the English, and of the profit that may arise by pursuing the same: taken out of the second volume of nauigations, and voyages, fol. 17. of the notable Cosmographer M. Iohn Baptista Ramusius, Secretarie to the state of Venice: Written in Italian, in the yeere 1557.

Alla parte poi di sotto la nostra Tramontana, che chiascuno scrittore & Cosmographo di questi & de passati tempi fin hora ci ha messo & mette mare congelato, & che la terra corra continuamente fino a 90. gradi verso il Polo: sopra questo mappamondo all' incontro si vede che la terra va solamente vn poco sopra la Norwega & Suetia, & voltando corre poi Greco & Leuante nel paese della Moscouia & Rossia, & va diritto al Cataio. Et che cio sia la verita, le nauigationi che hanno fatte gl' Inglesi con le loro nani, volendo andare a scoprire il Cataio al tempo del Re Odoardo Sesto d' Inghilterra, questi anni passati ne possono far vera testimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moscouia, done trouarono allhora regnare Gionanni Vassilouich Imperatore della Rossia & gran Duca di Moscouia, il quale con molto piacere & marauiglia vedutoli, fece grandissime carezze, hauuto trouato quel mare essere nauigabile, & non agghiacciato. La qual nauigatione (ancor che con l'esito fin hora non sia stata bene intesa) se col spesso frequentarla & col lungo vso & cognitione di quei mari si continuerà, è per fare grandissima mutatione & riuolgimento nelle cose di questa nostra parte del mondo.

¶ The same in English.

MOreouer (hauing before spoken of diuers particularities, in an excellent mappe of Paulus Venetus) on that part subiect to our North pole, where euery writer & Cosmographer of these, and of former times hitherto, haue, and doe place the frozen sea, and that the land stretcheth continually to 90. degrees towards the pole: contrariwise, in this mappe is to be seene, that the land extendeth only a little aboue Norway and Suethland, and then turning it selfe, extendeth afterwards towards the Southeast, and by East, vnto the country of Moscouie and Russia, and stretcheth directly vnto Cathay. And that this is true, the nauigations which the English men haue of late made, intending to discouer Cathay, in the time of Edward the sixt, king of England, are very sufficient witnesses. For in the mids of their voyage, lighting by chance vpon the coast of Moscouie (where they found then reigning Iohn Vassilliuich Emperor of Russia, and great duke of Moscouia, who after he had to his great delight, and admiration, seene the English men, entertained them with exceeding great courtesies) found this sea to be nauigable, and not frozen.

Which nauigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet throughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the same, and by long vse and knowledge of those seas, it be continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and reuolution in the state of this our part of the world.

The

The teſtimonie of Gerardus Mercator, in his laſt large mappe of Europe, touching the notable diſcoueries of the Engliſh, made of Moſcouia by the Northeaſt.

MAgnam occaſionem certámque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappiæ Moſcouiæque iuxta cœli ſitum, mundique plagas digeſta habet. Exacta etiam vrbis Moſcuæ latitudo ab Anglis obſeruata, interiorum Regionum emendatiùs deſcribendarum infallibilem legem præſcripſit: Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putaui tabulam hanc caſtigatiorem non reddere.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

THe moſt famous nauigation of the Engliſh men by the Northeaſt ſea, hath offered vnto me a great occaſion, and certeine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: wiſich diſcouery hath the Northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moſcouie, laid out according to the iuſt elcuation, and the quarters of the world. And further, the true obſeruation of the latitude of the city of Moſco, made by the foreſaid Engliſhmen, hath preſided me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the ſituation of the inland countries: wbich notable helps being miniſtred vnto me, I thought it my duety to exhibite to the world this mappe, more exact and perfect, then hitherto it hath beene publiſhed.

Another teſtimonie of Ioannes Metellus Sequanus, concerning the ſame nauigation, and diſcouerie, in his preface prefixed before Oſorius de rebus geſtis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ, written about the yeere, 1574.

AT ne omnis, vnis Hiſpanis, Oceani maris gloria totáque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones noua in Moſcouiam nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginti plus minùs illuſtrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moſcouitarum, Naruæque Liuoniæ excluſi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Noruegiæ, Finmarchiæ, Lappiæ, Scricfinniæ, Biarmiæque: illinc Groenlandiæ littora præterueĉti, vltrà Septuageſſimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum ſibi patefaciunt. Quam nauigationem Belgæ poſteà, non ſine tamen cum iiſdem Britannis velitatione, ſunt ſecuti. Eò vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineáſque veſtes propè detritas, omníſque generis minutiores merces, ad vſum, cultúmque corporis hominum vtriúſque ſexus, veluti lintea & byſſea cingula, periſcelides, crumenas, cultros, & id genus ſexcenta. A Moſchis autem pelles omnis generis pretioſas adferunt, & Salmones ſalitos, fumóque duratos.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

BVt leaſt all, and the whole glorie of diſcouering the Ocean ſea, ſhould be aſcribed to the Spaniards, the Engliſh men about twenty yeeres paſt, by a new nauigation into Moſcouie, diſcouered the Northeaſt parts. For they by reaſon of the warres of Swethland, being hindred from the traffike of the Moſcouites, and of the Narue in Liſland, opened a paſſage for themſelues by the Ocean ſea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees: hauing in their courſe on the one ſide the coaſts of Norway, Finmarke, Lapland, Scrikfine, and Biarmia: On the other ſide the coaſt of Groneland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterward entred into, but not without ſome conflict with the Engliſh. They cary thither olde plate, and courſe linnen cloth, and all kinde of ſmall mercerie wares, ſeruing for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and ſilke girdles, garters, purſes, knines, and many ſuch like things. And they bring away from the Moſcouites, all kinde of pretious furres, and Salmons ſalted, and dried in the ſmoke.

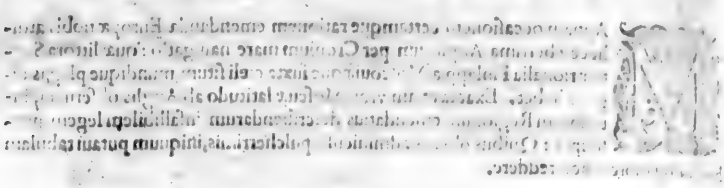
The end of the ſecond part.

The testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, in his last large mappe of Europe, touching the notable discoueries of the English, made by Gronie by the Northeast.

A[illegible] occasione [illegible] certamque rationem emendandi Europæ nobis [illegible] [illegible] per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ litora S[illegible] [illegible] Exaccatæ [illegible] latitudo ab Angliæ [illegible] [illegible] Regionum emendatius [illegible] legem [illegible] Quibus [illegible] pulcherrimis, iniquum putaui tabulam [illegible] reddere.

The same in English.

[illegible] Englishmen by the Northeast sea, hath offered unto me a great occasion, and certaine [illegible] for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which [illegible] parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moscouie, laid out according to [illegible] Finmarke, and the [illegible] Englishmen, hath yet [illegible] an infallible rule, for the [illegible] which notable helps being ministred unto me, [illegible] this mappe, more exact and perfect, then hitherto it hath been published.



Another testimonie of Ioannes Metellus Sequanus, concerning the same nauigation, and discouerie, in his preface prefixed before Oronius de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ, written about the yeere, 1574.

Tot omnis, vnis Hispanis, Oceani maris gloria totaque concederetur, Britanni Septentrionem [illegible] nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginti [illegible] Nauicellis Sueticis à Moscouitarum, Naturæque Liuoniæ [illegible] Oceano, lunæ Norwegiæ, Finmarchiæ, [illegible] Groenlandiæ litora præterueci, vltra Septuagesimum [illegible] Aquilonaris gradum sibi patefaciunt. Quam [illegible] Britannis velitatione, sunt secuti. Eò [illegible] omnisque generis minutio[illegible] [illegible] vtriusque sexus, veluti lineæ & byssea cin[illegible] [illegible] culteros, & [illegible] A Moschis autem pelles omnis ge[illegible] [illegible] salmones salitos, fumóque duratos.

The same in English.

[illegible] whole glorie of discouering the Ocean sea, should be ascribed to the Spa[illegible] [illegible] nauigation into Moscouie, [illegible] [illegible] Swetmiand, being hindred from [illegible] Norue in Finland, opened a passage for themselues by [illegible] Finmarke, Lapland, Scriftinia, and Biarmia: On the other side the [illegible] Finland, [illegible] [illegible] and all kinds of [illegible] [illegible] and silke girdles, [illegible] Moscouites, [illegible] and dried up the smoke.

The end of the second part.

THE THIRD AND LAST PART OF THE principall Nauigations and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation

made to the Weſt, Northweſt, and Southweſt parts of the world, with the Letters, Priuileges, Diſcourſes, Obſeruations, and other neceſſarie thinges concerning the ſame.

The voyage of Madoc the ſonne of Owen Guyneth Prince of Northwales, to the Weſt Indies, in the yeere 1170: taken out of the hiſtorie of *Wales, lately published by M. Dauid Powel Doctor of Diuinitie.*

AFter the death of Owen Gwyneth, his ſonnes fell at debate who ſhould inherit after him: for the eldeſt ſonne borne in matrimony, Edward or Iorwerth Drwydion, was counted vnmeet to gouerne, becauſe of the maime vpon his face: and Howell that tooke vpon him all the rule was a baſe ſonne, begotten vpon an Iriſh woman. Therefore Dauid gathered all the power he could, and came againſt Howell, and fighting with him ſlew him, & afterwards inioyed quietly the whole land of Northwales, vntill his brother Iorwerths ſonne came to age. Madoc another of Owen Gwyneth his ſonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, & prepared certaine ſhips, with men and munition, and ſought aduentures by ſeas, ſailing Weſt, and leauing the coaſt of Ireland ſo farre North, that he came to a land vnknowen, where he ſaw many ſtrange things. Madoc the ſonne of Owen Gwineth.

This land muſt needs be ſome part of that countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themſelues to be the firſt finders ſince Hannoes time. For by reaſon, and order of Coſmographie, this land to the which Madoc came, muſt needs be ſome part of Noua Hiſpania, or Florida. Whereupon it is manifeſt that that countrey was long before by Britaines diſcouered, afore either Columbus or Americus Veſputius led any Spanyards thither. Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people do vſe in diſtance of place & length of time rather to augment then to diminiſh, but ſure it is that there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleaſant and fruitfull countreyes that he had ſeene without inhabitants, and vpon the contrary part, for what barrenes wilde ground his brethren and nephues did murther one another, he prepared a number of ſhippes, & got with him ſuch men and women as were deſirous to liue in quietneſſe, and taking leaue of his friends, tooke his iourney thitherward againe. Therefore it is to be preſuppoſed, that he & his people inhabited part of thoſe countryes: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the croſſe. Whereby it may be gathered that Chriſtians had beene there before the comming of the Spanyards. But becauſe this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land they came vnto, and vſed the language they found there. Franc. Lopez. Gomara lib. de cap. 16.

This Madoc arriuing in that Weſterne countrey, vnto the which he came in the yeere 1170, left moſt of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance and friends, to inhabit that fayre and large countrey, went thither againe with ten ſailes, as I finde noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came, was ſome part of Mexico. The cauſes which make me to thinke ſo be theſe. M. Powels addition.

1 The common report of the inhabitants of that country, which affirme that their rulers deſcended from a ſtrange nation that came thither from a farre countrey. Which thing is confeſſed by

Mutezuma king of that country, in an oration made for quieting of his people, at his submission to the king of Castile, Hernando Cortes being then present, which is laid downe in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies.

Wm. Ingram. Sir Humfrey Gilberts discouerie.

2 The British wordes, and names of places vsed in that countrey, euen to this day, doe argue the same, as when they talke together, they vse this word Gwrando or which is, Hearken or Listen. Also they haue a certaine bird with a white head, which they call Penguyn, that is, White head, but the Island of Corroeso, the riuer of Guyndor, and the white roche of Penguyn, which be all British or Welsh words, do manifestly shew that it was that countrey which Madoc and his people inhabited.

Carmina Meredith filij Rhesi mentionem facientia de Madoco *filio Oweni Gwynedd, & de sua nauigatione in terras incognitas.*

Vixit hic Meredith circiter Annum Domini 1477.

These verses I receiued of my learned friend M. William Camden.

MAdoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,
Iawn genau, Owen Gwynedd:
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

¶ *The same in English.*

MAdoc I am the sonne of Owen Gwynedd
With stature large, and comely grace adorned:
No lands at home nor store of wealth me pleasde,
My minde was whole to search the Ocean seas.

The offer of the discouerie of the West Indies by Christopher *Columbus to King Henrie the seuenth in the yeere* 1488 *the* 13 *of* Februarie: with the Kings acceptation of the offer, and the cause whereupon he was depriued of the same, recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the historie of Don Fernand Columbus of the life and deeds of his Father Christopher Columbus.

CHristophoro Colon temendo, se parimente i Re di Castiglia non assentissero alla sua impresa, non gli bisognasse proporla di nuouo à qualche altro principe, & cosi in cio passasse lungo tempo: mando in Inghilterra vn suo fratello, che haueua appresso di se, chiamato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual quantunque non hauesse lettere Latine, era però huomo pratico, & giudicioso nelle cose del mare, & sapea molto bene far carte da nauigare, & sphere, & altri instrumenti di quella professione, come dal suo fratello era instruto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la sua sorte, che desse in mani di corsali, quali lo spogliarono insieme con gli altri della sua naue. Per la qual cosa, & per la sua pouertà & infirmità, che in cosi diuerse terre lo assalirono crudelmente, prolungo per gran tempo la sua ambasciata, fin che, aquistata vn poco di facultà con le carte, ch'ei fabricana, cominciò a far pratiche co'l Re Enrico settimo, padre di Enrico ottauo, che al presente regna: a cui appresentò vn mappamondo, nel quale erano scritti questi versi, che fra le sue scriture Io trouai, & da me saranno qui posti piu tosto per l'antichità, che per la loro eleganza.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius, atque
Isidorus: non vna tamen sententia cuique.
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

Et piu di sotto dicena.

Può

Pro authore ſiue pictore.

Iactua cui patriæ eſt nomen,cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de terra rubra, opus edidit iſtud,
Londonijs anno Domini 1480 atque inſuper anno,
Octauo decimaque die cùm tertia menſis
Februarij. Laudes Chriſto canentur abundè.

Es, perciochè auuerrà alcuno, che dice Columbus de terra rubra, dico, che medeſmamente Io vidde alcune ſottoſcrittroni dell' Ammiraglio, primo che acquiſtaſſe lo ſtato, ou'egli ſi ſotto ſcriueua, Columbus de terra rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d'Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappa mondo veduto, & cio che l' Ammiraglio gli offeriua, con allegro volto accettò la ſua offerta, & mandolo a chiamare. Ma, perciochè Dio l'haueua per Caſtiglia ſerbata, gia l' Ammiraglio in quel tempo era andato, & tornato con la vittoria della ſua impreſa, ſecondo che per ordine ſi raccontera. Laſciarò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negociato in Inghilterra, & tornarò all' Ammiraglio, &c.

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

CHriſtopher Columbus fearing leaſt if the king of Caſtile in like maner (as the king of Portingall had done) ſhould not condeſcend vnto his enterpriſe, he ſhould be inforced to offer the ſame againe to ſome other prince, and ſo much time ſhould be ſpent therin, ſent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whoſe name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neuertheleſſe was a man of experience and ſkilfull in ſea cauſes, and could very well make ſea cards & globes, and other inſtruments belonging to that profeſſion, as he was inſtructed by his brother. Wherfore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which ſpoiled him with the reſt of them which were in the ſhip which he went in. Vpon which occaſion, and by reaſon of his pouerty and ſickneſſe which cruelly aſſaulted him in a country ſo far diſtant from his friends, he deferred his ambaſſage for a long while, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten ſomewhat handſome about him with making of ſea cards. At length he began to deale with king Henry the ſeuenth the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this preſent: vnto whom he preſented a mappe of the world, wherein theſe verſes were written, which I found among his papers: and I will heere ſet them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodneſſe.

Thou which deſireſt eaſily the coſts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the ſame to thee will ſhow:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Iſodore maintaine:
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.
Heere alſo is ſet downe the late diſcouered burning Zone
By Portingalles, vnto the world which whilom was vnknowne,
Wherof the knowledge now at length though all the world is blowne.

And a little vnder he added.

For the author or the drawer.

He, whoſe deare native ſoyle height ſtately Genua,
Euen he whoſe name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra rubra,
The yeere of grace a thouſand and foure hundred and foureſcore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
In London publiſhed this word. To Chriſt all laud therefore.

And beauſe ſome peraduenture may obſerue, that he calleth himſelfe Columbus de Terra rubra, I ſay, that in like maner I haue ſeene ſome ſubſcriptions of my father Chriſtopher Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherin he ſigned his name thus, Columbus de Terra rubra. But to returne to the king of England, I ſay, that after he had ſeene the map, & that which my father Chriſtopher Columbus offered vnto him, he accepted the offer with ioyfull countenance, and ſent to call him into England. But becauſe God had reſerued the ſaid offer for Caſtile, Columbus was gone in the meane ſpace, and alſo returned with the performance of his enterpriſe, as hereafter in order ſhalbe rehearſed. Now will I leaue off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne vnto the Admirall, &c.

King Henry the ſeuenth his acceptation of Columbus offer.

Another teſtimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foreſayd *hiſtorie of Ferdinando Columbus, concerning the offer that* Bartholomew Columbus made to king Henrie the ſeuenth on the behalfe of his brother Chriſtopher.

Ornato adunque l' Ammiraglio dallo ſcoprimento di Cuba & di Giamaica, trouò nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon ſuo fratello, quello, che era già andato a trattare accordo col Re d' Inghilterra ſopra lo ſcoprimento delle Indie, come di ſopra habiam detto. Queſto poi, ritornandoſene verſo Caſtiglia con capitoli conceduti, hauena inteſo a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia, l' Ammiraglio ſuo fratello hauer già ſcoperte l' Indie: perche gli ſouenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento ſcudi. Et, Auenga che per cotal nuoua egli ſi foſſe molto affrettato, per arriuar l' Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dimeno giunſe a Siniglia, egli era già tornato alle Indie co' 17 nauigli. Perche, per eſſeguir quanto ei gli hauea laſciato, di ſubito al principio dell' anno del 1494 ſen' andò a' Re Catholici, menando ſeco Don diego Colon, mio fratello, & me ancora, accioche ſeruiſſimo di paggi al ſereniſſimo prencipe Don Giouanni, il qual viue in gloria, ſicome hauea commandato la Catholica Reina donna Iſabella, che albora era in Vagliadolid. Toſto adunque che noi giungemmo, i Re chiamarono don Bartholomeo & Mandarono alla Spagnuola con tre naui, &c.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

Chriſtopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the diſcouery of Cuba and Iamayca, found in Hiſpaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene ſent to intreat of an agreement with the king of England for the diſcouerie of the Indies, as we haue ſaid before. This Bartholomew therefore returning vnto Caſtile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, vnderſtoode at Paris by Charles the king of France, that the Admirall his brother, had already performed that diſcouery: and gaue him 100 crownes towards his voyage. And albeit he made great haſte vpon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Siuil his brother was already returned to the Indies, with 17 ſaile of ſhippes. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge, in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repayred to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me alſo, which were to be preferred as pages to the moſt excellent prince Don Iohn, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholike Queene lady Iſabell, which was then in Validolid. As ſoone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and ſent him to Hiſpaniola with three ſhippes, &c.

The letters patents of king Henry the ſeuenth granted vnto *Iohn Cabot and his three ſonnes, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sancius,* for the diſcouerie of new and vnknowne lands.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præſentes literæ noſtræ peruenerint, ſalutem.

Notum ſit & manifeſtum, quòd dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus & concedimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, dilectis nobis Ioanni Caboto ciui Venetiarum, Lodouico, Sebaſtiano, & Sancio, filijs dicti Ioannis, & eorum ac cuiuſlibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, plenam ac liberam authoritatem, facultatem & poteſtatem nauigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, & ſinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, & ſeptentrionalis, ſub banneris, vexillis, & inſignijs noſtris, cum quinque nauibus ſiue nauigijs, cuiuſcunq; portituræ & qualitatis exiſtant, & cum tot & tantis nautis & hominibus, quot & quantos in dictis nauibus ſecum ducere voluerint, ſuis & eorum proprijs ſumptibus & expenſis, ad inueniendum, diſcooperiendum, & inueſtigandum quaſcũque inſulas, patrias, regiones ſiue prouincias gentilium & infidelium quorumcunque, in quacunque parte mundi poſitas, quæ Chriſtianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerint incognitæ. Conceſſimus etiam eiſdem & eorum cuilibet, eorumq; & cuiuſlibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prædictas banneras noſtras & inſignia in quacunque villa, oppido, caſtro, inſula ſeu terra firma à ſe nouiter inuentis. Et quòd prænominatus Ioannes, & filij eiuſdem, ſeu hæredes & eorum deputati, quaſcunque huiuſmodi villas, caſtra, oppida,

pida, & inſulas à ſe inuentas, quæ ſubiugari, occupari, poſſideri poſſint, ſubiugare, occupare, poſſidere valeant tanquam vaſalli noſtri,& gubernatores,locatenentes,& deputati eorundem, dominium,titulum & iuriſdictionem earundem villarum, caſtrorum,opidorum,inſularum, ac terræ firmæ ſic inuentorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, vt ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis,commodis, lucris, & obuentionibus ex huiuſmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, præfatus Iohannes, & filij ac hæredes, & eorum deputati, teneantur & ſint obligati nobis pro omni viagio ſuo, toties quoties ad portum noſtrum Briſtolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur & ſint aſtricti) deductis omnibus ſumptibus & impenſis neceſſarijs per eoſdem factis,quintam partem capitalis lucri facti,ſiue in mercibus,ſiue in pecunijs perſoluere: Dantes nos & concedentes eiſdem ſuiſq; hæredibus & deputatis,vt ab omni ſolutione cuſtumarum omnium & ſingulorum bonorum & mercium, quas ſecum reportarint ab illis locis ſic nouiter inuentis, liberi ſint & immunes. Et inſuper dedimus & conceſſimus eiſdem ac ſuis hæredibus & deputatis,quòd terræ omnes firmæ,inſulæ,villæ,oppida,caſtra,& loca quæcunq; a ſe inuenta, quotquot ab eis inueniri contigerit, non poſſint ab alijs quibuſuis noſtris ſubditis frequentari ſeu viſitari, abſque licentia prædictorum Ioannis & eius filiorum ſuorumque deputatorum, ſub pœna amiſſionis tam nauium quàm bonorum omnium quorumcunque ad ea loca ſic inuenta nauigare præſumentium. Volentes & ſtrictiſſimè mandantes omnibus & ſingulis noſtris ſubditis, tam in terra quàm in mari conſtitutis, vt præfato Ioanni,& eius filijs ac deputatis,bonam aſſiſtentiam faciant,& tam in armandis nauibus ſeu nauigijs,quàm in prouiſione quietatus & victualium pro ſua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum ſibi prouidendarum pro dicta nauigatione ſumenda ſuos omnes fauores & auxilia impertiant. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſterium quinto die Martij anno regni noſtri vndecimo. Ann. 1495.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

HEnry by the grace of God, King of England & France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

Be it knowne that we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and grant for vs and our heyres,to our welbeloued Iohn Cabot citizen of Uenice,to Lewis, Sebaſtian & Sanctus ſonnes of the ſaid Iohn ,and to the heyres of them,and euery of them,and theyr deputies,full & free authority,leaue,and power to ſaile to all parts, countries, and ſeas of the Eaſt,of the Weſt,and of the North,vnder our banners and enſignes,with fiue ſhips of what burthen or quantity ſoeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the ſayd ſhips, vpon theyr owne proper coſts and charges,to ſeeke out,diſcouer,and finde whatſoeuer iſles,countries,regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatſoeuer they be, and in what part of the world ſoeuer they be, which before this time haue beene vnknowen to all Chriſtians: we haue granted to them,and alſo to euery of them,the heyres of them,and euery of them,and theyr deputies,and haue giuen them licence to ſet vp our banners and enſignes in euery village,towne,caſtle,iſle,or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforeſaid Iohn and his ſonnes,or theyr heyres and aſſignes may ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſſe all ſuch townes, cities, caſtles and iſles of them found, which they can ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſſe, as our vaſſals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iuriſdiction of the ſame villages,townes,caſtles,and firme land ſo found.

Yet ſo that the aforeſaid Iohn, and his ſonnes and heyres,and theyr deputies,be holden & bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of ſuch nauigation, for euery theyr voyage, as often as they ſhall arriue at our port of Briſtoll (at the which port they ſhall be bound and holden only to arriue) all maner of neceſſary coſts and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capit all gaine ſo gotten. We giuing & granting vnto them and to theyr heyres and deputies, that they ſhall be free from all paying of cuſtomes of all and ſingular ſuch wiercheandize as they ſhall bring with them from thoſe places ſo newlie found.

And moreouer, wee haue giuen and graunted to them, theyr heyres and deputies, that all the firme landes, iſles, villages, townes, caſtles and places whatſoeuer they be that they ſhall chance to finde, may not of any other of our ſubiectes bee frequented or viſited without the licence of the foreſayd Iohn and his ſonnes, and theyr deputies, vnder payne of forfeiture as well of theyr ſhips, as of all and ſingular goods of all them that ſhall preſume to ſayle to thoſe places ſo found. Willing, and moſt ſtraightly commanding all and ſingular our ſubiects as well on land as on ſea, appointed officers, to giue good aſſiſtance to the aforeſaid Iohn, and his ſonnes and deputies,

and that as well in arming and furniſhing theyr ſhippes or veſſels, as in prouiſion of quiternesse, and in buying of victualles for theyr money, and all other things by them to be prouided neceſſarie for the ſaid nauigation, they do giue them all theyr helpe and fauour. In witneſſe wherof we haue cauſed to be made theſe our letters patents. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the firſt day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.

Billa ſignata Anno 13 Henrici 7.

A record of the rolle touching the voyage of Iohn Cabot & Sebaſtian his ſonne.

REx tertio die Februarij, anno 13, licentiam dedit Ioani Caboto, quod ipſe capere poſſit ſex naues Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, ſiue portibus regni Angliæ, ita quod ſint de portagio 200 doliorum, vel ſubtus, cum apparatu requiſito, & quod recipere poſſit in dictas naues omnes tales magiſtros, marinarios, & ſubditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

THe king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to Iohn Cabot to take ſixe Engliſh ſhippes in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all neceſſary furniture, and to take alſo into the ſayde ſhippes, all ſuch maiſters, mariners, and ſubiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the mappe of Sebaſtian Cabot, cut by *Clement Adams, concerning his diſcouerie of the VVeſt Indias,* which is to be ſeene in her Maieſties priuie gallerie at Weſtminſter, and in many other ancient merchants houſes.

ANno Domini 1494, Ioannes Cabotus venetus, & Sebaſtianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus priùs adire auſus fuiſſet, die 24 Iunij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellauit Terram Primùm viſam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos iniecerat. Nam quæ ex aduerſo ſita eſt inſula, eam appellauit inſulam D. Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui eſt ſacer D. Ioanni Baptiſtæ: Huius incolæ pelles animalium, exuuiaſq; ferarum pro indumentis habent, eaſq; tanti faciunt, quanti nos veſtes precioſiſſimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu ſagittis, haſtis, ſpiculis, clauis ligneis & fundis. Tellus ſterilis eſt, neq; vllos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt leonibus albo colore, & ceruis inſuſtatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta ſit: piſcibus abundat, ijſq; ſanè magnis, quales ſunt lupi, & quos ſalmones vulgus appellat, ſoleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, vt vlnæ menſuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna eſt copia eorum piſcium, quos vulgari ſermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea inſula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum ſimilitudinem mirum in modum exprimant, perdices autem & aquilæ ſunt nigri coloris.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1494, Iohn Cabot a Venetian, & his ſonne Sebaſtian (with an Engliſh fleet ſet out frõ Briſtoll) diſcouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of June, about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima viſta, that is to ſay, Firſt ſeene, becauſe as I ſuppoſe it was that part whereof they had the firſt ſight from ſea. That Iſland which lyeth out before the land, he called the Iſland of S. Iohn, vpon this occaſion, as I thinke, becauſe it was diſcouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptiſt. The inhabitants of this Iſland vſe to weare beaſts ſkinnes, and haue them in as great eſtimation, as we haue our fineſt garments. In theyr wars they vſe bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, woodden clubs, & ſlings. The ſoile is barren in ſome places, & yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white lions, & ſtags farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plentie of fiſh, and thoſe very great, as ſeales, and thoſe which commonly we call ſalmons: there are ſoles alſo aboue a yard in length: but eſpecially there is great abundance of that kinde of fiſh which the Sauages call Baccalaos. In the ſame Iſland alſo there breed hawkes, but they are ſo blacke, that they are very like to rauens, as alſo theyr partridges, & eagles, which are in like ſort blacke.

A diſcourſe of Sebaſtian Cabot touching his diſcouerie of part of the VVeſt India out of England in the time of king Henry the ſeuenth, vſed to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the ſayd Legate in this ſort.

This diſcourſe is taken out of the ſecond volume of Nauigations of Baptiſta Ramuſius.

DOe you not vnderſtand ſaid hee (ſpeaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to paſſe to India toward the Northweſt winde, as did of late a citizen of Venice, ſo valiant a man, and ſo well practiſed in all things pertaining to Nauigations, and the ſcience of Coſmographie, that at this preſent hee hath not his like in Spaine, inſomuch that for his vertues he is preferred aboue all other Pilots that ſaile to the Weſt Indies, who may not paſſe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto Maggiore (that is) the grand Pilot. And when we ſaid that wee knew him not, he proceeded, ſaying, that being certaine yeeres in the citie of Siuil, and deſirous to haue ſome knowledge of the Nauigations of the Spaniards, it was told him that there was in the citie a valiant man, a Venetian borne, named Sebaſtian Cabot, who had the charge of thoſe things, being an expert man in that ſcience, and one that could make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, and that by this report, ſeeking his acquaintance, he found him a very gentle perſon, who intertained him friendly, and ſhewed him many things, and among other a large mappe of the world, with certaine particuler nauigations, as well of the Portingals, as of the Spaniards, and that he ſpake further vnto him in this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres ſince to dwell in England, to follow the trade of merchandiſes, he tooke me with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuertheleſſe ſome knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Chriſtofer Colonus Genueſe, had diſcouered the coaſts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of king Henry the 7. who then raigned, inſomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to bee a thing more diuine then humane, to ſaile by the Weſt into the Eaſt where ſpices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increaſed in my heart a great flame of deſire to attempt ſome notable thing. And vnderſtanding by reaſon of the Sphere, that if I ſhould ſaile by way of the Northweſt winde, I ſhould by a ſhorter tract come into India, I thereupon cauſed the king to be aduertiſed of my deuiſe, who immediatly commaunded two Caruels to bee furniſhed with all things appertaining to the voiage, which was, as farre as I remember, in the yeere 1496 in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to ſaile toward the Northweſt, not thinking to find any other land then that of Cathay, and from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to me a great diſpleaſure. Neuertheleſſe, ſailing along by the coaſt to ſee if I could find any gulfe that turned, I found the land ſtill continent to the 56. deg. vnder our pole. And ſeeing that there the coaſt turned toward the Eaſt, deſpairing to find the paſſage, I turned backe againe, and ſailed downe by the coaſt of that land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to find the ſaid paſſage to India) and came to that part of this firme land which is now called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumules among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reaſon whereof there was no more conſideration had to this voyage. Whereupon I went into Spaine to the catholike king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertiſed what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furniſhed certaine ſhips, wherewith they cauſed me to ſaile to diſcouer the coaſts of Braſile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this preſent, Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of ſiluer, into the which I ſailed and followed it into the firme land, more then fiue ſcore leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running daily to our ſhips. Into this riuer run ſo many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible. After this I made many other voiages, which I now pretermit, and waxing old, I giue my ſelfe to reſt from ſuch trauels, becauſe there are now many yong and luſtie Pilots and mariners of good experience, by whoſe fortunate ſkil I do reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and reſt with the charge of this office, as you ſee.

The ſecond voiage of Cabot to the land of Baſil, and Rio de plata.

The

The foresayd Baptista Ramusius in his Preface to the third volume of the Nauigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Verarzana, a Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iacques Cartier a Briton, who sailed vnto the land set in 50. degrees of latitude to the North, which is called New France, which lands hitherto are not throughly knowen, whether they doe ioyne with the firme land of Florida and Noua Hispania, or whether they be separated and deuided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by sea vnto the countrey of Cathaia. As many yeeres past it was written vnto me by Sebastian Caboto our countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the arte of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this land of New France, at the charges of king Henry the 7. king of England: and he aduertised me, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North, beyond those Ilands vnto the latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of June finding still the open sea without any maner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would haue done it, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserue this great enterprise for some great prince to discouer this voiage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easie and shortest of all other wayes hitherto found out. And surely this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined, to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which daily are vsed in Europe among the miserable christian people.

Another testimonie of the voiage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest, taken out of the 6. chapter of the third Decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria.

SCrutatus est oras glaciales, Sebastianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, sed à parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus (vti moris est Venetorum, qui commercij causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites) transportatus penè infans. Duo is sibi nauigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, & primò tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Iulio mense vastas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes, & lucem ferè perpetuam, tellure tamen libera gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, vti ait, vela vertere & occidentem sequi: tetendítq; tantum ad meridiem littore sese incuuante, vt Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus æquarit: ad occidentémq; profectus tantum est vt Cubam Insulam, à læua, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrés, quæ Baccalaos appellauit, eosdem se reperisse aquarũ, sed lenes delapsus ad Occidentem ait, quos Castellani, meridionales suas regiones adnauigantes, inueniunt. Ergò non modò verisimilius, sed necessario concludendum est, vastos inter vtrámq; ignotam hactenus tellurem iacere hiatus, qui viam præbeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulsu cælorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terræ globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomi, absorberíq; vt nonnulli senserunt, quod influxu, & refluxu forsan assentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipse terras illas appellauit, eò quod in earũ pelago tantam reperierit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos æmulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, vt etiam illi interdum nauigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines pellibus tantum coopertos reperiebat rationis haudquaquam expertes. Vrsorum ineffe regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui & ipsi piscibus vescantur. Inter densa namq; piscium illorum agmina sese immergunt versi, & singulos singuli complexos, vnguibúsque inter squammas immissis in terram raptant, & comedunt. Propterea minimè noxios hominibus visos esse a. Orichalcũ in plerisque locis se vidisse apud incolas prædicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cabotum ipsum, & contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à Rege nostro Catholico, post Henrici Maioris Britanniæ Regis mortem, concurialis noster est, expectátq; indies, vt nauigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturæ latens, iam tandem detegatur.

The

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

Theſe North ſeas haue bene ſearched by one Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents caried with them into England, hauing occaſion to reſort thither for trade of merchandiſe, as is the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnſearched to obtaine riches. He therefore furniſhed two ſhips in England at his owne charges, and firſt with 300. men, directed his courſe ſo farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Julie he found monſtrous heapes of ice ſwimming on the ſea, and in maner continuall day light, yet ſaw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene moleen by the heat of the Sunne. Thus ſeeing ſuch heapes of ice before him, he was enforced to turne his ſailes and follow the Weſt, ſo coaſting ſtill by the ſhore, that hee was thereby brought ſo farre into the South, by reaſon of the land bending ſo much Southwards, that it was there almoſt equall in Latitude, with the ſea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the North pole elcuate in maner in the ſame degree. He ſailed likewiſe in this tract ſo farre towards the Weſt, that he had the Iſland of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the ſame degree of longitude. As he trauelled by the coaſts of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he ſaith that hee found the like courſe of the waters toward the Weſt, but the ſame to runne more ſoftly and gently then the ſwift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southward. Wherefore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought alſo of neceſſitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknowen, there ſhould be certaine great open places whereby the waters ſhould thus continually paſſe from the Eaſt into the Weſt: which waters I ſuppoſe to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the vnceſſant mouing and impulſion of the heauens, and not to bee ſwallowed vp and caſt vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as ſome haue imagined, becauſe they ſee the ſeas by increaſe and decreaſe to ebbe and flowe. Sebaſtian Cabot himſelfe named thoſe lands Baccalaos, becauſe that in the Seas thereabout hee found ſo great multitudes of certaine bigge fiſhes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitaunts call Baccalaos) that they ſometime ſtayed his ſhips. He found alſo the people of thoſe regions couered with beaſtes ſkinnes, yet not without the vſe of reaſon. Hee alſo ſaith there is great plentie of Beares in thoſe regions which vſe to eate fiſhe: for plunging themſelues into the water, where they perceiue a multitude of theſe fiſhes to lie, they faſten their clawes in their ſcales, and ſo draw them to land and eate them, ſo (as he ſaieth) the Beares being thus ſatisfied with fiſh, are not noiſome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of theſe regions, he ſawe great plentie of Laton among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vſe familiarlie, and delight to haue him ſometimes keepe me companie in mine owne houſe. For being called out of England by the commaundement of the Catholike king of Caſtile, after the death of king Henry the ſeuenth of that name, king of England, he was made one of our counſell and Aſſiſtants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ſhips daily to bee furniſhed for him to diſcouer this hid ſecret of Nature.

The teſtimonie of Frauncis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard, in the fourth chapter of the ſecond booke of his generall hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies concerning the firſt diſcouerie of a great part of the Weſt Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by Sebaſtian Cabota out of England.

HE which brought moſt certaine newes of the countrey and people of Baccalaos, ſaith Gomara, was Sebaſtian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged vp two ſhips at the coſt of king Henry the 7. of England, hauing great deſire to traffique for the ſpices as the Portingals did. Hee caried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Iſland from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill hee found himſelfe in 58. degrees and better. Hee made relation that in the moneth of July it was ſo cold, and the ice ſo great, that he durſt not paſſe any further: that the dayes were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that ſhort night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the Weſt, refreſhing himſelfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards hee ſailed along the coaſt vnto 38. degrees, and from thence hee ſhaped his courſe to returne into England.

A note

A note of Sebastian Cabots first discouerie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of M. Iohn Stowe a diligent preseruer of Antiquities.

IN the 13. yeere of king Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Islands of the same, as by a Sea carde and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the king caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said he knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which ship thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, diuers merchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the said Venetian. And in the companie of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristow three or foure smal ships fraught with sleight and grosse merchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points, and other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maior time returned no tidings.

Of three sauages which Cabot brought home and presented vnto the king in the fourteenth yeere of his raigne, mentioned by the foresayd Robert Fabian.

THis yeere also were brought vnto the king three men taken in the New found Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beasts skins, and did eate raw flesh, and spake such speech, that no man could vnderstand them, and in their demeanor like to brute beasts, whom the king kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I sawe two apparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discerne from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were, but as for speech, I heard none of them vtter one word.

The voiage of Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of king Henry the eight, which was the yeere, 1516. to Brasil, S. Domingo, and S. Iohn de porto ricco.

THat learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine epistle of his to the late duke of Northumberland, before a worke which hee translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553. called A treatise of the new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discouerie vndertaken out of England by Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of king Henry the 8. of famous memorie, imputing the ouerthrow thereof vnto the cowardise and want of stomacke of the sayd Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saieth he, (like vnto that which hath bene seene and prooued in your grace as well in forraine realmes, as also in this our country) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soueraigne lord of noble memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine ships vnder the gouernance of Sebastian Cabot yet liuing, and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voiage tooke none effect, if, I say such manly courage, whereof we haue spoken, had not at that time bene wanting, it might happily haue come to passe, that that rich treasurie called Peruluria, (which is now in Spaine in the citie of Siuil, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the Newfound land of Peru) might long since haue bene in the Tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that also is to be referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayd king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambassador sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whose wordes be these. Now rest to bee discouered the North partes, the which it seemeth vnto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that alreadie you haue taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easilie and with so litle cost, labour & danger, be folowed and obtained. Though hitherto your grace haue made thereof a proofe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be none impediment: for there may be now prouided remedies for

This Sir Thomas Pert was Vicealmirall of England & buried in an house called Poplar at Blackwall.

Note.

things

things then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that thē were cauſe your graces deſire tooke no full effect: which is, the courſes to be chaunged, and to follow the aforeſaid new courſes. And concerning the mariners, ſhips, and prouiſion, an order may be deuiſed and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto: by reaſon whereof, and by Gods grace no doubt your purpoſe ſhall take effect. And whereas in the aforeſaid wordes M. Robert Thorne ſaith, that he would haue the old courſes to be chaunged, and the new courſes (to the North) to be followed: It may plainly bee gathered that the former voyage wherof twiſe or thrife he maketh mention, wherein it is like that ſir Thomas Pert and Sebaſtian Cabot were ſet forth by the king, was made toward Braſil and the South parts. Moreouer it ſeemeth that Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, a Spaniſh famous writer, alludeth vnto the ſaid voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and naturall hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foreſaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are theſe as I find them tranſlated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptiſta Ramuſius. *Nel 1517. Vn Corſaro Ingleſe, ſotto colore di venire à diſcoprire ſe ne venne con vna gran naue alla volta del Braſil nella coſtiera di terra ferma, & indi attrauerſo à queſta iſola Spagnuola, & giunſe preſſo la bocca del porto di queſta città di S. Domenico, & mando in terra il ſuo batello pieno di gente, & chieſe licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negotiare. Ma in quello inſtante il caſtellano Franceſco di Tapia fece tirare alla naue vn tiro d'artegliaria da queſto caſtello: perche ella ſe venina diritta al porto. Quando gli Ingleſi viddero queſto, ſi ritirarono fuori, & quelli del battello toſto ſi raccolſero in naue. Et nel vero il Caſtellan fece errore: perche ſe'l non foſſe naue entrata nel porto, non ſarebbono le genti potuto ſmontare à terra ſenza volontà & della città & del caſtello. La naue adunque veggendo come vi era ricenuta, tirò la volta dell' iſola di San Gienanni, & entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Ingleſi con quelli della terra, & dimandarono vettouaglie & fornimenti per la naue, & ſi lamentarono di quelli di queſta città, dicendo che eſſi non veniuano per fare diſpiacere, ma per contrattare, & negotiare con ſuoi danari & mercantie. Hora quini hebbero alcune vettouaglie, & in compenſa eſſi diedero & pagarono in certi ſtagni lauorati & altre coſe. Et poi ſi partirono alla volta d'Europa, done ſi crede, che non giungeſſero, perche non ſe ne ſeppe piu nuoua mai.* This extract importeth thus much in Engliſh, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an Engliſh Rouer vnder the colour of trauelling to diſcouer, came with a great ſhip into the partes of Braſill on the coaſt of the Firme land, and from thence he croſſed ouer vnto this Iland of Hiſpaniola, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this citie of S. Domingo, and ſent his ſhipboate full of men on ſhore, and demaunded leaue to enter into this hauen, ſaying, that he came with merchaundiſe to traffique. But at that very inſtant the gouernour of the caſtle Francis de Tapia cauſed a tire of ordinance to be ſhot from the caſtle at the ſhip, for thee bare in directly with the hauen. When the Engliſhmen ſawe this, they withdrew themſelues out, and thoſe that were in the ſhipboate, got themſelues with ſpeede on ſhipbooyd. And in truetly the Warden of the caſtle committed an ouerſight: for if the ſhip had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on land without leaue both of the citie and of the caſtle. Therefore the people of the ſhip ſeeing how they were there receiued, ſayled toward the Iſland of S. John, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the Engliſhmen parled with thoſe of the towne, requiring victuals and things needfull to furniſh their ſhip, and complained of the inhabitaunts of the citie of Saint Domingo, ſaying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandiſe. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompenſe they gaue and paid them with certain veſſell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for we neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, who though it pleaſe him to call the captaine of this great Engliſh ſhip a Rouer, yet it appeareth by the Engliſhmens owne wordes, that they came to diſcouer, and by their traffique for pewter veſſell and other wares at the towne of S. Germains in the Iſland of S. Iohn de porto ricco, it cannot bee denied but that they were furniſhed with wares for honeſt traffique and exchange. But whoſoeuer is conuerſant in reading the Portugal and Spaniſh writers of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, ſhall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rouers and theeues, which viſite any heathen coaſt that they haue ones ſailed by or looked on. Howbeit their paſſionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to be preiudiciall to other mens chargeable and painfull enterpriſes and honourable trauels in diſcouerie.

The

The voiage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the Dominus vobiscum, set out the 20. day of May, in the 29. yeere of king Henry the eight, and in the yeere of our Lord God, 1527. for the discouerie of the North partes.

Rich. Hakluit.

MAster Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his countrey, as well for his learning, as great charitie to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8. and in a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his Ambassador to Charles the emperor, (which both are to be sene almost in the beginning of the second part of this my worke) exhorted the foresaid king with very waightie and substantiall reasons, to set forth a discouerie euen to the North pole. And that it may bee knowen that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers, M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king Henry the 8. sent two faire ships well manned and victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to seeke strange regions, and so they set foorth out of the Thames, the 20. day of May in the 19. yeere of his raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1527.

And whereas master Hall, and master Grafton say, that in those ships there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great inquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in nauigation, might giue me any light to know who those cunning men should be which were the directers in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene told mee by Sir Martin Frobisher, and master Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of S. Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much aduaunce the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was, I can not learne of any. And further they told mee that one of the ships was called the Dominus vobiscum, which is a name likely to bee giuen by a religious man of those daies: and that sailing very farre Northwestward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulphe, about the great opening, betweene the North partes of New found land, and the countrey lately called by her maiestie Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Britton, and the coast of Norumbega, and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those vnknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yeere aforesaid. And thus much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should haue vsed more care in preseruing the memories of the worthie acts of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or find out of this voiage.

The voyage of master Hore and diuers other Gentlemen, to Newfound land, and Cape Breton, in the yeere 1536. and in the 28. yeere of king Henry the eight.

ONe master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and giuen to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28. yeere of king Henry the 8. and in the yeere of our Lord 1536. encouraged diuers gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings fauour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discouerie vpon the Northwest partes of America: wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the innes of court, and of Chauncerie, and diuers other of good worship desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entered into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Wickes a gentleman of the West countrey of fiue hundred markes by the yeere liuing. Master Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the sonne of sir William Buts knight of Norfolke, which is yet aliue, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. Master Hardie, master Biron, master Carter, master Wright, master Rastall Serieant Rastals brother, master Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the admirall called the Trinitie, a ship of seuen score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was imbarked. In the other shippe whose name was the Minion, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman, one master Armigil Wade, father to the worshipfull master William Wade now clerke of the priuie counsell, Master Oliuer Dawbeney merchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the kings chappell, with diuers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall shippes afdresayd, to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about six score persons, whereof 30. were gentlemen, which all were mustered in warlike maner at Grauesend, and after the receiuing of the sacrament, they embarked themselues in the end of Aprill, 1536.

From

From the time of their setting out from Grauesende, they were very long at sea, to witte, about two monethes, and neuer touched any lande vntill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Breton, shaping their course thence Northeastwards, vntill they came to the Iland of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and founde it full of great fowles white and gray, as bigge as geese, and they sawe infinite nombers of their egges. They slewe a great nomber of the foules into their boates vpon their sailes, and tooke vp many of their egges, the foule they flead and their skinnes were like hony combes full of holes being flead off they boiled and eate them, and found them to be very good and nourishing meate. They saw also fiue of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no badde foode.

Cape Britton.

The Iland of Penguin, standeth about the latitude of 50. degrees.

M. Oliuer Dawbeny, which (as it is before mencioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, wrote M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following: to wit, That after their arriuall in Newfound land, and hauing bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not hauing yet seene any of the naturall people of the Countrey, the same Dawbeny walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Sauages of those partes, rowing downe the bay towarde them, to gaze vpon the ship and our people, and taking vewe of their comming aloofe, bee called to such as were vnder hatches, and willed them to come vp if they would see the naturall people of the Countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: Whereuppon they came vp and tooke vewe of the Sauages rowing toward them and their shippe, and vpon the vewe they manned out a shipboote to meete them and to take them. But they spying our shipboate making towards them, returned with maine force & fled into an Iland that laye vp in the bay or riuer there, and our men pursued them into the Iland, and the Sauages fledde and escaped: but our men founde a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Sauages that were fledde.

M. Dawbenies report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

They beheld the Sauages of Newfound land.

There in the same place they founde a boote of leather garnished on the vter side of the calfe with certaine braue trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also founde a certaine great warme mitten: And these carried with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Sauages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of fine and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grewe into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourely to her yong great plentie of diuers sortes of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieue themselues of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while hee stouped to take vp a roote for his relieffe, and eating out pieces of his body whome hee had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily deuoured them.

Extreame famine.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knewe not what was become of them; And it fortuned, that one of the company vrged with hunger to seeke abroade for reliefe, found out in the fields the sauour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that hee would suffer him and his fellowes to starue, enioying plentie as he thought: And this matter growing to cruel speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes, If thou wouldest needes knowe, the broyled meate that I had, was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither deuoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with the Sauages: And hereuppon he stood vp and made a notable Oration, conteining, How much these dealings offended the Almighty, and touched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called vpon him, & told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse, then in former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to haue holpen them in that distresse, that yet it had bene better to haue perished in body, and to haue liued euerlastingly, then to haue relieued for a poore time their mortal bodies, and to bee condemned euerlastingly both body and soule to the vnquenchable fire of hel. And thus hauing ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke vpon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieue the same. And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arriued a French shippe in that port, well furnished with victaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became maisters of the same, and changing ships and trapping them, they set saile to come into England.

Our men eate one another for famine.

The Captaines Oration.

The English surprise a French ship, wherein they returned home.

In their iourney they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mightie Islands of yce in

Haukes and other foules.

the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselues being wearie of flying ouer farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white foules with redde billes and redde legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be storkes. They arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed vnto a certaine Castle belonging to sir Iohn Luttrel, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall, and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly intertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, and so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother, knewe him not to be their sonne, vntill they found a certaine secret marke which was a wart vpon one of his knees, as her tolde me Richard Hakluyt of Oxforde himselfe, to whome I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his owne mouth, as being the onely man nowe aline, that was in this discouerie.

Foules supposed to be storkes.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subiects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooued with pitie, that hee punished not his subiects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompense vnto the French.

The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieue their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

The large pension graunted by K. Edward the 6. to Sebastian Cabota, constituting him grand Pilot of England.

EDwardus sextus Dei gratia Anglię, Francię, & Hibernię rex, omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos pręsentes hę literę nostræ peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quod nos in cōsideratione boni & acceptabilis seruitii, nobis per dilectum seruientem nostrum, Sebastianū Cabotam, impensi atque impendendi, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostro, nec non de aduisamento, & consensu præclarissimi auunculi nostri Edwardi Ducis Somerseti personæ nostrę Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, subditorumque nostrorum protectoris, & cæterorum consiliariotum nostrorum, dedimus & concessimus, ac per pręsentes damus, & concedimus eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, quandam annuitatem siue annualem reditum, cētum sexaginta & sex librarū, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorum sterlingorum habendam, gaudendam, & annuatim percipiendam prędictam annuitatem, siue annalem reditum eidem Sebastiano Cabotę, durante vita sua naturali, de thesauro nostro ad receptum scacarii nostri Westmonasterii per manus thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum, ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad festa annuntiationis beatę Marię Virginis, natiuitatis sancti Ioannis Baptistę, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Natalis Domini per æquales portiones soluendam. Et vlterius de vberiori gratia nostra, ac de aduisamento, & consensu prędictis damus, & per præsentes concedimus præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ, tot & tantas Denariorum summas, ad quot & quantas dicta annuitas siue annalis redditus centū sexaginta sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorum, à festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli vltimò præterito huc vsque se extendit, & attingit, habendas & recipiendas præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ & assignatis suis de thesauro nostro prædicto per manus prædictorum Thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum de dono nostro absque computo, seu aliquo alio nobis, hæredibus, vel successoribus nostris proinde reddendo, soluendo, vel faciendo, eo quòd expressa mentio, &c. In cuius rei testimonium, &c. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, 6. die Ianuarii, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi sexti.

¶ *The same in English.*

EDward the sixt by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whome these presents shall come, fendeth greeting. Knowe ye that wee, in consideration of the good and acceptable seruice done, and to bee done, vnto vs by our beloued seruant Sebastian Cabote, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion,

and

and by the aduiſe and counſell of our moſt honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerſet gouernour of our perſon, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and ſubiects, and of the reſt of our Counſaile, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſentes doe giue and graunt to the ſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yeerely reuenue of one hundreth, threeſcore and ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings foure pence ſterling, to haue, enioye, and yeerely receiue the foreſaide annuitie, or yeerely reuenue, to the foreſaide Sebaſtian Cabota during his naturall life, out of our Treaſurie at the receite of our Exchequer at Weſtminſter, at the handes of our Treaſurers and paymaſters, there remayning for the time being, at the feaſtes of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgine Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, S. Michael the Archangel, and the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paide by equall portions.

And further, of our more ſpeciall grace, and by the aduiſe and conſent aforeſaide we doe giue, and by theſe preſentes doe graunt vnto the aforeſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, ſo many, and ſo great ſummes of money as the ſaide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundreth, threeſcore and ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings 4. pence, doeth amount and riſe vnto from the feaſt of S. Michael the Archangel laſt paſt vnto this preſent time, to be had and receiued by the aforeſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, and his aſſignes out of our aforeſaid Treaſurie, at the handes of our aforeſaide Treaſurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing elſe therefore to bee yelded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, foraſmuch as herein expreſſe mention is made to the contrary.

In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made patents: Witneſſe the king at Weſtminſter the firſt day of Ianuarie, in the ſecond yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lorde 1548.

A voyage to Braſill, made by the worſhipfull M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, father to ſir Iohn Hawkins knight now liuing, in the yeere 1530.

THe M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wiſdome, valure, experience, and ſkill in ſea cauſes much eſteemed, and beloued of king Henry the eight, and being one of the principall Sea Captaines in the Weſt partes of England in his time, not contented with the ſhort voyages commonly then made onely to the knowen coaſtes of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly ſhip of his owne of the burthen of 250. tunnes, called the Pole of Plimmouth, wherewith hee made three long and famous voyages vnto the coaſt of Braſill, a thing in thoſe dayes very rare, eſpecially to our Nation. In the courſe of which voyages he touched at the Riuer of Seſtos vpon the coaſt of Guinea, where hee traffiqued with the Negroes, and tooke of them Oliphants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and ſo arriuing on the coaſt of Braſil, vſed there ſuch diſcretion, and behaued himſelfe ſo wiſely with thoſe ſauage people, that he grew into great familiaritie and friendſhip with them. Inſomuch that in his 2. voyage, one of the ſauage kings of the Countrey of Braſill, was contented to take ſhippe with him, and to bee tranſported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the Countrey as a pledge for his ſafetie and returne againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Braſilian king being arriued, was brought vp to London, and preſented to king Henry the 8. lying as then at Whitehall: at the ſight of whome, the king and all the Nobilitie did not a little marueile, and not without cauſe: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their ſauage maner, and therein ſmall bones were planted, ſtanding an inche out from the ſaid holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had alſo another hole in his nether lippe, wherein was ſet a pretious ſtone about the bignelle of a peaſe: All his apparell, behauiour and geſture, were very ſtrange to the beholders.

Hauing remained here the ſpace almoſt of a whole yere, and the king with his ſight fully ſatiſfied, M. Haukins according to his promiſe and appointment, purpoſed to conuey him againe into his Countrey: but it fell out in the way that by change of ayre, and alteration of diet, the ſaide ſauage king died at Sea, which was feared would turne to the loſſe of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neuertheleſſe, the Sauages being fully perſwaded of the honeſt dealing of our men with their Prince, reſtored againe the ſaide pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the companie: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England,

with their shippes laden, and furnished with the commodities of the Countrey. Which Martine Cockeram, by the witnesse of sir Iohn Haukins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was living within these fewe yeeres.

I haue bene informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient & worshipful marchant of London, that this voyage to Brasil was frequented by Robert Reniger, Thomas Borey, and diuers other wealthie Marchants of Southhampton, about 50. yeeres past, to wit, in the yeere 1540.

An acte against the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to trafique into Iseland, and New found land, made in An. 2. Edwardi sexti.

FOrasmuch as within these few yeeres now last past, there hath bene leuied, perceiued & taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of such Marchants, and fishermen as haue vsed and practised the aduentures and iourneis into Iseland, New found land, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing, and the getting of fish, in and vpon the seas or otherwise, by way of Marchants in those parties diuers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, & such other like things, to the great discouragement & hinderance of the same marchants and fishermen, and to no little damage of the whole common wealth, and thereof also great complaints haue bene made, & informations also openly to the kings Maiesties most honourable counsell: for reformation whereof, & to the intent also that the said marchants and fishermen may haue occasion the rather to practise and vse the same trade of marchandizing, and fishing freely without any such charges or exactions, as is before limitted, whereby it is to be thought that more plenty of fish shal come into this realme, & thereby to haue the same at more reasonable prices: Be it therfore enacted by the king our soueraigne Lord, and the lords & commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or minister, officers or ministers of the Admiraltie for the time being, shall in any wise hereafter exact, receiue, or take by himselfe his seruant, deputie, seruants, or deputies of any such marchant or fisherman, any summe or summes of money, doles or shares of fish, or any other reward, benefite or aduantage whatsoeuer it be for any licence to passe this Realme to the saide voyages or any of them, nor vpon any respect concerning the saide voyages, nor any of them, vpon paine to forfeite for the first offence treble the summe, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or aduantage, that any such officer or minister shall hereafter haue or take of any such marchant or fishermen. For the which forfeiture the partie grieued, and euery other person or persons whatsoeuer he or they be, shal and may sue for the same by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to haue the one moitie, and the partie complaynting the other moitie: in which suite no essoigne, protection, or wager of law shalbe allowed. And for the second offence the partie so offending, not onely to loose and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but also to make fine and ransome at the kings will, and pleasure.

By this act it appeareth, that the trade out of England to New found land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yere 1548. and it is much to be maruelled, that by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched.

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight, sir Iohn Haukins, now treasurer of her Maiesties nauie Royall, made to the West Indies 1562.

MAster Iohn Haukins hauing made diuers voyages to the yles of the Canaries, and there by his good and vpright dealing being growne in loue and fauour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof he had receiued some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the aduertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulers assured, that Negroes were verie good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negroes might easily be had vpon the coast of Guinea, resolued with himselfe to make trial thereof, and

and communicated that deuise with his worshipfull friends of London: namely with sir Lionell Ducket, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunston his father in lawe, sir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributors and aduenturers in the action. For which purpose there were 3. good shippes immediatly prouided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himselfe went as Generall: The 2. the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: And the 3. the Ionas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaines roome: in which small fleete, M. Haukins tooke with him not aboue 100. men, for feare of sickenesse, and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subiect.

With this company hee put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his course touched first at Teneriffe, where he receiued friendly intertainement. From thence hee passed to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the Countrey is called Tagarin, where he staied some good time, and got into his possessiõ partly by the sword, and partly by other meanes, to the nomber of 300. Negroes at the least, besides other marchandises, which that Countrey yeeldeth. With this praye he sailed ouer the Ocean sea vnto the Island of Hispaniola, and arriued first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable vtterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negroes, trusting the Spaniards no further then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Porte de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwayes vpõ his garde from thence also hee sailed to Monte Christi another port on the North side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, & made vent of the whole nomber of his Negroes: for which he receiued in those 3. places by way of exchange, such quantitie of marchandise, that he did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes, with hides, ginger, sugers, and some quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted also two other hulkes with hides, and other like commodities, which he sent into Spaine. And thus leauing the Island, hee returned and discmboked, passing out by the Islands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe, and the aforesaide aduenturers he came home, and arriued in the moneth of September 1563.

A voyage made by M. Roger Bodenham, to S. Iohn de Vllua in the bay of Mexico, in the yeere 1564.

IRoger Bodenham, hauing a long time liued in the Citie of Siuill in Spaine, being there married, and by occasion thereof vsing trade and traffique to the parts of Barbarie, grew at length to great losse and hinderance by that new trade begunne by mee in the Citie of Fez: Whereupon being returned into Spaine I began to call my wits about me, and to consider with my selfe by what meanes I might recouer & renue my state: and in conclusion by the ayde of my friends, I procured a shippe called the Barke Foxe, pertaining to London, of the burden of 8. or 9. score tunnes, and with the same I made a voyage to the West India, hauing obtained good fauour with the Spanish marchants, by reason of my long abode, and marriage in the Countrey. My voyage was in the companie of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes, for Noua Hispania. Who being himselfe appointed Generall for Terra firma and Peru, made his sonne our Generall for Newe Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himselfe was the principall man and directer in both fleetes. We all departed from Cales together the last day of May in the yere 1564. And I with my ship being vnder the conduct of the sonne of Don Pedro aforesaide, arriued with him in Noua Hispania, where immediatly I tooke order for þ discharge of my marchandise at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwise called Villa ricca, to be transported thence to the Citie of Mexico, which is 70. and odde leagues distant from the said port of Villa Ricca. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angelos, & another called Tlaxcalan. The citie of Mexico hath 3. great causeis to bring men to it, compassed with a lake, so that it needeth no walles, being so defended by the water. It is a Citie plentiful of al necessary things, hauing many faire houses, Churches & monasteries. I hauing continued in the Countrey the space of 9. moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spanish fleet, & deliuered the marchandise & siluer which I had in þ ship, into the Cõtraction house, and there receiued my fraighte, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000. ducats, & more. I obserued many things in þ time of my abode in Noua Hispania as wel touching the commodities of the countrey, as the maners of the people both Spaniards & Indians, but because

the Spanish histories are full of those obseruations, I omit them, and refer the readers to the same: onely this I say, that the commoditie of Couchenelio, groweth in greatest aboundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angelos, and is not there worth about 40. pence the pound.

The voyage made by the worshipful M. Iohn Haukins *Esquire, now knight, Captaine of the Iesus of Lubek, one of her Maiesties* shippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and other two barkes going in his companie to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Noua Spania, being in Affrica, and America: begunne in An. Dom. 1564.

October 18.

MAster Iohn Haukins with the Iesus of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the Salomon a ship of 7. score, the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallowe of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth, threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance, and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18. day of October, in the yere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marueilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hande, being a sorrowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out tenne leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queenes Maiesties, whereof was Captaine Dauid Carler, and also her consort, the Iohn Baptist of London, being bounde to Guinea also, who hailed one the other after the custome of the Sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort, the Merline of London, which was a starne out of sight, leauing in M. Haukins companie the Iohn Baptist her other consort.

The opinion, the Iohn Baptist, and the Merline bound for Guinea.

Thus sayling forwards on their way with a prosperous winde vntill the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the winde being at Northeast about 9. a clocke in the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which storme M. Haukins lost the companie of the Iohn Baptist aforesaid, and of his pinnesse called the Swallow, his other 2. shippes being sore beaten with the storme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no small reioycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, he hauing put roomer not being able to double the Cape. In that there rose a contrary winde at Southwest. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Gallicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained fiue dayes, and appointed all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The small shippes to be alwayes a head and a weather of the Iesus, and to speake twise a day with the Iesus at least: if in the day the Enslgne bee ouer the poope of the Iesus, or in the night two lights, then shall all the shippes speake with her: If there be three lights aboord the Iesus, then doeth she cast about: If the weather be extreeme, that the small shippes cannot keepe companie with the Iesus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the roade of Sirroes; If any happen to any misfortune, then to hewe two lights, and to shoote off a piece of Ordinance. If any loose companie, and come in sight againe, to make three pawses, and strike the Mysen three times: Serue God daily, loue one another, preserue your victuals, be ware of fire, and keepe good companie.

The 26. day the Minion came in also where he was, for the reioycing whereof hee gaue them certaine pieces of Ordinance, after the courtesie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirthe, because of their consort the Merline, whome at their departure from M. Haukins vpon the coast of England they went to seeke: and hauing mette with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast strooke out her poope, and therewithall lost three men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the Brigandine being at her sterne) and immediatly, to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sonke before their eyes.

The 30. day of the moneth M. Haukins with his consorts and companie of the Minion, hauing no more but the Brigandines at her sterne, waied ancre, and set saile on their voyage, hauing a prosperous winde therevnto.

The fourth of November they had sight of the Ilande of Madera, and the first day of Teneriffe,

Teneriffe, which they thought to haue bene the Canaries, in that they supposed themselues to haue bene to the Eastward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Pynion being a three or foure leagues a head of vs, kept on her course to Teneriffe, hauing better sight thereof, then the other had, and by that meanes they parted compame. For Master Hawkins and his companie, went more to the West, vpon which course hauing sailed a while, he espied another Iland, which he thought to be Teneriffe, and being not able, by the meanes of the fogge vpon the hils, to discerne the same, nor yet to reach it by night, went roomer, vntill the morning, being the 7. of November, which as yet he could not discerne, but sailed along the coast, the space of two houres, to perceaue some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelihoode thereof at all, accompting that to be, as it was in verie deede, the Isle of Palmes: and so sailing forwards, espied another Iland, called Gomera, and also Teneriffe, with the which he made, and sailing all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the 31. of the month, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arriuall, somewhat before he came to anker, he hoysed out his ships pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to haue sent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the Gouernours of the Iland, who dwelled a league from the shoare: but as he pretended to haue landed, suddenly there appeared vpon the two points of the roade, men leuelling of bales and harquebusses to them, with diuers others, to the number of 80. with halberts, pykes, swordes, and targets, which happened so contrarie to his expectation, that it did greatly amase him, and the more, because he was nowe in their danger, not knowing well how to auoide it, without some mischiefe. Wherefore he determined to call to them, for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himselfe to be an especiall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had sundry things for him, which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while he was thus talking with them, whereby he made them to hold their handes, he willed the marriners to rowe away, so that at last he gat out of their danger: and then asking for Peter De Ponte, one of his sonnes being Signior Nicholas Ponte, came forth, whome he perceauing, desired to put his men aside, and he himself would leape a shoare, and common with him, which they did: so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, Master Hawkins desired to haue certaine necessaries prouided for him. In the meane space, while these things were prouiding, he trimmed the maine mast of the Iesus, which in the storme aforesaid was sprong: here he soiourned 7. daies, refreshing himselfe and his men. In the which time Peter de ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a Citie 20. leagues off, came to him, & gaue him as gentle entertainment, as if he had bene his own brother. To speake some what of these Ilands, being called in olde time Insulæ fortunatæ, by the meanes of the flowing therof, the fruitfulnes of them doeth surely exceede farre all other that I haue heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they haue grapes of such bignes, that they may be compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none: for sugar, suckets, raisons of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for rosine & rawe silke, there is great store, they want neither coyne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde fowle: they haue many Camels also, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are vsed for carriage of necessaries: whole proper tie is as he is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and vnlading againe: his nature is to iender backward, contrarie to other beastes: of vnderstanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long mishapen legges, and feete very broade of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, sauing the great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thinne nerke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath giuen him in his breast, to leane vpo. This beast liueth hardly, and is contented with strawe, and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carry 500. weighe. In one of these Ilands, called" de Fierro, there is by the reportes of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof, the inhabitants and cattell are serued with water, for other water haue they none in all the Island. And it raineth in such abundance, that it were incredible vnto man to beleeue such a vertue to be in a tree, but it is knowen to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordained by God, at whose power therein, we ought not to marueil, seeing he did by his prouidence, as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israell were going into the land of promise, feede them with Manna from heauen, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid, we sawe in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a peare tree. About these Ilands, are certaine flitting Ilands, which haue bene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished: as the like hath bene of these Ilands now knowen, by the report of the Inhabitantes, which were not founde of long time one after the other: and therefore it shoulde seeme he is not yet borne, to whome God hath appointed the finding

The Isle of Palmes. Gomera and Teneriffe.

"De Fierro.

Trees dropping water in Guinie.

The pike of Teneriffe.

ding of them. In this Iland of the Teneritte, there is a hill called the Pike, because it is pikte, which is in heigth by their reports, 20. leagues, hauing both winter and summer, abundance of snowe in the toppe of it: this pike may be seene in a cleere day 50. leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke clowde a great heigth in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in heigth, but in the Indias I haue seene many, and in my iudgement not inferiour to the pike, and so the Spaniards write.

The 15. of Nouember at night, we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the same, we had sight of 10. Caruels, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would haue spoken, but they fearing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

Cape de Barbas.

The 20. the shippes pinnesse, with two men in her, sailing by the shippe, was ouerthrowen by the ouersight of them that were in her, the wind being so great, that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driuen halfe a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recouerie, had not Gods helpe, and the Captaines diligence bene, who hauing well marked, which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24. of the lustiest rowers in the great boate, to rowe to windwards, and so recouered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting vpon the keele of her.

Cape Blanco.

The 25. he came to Cape Blanco, which is vpon the coast of Affrica, and a place where the Portingals doe ride that fishe there, in the moneth of Nouember especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fishe. In this place the Portingals haue no holde for their defense, but haue rescue of the Barbarians, whome they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there, and for their fishing vpon that coast of Affrica, doe pay a certaine tribute to the King of the Moores. The people of that part of Affrica, are tawnie, hauing long haire, without any apparell, sauing before their priuie members. Their weapons in warres, are bowes, and arrowes.

Cape Verde in 14. degrees.

The 26. we departed from S. Auis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selues with fishe, and other necessaries: and the 29. we came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14. degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negroes, without any apparell, sauing before their priuities: of stature goodly men, and well liking, by reason of their foode, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goates, pullin, rise, fruits, and fishe. Here we tooke fishes with heades like Conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a iollie thicknes, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting of his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans. The people of Cape Verde, are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of al other, sauing ꝑ Manicongoes, which do inhabite on this side ꝑ cape de Buena Speranza. These Leophares haue warres against the Ieloffes, which are bordorers by them: their weapons are bowes, and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negroes: for whereas the other beare long dart, to fight with in their hands, they carry fiue or sixe smallones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more ciuill then any other, because of their daily traffike with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle, and louing: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19. that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60. tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape De Verde, 200. leagues, the plankes of their barke with a sea brake out vpon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to saue themselues in their boates: but by Gods prouidence, the wind being westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got to the shoare, to the Iles Braues, and in great penurie got to Cape Verde, where they remained sixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman hauing forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shoare, and wandring with the Negroes too and fro, fortuned to come to the water side, and communing with certaine of his countreymen, which were in our ship, by their perswasions came away with vs: but his entertainment amongst them was such, that he desired it not: but through the importunate request of his Countreymen, consented at the last. Here we staied but one night, and part of the day: for the 7. of December, we came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negroes there perforce, the Gynions men gaue them there to vnderstand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoide the snares we had laid for them.

The 8. of December, we ankered by a small Iland, called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shoare, we found nothing but sea birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portingals called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gaue the said Iland the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with pong and olde fowle, who not being vsed to the sight of men, flew so about vs, that we stroke them downe with poles. In this place, the two ships riding, the two barkes, with their boates, went into an Iland of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them,

and

and there landed to the number of 80. in armour, and espying certaine, made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a riuer which they could not passe ouer, they espied on the other side two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebusses to them againe, but the ignorant people waied it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but vsing a maruelous crying in their fight, with leaping, and turning their tailes, that it was most strange to see, and gaue vs great pleasure to behold them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebusse vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound, and wist not howe it came, because he could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceauing no good to be done amongst them, because we could not finde their townes, and also not knowing how to get into Rio grande, for want of a pilot, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many sholes, fraied with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The 10. of December, hauing a northeast wind, with raine, and storme, which weather continued two daies together, was the occasion, that the Salomon, and Tyger lost our companie: for whereas the Iesus, and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands, called Sambula, the 12. day, the Salomon and Tyger came not thither, till the 14. In this Island, we staied certaine daies, going euery day a shoare, to take the Inhabitants, with burning, and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. The Iland called Sambula.

These Samboses had inhabited there 3. yeeres before our comming thither, and in so short space haue so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of mill, rise, rootes, pompions, pullin, goates, & small frye dried, euery house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods prouidence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so abundantly, whereby they liued more deliciously then other. These inhabitants haue diuerse of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres, as their slaues, whome onely they keepe to till the ground, in that they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselues, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboses haue white teeth as wee haue, far vnlike to the Sapies, which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a brauerie, to set out themselues, and doe iagge their flesh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Ierkinmaker with vs pinketh a stitch. These Sapies be more ciuill then the Samboses: for whereas the Samboses liue most by the spoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also, The Sapies doe not eate mans flesh, vnlesse in the warres they be driuen by necessitie thereunto, which they haue not vsed, but by the example of the Samboses, but liue onely with fruits, and cattell, whereof they haue great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapies desire not warre, except they be thereunto prouoked by the inuasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of foode, are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not woont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that they take, vntill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion, that prouoketh the Samboses to warre against the Sapies, which is for couetousnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies haue an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses diggeth vp the ground, to haue the same treasure: for the Samboses haue not the like store of golde, that the Sapies haue. In this Island of Sambula, we found about 50. boates, called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough, but yet of a good proportion, being about 8. yardes long, and one in breadth, hauing a beake head, and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out side artificially carued, and painted red, and blewe: they are able to carry 20. or 30. men, but they are about the coast able to carry three score, and vpward. In these Canoas they rowe standing vpright, with an ower somewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largest sort. They rowe very swift, and in some of them foure rowers, and one to steere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London. Their townes are prettily diuided with a maine streete at the entring in, that goeth through their Towne, and another ouerthwart streete, which maketh their townes crosse waies: their houses are built in a ranke very orderly in the face of the streete, and they are made round, like a douehouse, with stakes set full of Palmito leaues, in steede of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, & two of height, and thatched with Palmito leaues very close, other some with reede, and ouer the roofe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reede prettily contriued like a louer: in the inner part, they make a loft of sticks, whereupon they lay all their prouision of victuals: a place they reserue at their entrance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is deuided with certaine mats artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bed-

Sapies.

The Samboses

The Canoas of Affrica.

The forme of their townes.

bedsteedes are of small staues, laide along, and raised a foote from the ground, vpon which is laide a matte, and another vpon them when they list: for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the Towne, there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adioyning vnto the which, there is a place made of foure good stancions of woode, and a round roofe ouer it, the grounde also raised round with claye, a foote high, vpon the which flooze were strawed many fine mats: this is the consultation house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portingals affirme: in which place, when they sitte in Counsell, the King or Captaine sitteth in the midst, and the Elders vpon the flooze by him: (for they giue reuerence to their Elders,) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steale but a Portingall clothe from another, he is solde to the Portingals for a slaue. They consult also, and take order what tyme they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainly reported by the Portingals, they take order in gathering of fruites in the season of the yeere, and also for receiuing of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cutte in the toppe of a tree, and a gourde set for the receiuing thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth fresh wine againe within a moneth, and this diuided, part and portion like to euery man, by the iudgement of the Captaine and Elders, euery man holdeth himselfe contented: and this surely I iudge to be a very good order: for otherwise, wheresa scarsitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the same, which might breede great strife: but for such things, as euery man doth plant for himselfe, the flower thereof reapeth it to his owne vse, so that nothing is common, but that which is vsed by mans handes. In their houses there is more common passage of Lizardes, like Guanis, and other greater, of blacke and blewe colour, of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with vs of Mise in great houses. The Sapies and Samboses also, vse in their warres bowes and arrowes, made of reedes, with heads of yron poysoned with the iuice of a Cucumber, whereof I haue had many in my handes. In their battels they haue target men, with broade wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and a halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the same length, made to counterpease it, that in casting, it might flee euell, rather then for any other purpose, as I can iudge. And when they espie the enemie, the Captaine to cheere his men, crieth, Hungry, and they answere Heygre, and with that euery man placeth himselfe in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will couer themselues, and shoote as they see aduantage: and when they giue the onset, they make such terrible cryes, that they may be heard two miles off. For their beleefe, I can heare of none that they haue, but in such as they themselues imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof we sawe some like vnto Diuels. In this Iland afore saide, wee sowrned vnto the one and twentieth of December, where hauing taken certaine Negroes, and of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well carry away, (whereof there was such store, that we might haue laden one of our Barkes therewith,) we departed, and at our departure, diuers of our men being desirous to goe a shoare, to fetch Pompions, which hauing pyqued, they found to be very good, certaine of the Tygers men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a pong man, who with his fellowes hauing set many, and carried them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellowes to tarry, while he might goe vp to fetch a few which he had layed by for himselfe, who being more licorous then circumspect, went vp without weapon, and as hee went vp alone, possibly being marked of the Negroes that were vpon the trees, espying him what he did, perceiuing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupied in binding his Pompions together, came behind him, ouerthrowing him, and straight cutte his throate, as he afterwards was founde by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there founde him naked.

The extreme negligence of one of the company.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the Riuer, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the Iohns pinnesse, and Salomons boate, leauing at anker in the Riuers mouth the two shippes, the Riuer being twentie leagues in, where the Portingals roade: he came the fiue and twentieth, and dispatched his business, and so returned with two Caruels, loaden with Negroes.

The riuer Callowsa.

The 27. the Captaine being aduertised by the Portingals, of a Towne of the Negroes, called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but also that there were not about sixtie men, and a hundred women, and children in the Towne, so that if hee would giue the aduenture vppon the same, hee might gette a hundreth slaues: with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portingals should not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst to giue them that, and greater attempts: and being

The towne of Bymba.

being thereunto alſo the more prouoked with the proſperous ſucceſſe he had in other Iſlands adiacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate 20. together, determined to ſtay before the Towne three or foure houres, to ſee what he could doe: and therefore prepared his men in armour, and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing to their guides certaine Portingals, in a boate, who brought ſome of them to their death: we landing boate after boate, and diuers of our men ſcattering themſelues, contrarie to the Captaines will, by one or two in a companie, for the hope they had to finde golde in their houſes, ranſaking the ſame, in the meane time the Negroes came vpon them, and hurte many, beeing thus ſcattered, whereas if fiue or ſixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companies did, to giue the ouerthrowe to 40. of them, and being driuen to the to take their boates, were followed ſo hardly by a route of Negroes, who by that tooke courage to purſue them to their boates, that not onely ſome of them, but others ſtanding a ſhoare, not looking for any ſuch matter, by meanes that the Negroes did like at the firſt, and our companie remained in the towne, were ſuddenly ſo ſet vpon, that ſome with great hurt recouered their boates: other ſome not able to recouer the ſame, tooke the water, and periſhed by meanes of the oaze. While this was a doing, the Captaine, who with a fewe men went thorough the Towne, returned, finding 200. Negroes at the waters ſide, ſhooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in peeces, which were drowned in the water, at whoſe comming, they ranne all away: ſo he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the ſhore, they returned againe, and ſhot very fiercely, and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe, ſomewhat diſcomforted, although the Captaine in a ſingular wiſe manner, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though he did little weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the reſt, although his heart inwardly was broken in peeces for it, done to this ende, that the Portingals being with him, ſhould not preſume to reſiſt againſt him, nor take occaſion to put him to further diſpleaſure or hinderance, for the death of our men: hauing gotten by our going ten Negroes, and loſt ſeuen of our beſt men, whereof Maſter Field, Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27. of our men hurt. In the ſame houre, while this was a doing, there happened at the ſame inſtant, a meruelous miracle to them in the ſhippes, who roade ten leagues to ſeaward, by many barks or Tuberons, who came about the ſhips, among which, one was taken by the Ieſus, and ſlaine by the Salomon, and one very ſore hurt, eſcaped: and ſo it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Ieſus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the 5. hauing 20. wounds, was reſtored, and ſraped with much adoe.

Portingals not to be truſted.

Want of circumſpection in our men.

The 28. they came to their ſhips, the Ieſus, and the Salomon, and the 30. departed from thence to Taggarin.

Taggarin.

The firſt of Ianuarie, the two barkes, and both the boates forſooke the ſhips, and went into a riuer, called the Caſſerroes, and the 6. hauing diſpatched their buſines, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ſhips were at anker. Not two daies after the comming of the two ſhippes thither, they put their water caſke a ſhoare, and filled it with water, to ſeaſon the ſame, thinking to haue filled it with freſh water afterward: and while their men were ſome a ſhoare, and ſome at their boates, the Negroes ſet vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the caſkes, and cut off the hoopes of twelue buts, which loſt vs 4. or 5. dayes time, beſides great want we had of the ſame: ſoiourning at Taggarin, the Swallowe went vp the riuer about her buſſike, where they ſawe great townes of the Negroes, and Canoas, that had three ſcore men in a peece: there they vnderſtoode of the Portingals, of a great battell, betweene them of the Sierra Leona ſide, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared 300. Canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not paſt 6. daies after our departure from thence, which we would haue ſtaied, to the intent we might haue taken ſome of them, had it not bene for the death, and ſickneſſe of our men, which came by the contageouſnes of the place, which made vs to make haſte away.

January. The riuer of Caſſerroes.

Very great Canoas.

The contagion of the Countrey of Sierra Leona.

The 18. of Ianuarie at night, we departed from Taggarin, being bound to the Weſt Indies, before which departure, certaine of the Salomons men went a ſhoare, to fill water in the night, and as they came a ſhoare with their boate, being ready to leape a land, one of them eſpied a Negroe in a white coate, ſtanding vpon a rocke, being ready to haue receiued them, when they came a ſhoare, hauing in ſight of his fellowes alſo eight or nine, ſome in one place leaping out, & ſome in another, but they hid themſelues ſtraight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and ſought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their ſhippes, not thinking there had bene ſuch a miſchiefe pretended towards them, as there was in deede. Which the next day we vnderſtoode of a Portingall, that came downe to vs, who had trafficke with the Negroes, by whome he vnderſtoode, that the King of Sierra Leona had made all the

power he could, to take some of vs, partly for the desire he had to see what kind of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I haue also, vpon other occasions prouoked by the Tangomangoes, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the euening we sawe such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the onely marke for the Tangomangoes, to know where their armie is alwaies. If these men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great displeasure, for that we were a shoare, filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not haue it so, and by him were escaped without danger, his name be praysed for it.

Tangomangoes.

Februarie.

The 29. of the same moneth, we departed with all our ships from the Sierra Leona, towards the West Indias, where for the space of 28. daies, were were becalmed, hauing now and then contrarie windes, and some Ternados amongest the same calme, which happened to vs very ill, being but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negroes, and our selues, which pinched vs all, and that which was worst, put vs in such feare, that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indias, without great death of Negroes, and of themselues: but Almightie God, who neuer suffereth his elect to perish, sent vs the sixteene of Februarie, the ordinarie Byrd, which is the North west winde, which neuer left vs, till we came to an Iland of the Cannybals, called Sancta Dominica, where we arriued the ninth of March, vpon a Saturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Iland, we could see no Cannybals, but some of their houses, where they dwelled, and as it should seeme, forsooke the place, for want of fresh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hils, and remayned as a puddle in the dale, whereof we filled for our Negroes. The Cannybals of that Iland, and also others adiacent, are the most desperate warriers that are in the Indias, by the Spaniards report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of those Ilands: of very late, not two moneths past, in the same Iland, a Caruell being driuen to water, was in the night sette vpon by the Inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driuen a shoare, and so taken by them, and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine, one Bontemps, in March also, came to one of those Ilands, called Granado, and being driuen to water, could not doe the same, for the Cannybals, who fought with him very desperately two daies. For our part also, if we had not lighted vpon the desertest place in all the Iland, we could not haue milled, but should haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reportes, who make them Deuils in respect of men.

Dominica Iland. March.

Cannybals exceeding cruell, and to be auoided.

The tenth day, at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Ilands, called the Testigos: and the sixteenth, of an Iland, called Margarita, where we were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both beeues and sheepe giuen vs, for the refreshing of our men: but the Gouernour of the Iland, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet giue him any licence to traffike: and to displease vs the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilot, to haue gone with vs, they would neither suffer him to goe with vs, but also sent woorde by a Caruell out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Viceroy, who doth represent the Kings person, of our arriuall in those parts, which had like to haue turned vs to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Viceroy did send word to Capo de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them by the vertue of his authoritie, and the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should traffike with vs, but should resiste vs with all the force they could. In this Iland, notwithstanding that we were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not onely the Gouernour himselfe, but also all the Inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them, and fled into the mountaines, as we were partly certified, and also sawe the experience our selues, by some of the Indians comming to see vs, who by three Spaniards a horsebacke pulling hard by vs, went vnto the Indians, hauing euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conuersant with vs. Here perceauing no traffike to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, wee were driuen to depart the twentieth day, and the two and twentieth, we came to a place in the mayne, called Kenimnawo, whither the Captaine going in his pinnesse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whome he demanded traffike, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newly come thither, and were not able to buy one Negroe: wherevpon he asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Sancta Fee, where we found marueilous goodly watring, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboord the whole 20. tunne of water. There about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day

The Testigos Ilands. Margarita Iland.

ere we came thither, came downe to vs, presenting mill & cakes of bread, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Maiz, in bignes of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a reasell, but a span in length, hauing thereon a number of graines. Also they brought downe to vs which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles, Hennes, Potatoes and pines. These potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may bee eaten, and doe farre exceede their passeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bignesse of two fistes, the outside whereof, is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rinde of a Cucumber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious then any sweete apple I ingred. Their Indians be of colour tawnie like an Olive, hauing every one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging downe to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but daily puls it as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their pard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a cheord about his loines, leauing the other partes of their members vncouered, whereof they take no shame. The women also vncouered, sauing with a cloth which they weare a handbreadth, where with they couer their priuities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for trauelling, they carrie but two small bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the iuice of Sorrell whereof they haue great store, and in the other flowre of their Maiz, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men carie every man his bowe and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bignesse of a mans arme, other some with broad heades of iron wherewith they strike fishe in the water: the experience whereof we sawe not once nor twise, but daily for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselues and their horses with quilted canuas of two inches thicke, and leaue no place of their bodie open to their enemies, sauing their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling: their poison is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith, dieth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards doe affirme, and in my iudgement it is like there can bee no stronger poyson as they make it, vsing thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a strong poison, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other serpentes, they make a medley, and there with anoint the same.

The bie of Sorrell.

The making of their poison.

The Indian women delighe not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them haue hanging brestes which they account to bee great deformitie in them, and vpon that occasion while they bee yong, they destroy their seede, saying, that it is fittest for olde women. Moreouer, when they are deliuered of childe, they goe straight to washe themselues, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Gossopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they carie about with them when they trauell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people bee surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to liue peaceablie, or els had it bene vnpossible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue more peaceable, they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

The maners of the yong women.

From heure we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maine land and the Iland called Tortuga, a very lowe Iland, in the peere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred sixtie fiue aforesaid, and sailed along the coast vntill the first of April, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Iesus pinnace to discerne the coast, & sawe many Caribes a shore, and some also in their Canowas, which made tokens vnto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would traffique for wares. Whereupon hee staied to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles gaue such things as they had about them and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to haue them come a shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to traffique with them, he would not haue denied them, because the Indians we sawe before were very gentle people, and such as doe no man hurt. But as God would haue it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would haue bene his confusion: for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more diuelish a thousand partes, and are eaters and deuourers of any man they catche, as it was afterwardes declared vnto vs at Burborata, by a Caruell comming out of Spaine with certaine soudiours and a captaine generall sent by the king for those Eastward parts of the Indians, who sailing along in his pinnace as our Captaine did to descrie the coast, was by the Caribes called a shore with sundrie tokens made to him of friendshippe, and golde shewen as though they desired traffique, with the which the Spaniardes being mooued, suspecting no deceite at all, went a shore amongst them,

The Ile of Tortuga.

who was no sooner a shore, but with 4. or 5. more was taken, the rest of his company being imbarked by them, saued themselues by flight, but they that were taken, paied their ransome with their liues, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toil with their golde the ignorant to their snares: they are bloudsuckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that lig be in their Lawe, not sparing their owne countrymen if they can conueniently come by them. Their pollicie in fight with the Spaniards is marueilous: for they choose for their refuge the mountaines and woods where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to bee met in the plaine where one horseman may ouerrunne 100. of them, they haue a deuise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselues politike warriours. They haue more abundaunce of golde then all the Spaniards haue, and liue vpon the mountains where the Pines are in such number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure inough.

The crueltie of the Caribes.

Thus hauing escaped the daunger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of Aprill to a Towne called Burburata, where his ships came to an anker, and her himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniardes, to whom he declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of merchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Vnto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to traffique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therfore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their hands, because they were subiects & might not goe beyond the law. But he replied that his necessitie was such, he might not so doe: for being in one of the Queenes Armados of England, and hauing many souldiours in them, he had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee could not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would he commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, wilfully bee were too rigorously delt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite, as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without daunger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parties wee had free traffique in Spaine and Flaunders, which are in his dominions, and therefore hee knew no reason why hee should not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniardes made answere, that it lait not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a gouernour to whom the gouernment of those parties was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their gouernour who was three score leagues off, and would returne answere within the space appointed, of his mind.

Burburata.

In the meane time they were contented he should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals he would require. Whereupon, the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promise, the captaine abused himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good answere from the gouernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to haue licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negroes which he had in his shippe like to die vpon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing litle or no refreshing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would bee recouered well inough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals & for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and townedwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, graunted him licence for thirtie Negroes, which afterwardes they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt vs nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwardes. This being past, our captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Gouernour his answere because they would keepe themselues blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marueilling what the matter was that none came to buie them. They answered, because they had graunted licence onely to the poore to buie those Negroes of small price, and their money was not so readie as other mens of more wealth. Hope then that, as soone as euer they sawe the shippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, and were not yet returned, and yet asked two dayes to seeke their

their wines and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day diuers of them came to the pase, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price to high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buie, and would not consent if hee had licence, that hee might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were wonte in other places, did send for the Principals of the Towne, and made a shew hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sorie that hee had so much troubled them, and also that hee had sent for the Gouernour to come downe, seeing now his pretence was to depart, whereat they marueiled much, and asked him what cause mooued him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to haue his licence. To the which he replied that it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profite, which hee perceiued was not there to be had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he paied for his Negroes, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and mens wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charges, hee must sell his Negroes for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that hee had no licence, that hee should not loose his labour in carying, for they would buie without licence. Whereupon, the captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negroes, which they graunted vnto. And the next day did sell some of them, who hauing bought and paied for them, thinking to haue had a discharge of the Customer for the custome of the Negroes, being the kings duetie, they gaue it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to giue the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their woordes, for feare, least hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing els was done vntill the Gouernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queenes maiesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driuen by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the sayde Naule, and also great neede of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, vnto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, and for that purpose requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negroes, declaring that although they were forbidden to traffique with straungers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queenes highnesse, hee thought he might doe their prince great seruice, and that it would bee well taken at his handes, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with diuers others put in request, were presented vnto the Gouernour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted vnto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings custome, being vpon euery slaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

Whereupon the captaine perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the kings custome of that they offered, so that either hee must bee a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings custome which was too vnreasonable, for to a higher price hee could not bring the buiers: Therefore the fifteenth of Aprill hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebusses and pikes, with the which he marched to the towne wardes, and being perceiued by the Gouernour, hee straight with all expedition sent messengers to know his request, desiring him to marche no further forward vntill hee had answere againe, which incontinent hee should haue. So our captaine declaring how vnreasonable a thing the kings custome was, requesting to haue the same abated, and to pay seuen and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie custome for wares thorough his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, he would displease them. And this woorde being caried to the Gouernour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiours and mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demaunded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, we departed, beginning our traffique, and ending the same without disturbance.

An hundred Englishmen in armour.

Thus hauing made traffique in the harborough vntill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because now the common sort hauing imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buie, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the captaine knew they would be made the more eger, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie we being at anker without the roade, a French shippe called the Greene

Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of ordinaunce, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that he had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portingals Gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such waces as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion, besides the captaine, Dauie Carlet and a merchaunt, with a doozen mariners betrayed by the Negroes at their first arriuall thither, and remaining prisoners with the Portingals, besides other misaduentures of the losse of their men, happened thorough the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships, which was most sorowfull for vs to vnderstand.

The reports of the mishaps of the Minion in Guinie.

May.

Thus hauing ended our traffique here the 4. of May, wee departed, leauing the French man behind vs, the night before the which, the Caribes whereof I haue made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canowas to Burboroata, intending by night to haue burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiuing them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horse-backe, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses readie sadled, in the night set vpon them, and tooke one, the rest making shift for themselues, escaped away. But this one, because hee was their guide, and was the occasion that diuers times they had made inuasion vpon them, had for his trauell a stake thrust thorough his fundement, and so out at his necke.

Horses kept ready sadled.

The sixt of May aforesayd, wee came to an Island called Curasao, where wee had thought to haue ankred, but could not finde ground, and hauing let fall an anker with two cables, were faine to weie it againe, and the 7. sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and could finde none, came to an anker where wee rode open in the sea. In this place we had traffique for Hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that sauing the skinnes, we had the flesh giuen vs for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundaunt, that the worst in the ship thought scorne not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdained to eate vnrosted.

Exceeding plentie of cattell in Curasao

The increase of cattell in this Island is maruellous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the gouernour, in 25. yeeres had 100. thousand at the least, and of other cattell was able to kill without spoile of the increase, 15. hundred yeerely, which he killeth for the skinnes, and of the flesh saueth onely the tongues, the rest he leaueth to the foule to deuour. And this I am able to affirme, not onely vpon the Gouernours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, and so remaineth vnto this day, but also by that I sawe my selfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, sauing the skinne and tongue taken away, and it is not so maruelous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the Islands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate fruits and meates inough besides to feede vpon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleeue, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an Island called by the finders thereof, Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattell, and such increase thereof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not able to asswage the number of them, but they are deuoured by wild dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountains, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no maruell, for the said Island is almost as big as all England, and being the first place that was found of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, and therefore it ought of reason to be most populous, and to this hower the Viceroy and counsell roiall, abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet haue they but one citie and 13. villages in all the same Island, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

The 15. of the foresaid moneth we departed from Curasao, being not a little to the reioycing of our captaine and vs, that we had there ended our traffique, for notwithstanding our sweete meate, we had sower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blastes whereby our ankers being a ground, three at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shore we were faine to hale off to haue anker hold, sometimes a whole day and a night turning vp and downe, and this happened not once, but halfe a doozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. wee passed by an Island called Aruba, and the 17. at night, ankred 6. howers at the West end of Cabo de La vela, and in the morning being the 18. weied againe, keeping our course, in the which time the captaine sailing by the shore in the pinnace, came to the Rancharia, a place where the Spaniards vse to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who told him how

farre

same off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which because he would not ouershoote, ankered that night
againe, and the 19. came thither, where hauing talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resi-
dent there, declared his quiet traffique in Burboroata, and shewed a certificate of the same, made
by the gouernour thereof, and therefore he desired to haue the like there also: but the treasurer made
answere that they were forbidden by the Uiceroy and counsell of S. Domingo, who hauing in-
telligence of our being on the coast, did send expresse commission to resist vs, with all the force they
could, insomuch that they durst not traffique with vs in no case, alleaging that if they did, they
should loose all that they did traffique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaunde-
ment. Our captaine replied, that hee was in an Armado of the Queenes maiesties of England,
and sent about other her affaires, but driuen besides his pretended voiage, was inforced by con-
trary windes to come into those partes, where he hoped to find such friendship as hee should doe in
Spaine, to the contrary wherof he knew no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their prin-
ces. But seeing they would contrary to all reason goe about to withstand his traffique, he would it
should not be said by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his traffique perforce, but
he would rather put it in aduenture to trie whether he or they should haue the better, and therefore
willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or els to stand to their owne harmes:
So vpon this it was determined hee should haue licence to trade, but they would giue him such a
price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do,
and none otherwise, & if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined
to deale otherwise with him. Wherupon, the captaine waying their vnconscionable request, wrote
to them a letter, that they delt too rigorously with him, to goe about to cut his throte in the price
of his commodities, which were so reasonablie rated, as they could not by a great deale haue the
like at any other mans hands. But seeing they had sent him this to his supper, hee would in the
morning bring them as good a breakefast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May,
he shot of a whole Culuering to summon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour,
went a shore, hauing in his great boate two Faulcons of brasse, and in the other boates double ba-
ses in their noses, which being perceiued by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell araie
with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the sands, of footemen to
the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weauing vs a
shore, whereby they made a semblant to haue fought with vs in deede. But our Captaine perce-
iuing them so bragge, commaunded the two Faulcons to bee discharged at them, which put them
in no small feare to see, as they afterward declared, such great pieces in a boate. At euery shotte
they fell flat to the ground, and as we approched neere vnto them, they broke their araie, and dis-
persed themselues so much for feare of the ordinaunce, that at last they went all away with their
ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as braue a shew as might be, coursing vp
and downe with their horses, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their Iaue-
lings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when we landed,
they gaue ground, and consulted what they should doe, for litle they thought wee would haue lan-
ded so boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward
to haue encountred with them, they sent a messenger on horsebacke with a flagge of truce to the
Captaine, who declared that the treasurer maruelled what hee ment to doe to come a shore in that
order, in consideration that they had graunted to euery reasonable request that hee did demaund:
but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwardes. The messenger
praied him to stay his men, and said, if hee would come apart from his men, the treasurer would
come and speake with him, whereunto he did agree to common together. The captaine onely with
his armour without weapon, and the treasurer on horseback with his iaueling, was afraid to come
neere him for feare of his armour, which he said was worse then his weapon, and so keeping aloofe
communing together, granted in fine to all his requests. Which being declared by the captaine to
the company, they desired to haue pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that other-
wise when they had made themselues stronger, they would haue bene at defiance with vs: and see-
ing that now they might haue what they would request, they iudged it to be more wisedome to be in
assurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were sent, and
we made our traffique quietly with them. In ye meane time while we staied here, we watred a good
breadth off from the shore, where by the strength of the fresh water running into the sea, the salt water
was made fresh. In this riuer we saw many crocodils of sundry bignesses, but some as big as a boat,
with 4. feet, a long broad mouth, & a long taile, whose skin is so hard, that a sword will not pierce it.
His nature is to liue out of the water as a frog doth, but he is a great deuourer, & spareth neither
fish, which is his common food, nor beasts, nor men, if he take them, as the proofe thereof was knowen

M. Hawkins his letter to the treasurer of Rio de la Hacha.

by a Negroe, who as he was filling water in the riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer seene after. This nature is euer when he would haue his praie, to crie, and sobbe like a christian bodie, to prouoke them to come to him, and then he snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is applied vnto women when they weepe, Lachrymæ Crocodili, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocadile when he crieth, goeth then about most to deceiue, so doth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the master of the Iesus watched one and by the barbes side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after 3. or 4. times turning in sight, he sanke downe, & was not afterwards seene. In the time of our being in the riuers of Guinie, we saw many of a monstrous bignes, amongst the which the capeaine being in one of the barks comming downe the same, shot a faulcon at one, which very narrowly he missed, and with a great plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them some harme before wee departed, or for any occasion that they pretended towardes vs, I am not able to say, but there came thither a captaine from some of the other townes, with a dozen souldiers, who vpon a time that our captaine and the treasurer cleared all things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the gouernours of Burboroma, which was to be paied by the said treasurer, who would not answere the same by any meanes. Certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our captaine would perforce haue sought the same, did immediately commaund his men in armour both horsemen and footemen: but because the captaine was in the Riuer on the backe side of the towne with his other boates, and all his men vnarmed and without weapons, it was to be iudged he ment him little good, hauing that aduantage of him, that comming vpon the sudden, he might haue mischieued many of his men, but the captaine hauing vnderstanding thereof, not trusting to their gentlenesse, if they might haue the aduauntage, departed aboord his ships, and at night returned againe, & demanded amongst other talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that order, and they answered, that their captaine being come to towne did muster his men according to his accustomed maner. But it is to bee iudged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpose he might haue done it sooner, but the truth is, they were not of force vntill then, whereby to enterprise any matter against vs, by meanes of pikes and harquebusses, whereof they haue want, and were now furnished by our captaine, and also 3. faulcons, which hauing got in other places, they had secretly conueied thither, which made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a conuenient place to do such a feat, and time also seruing thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not only vnarmed and vnprouided, as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, & least thinking of any harme: these occasions to prouoke them thereunto. And I suppose they were about to bring it to effect, in that * I with another gentleman being in the ... wne, thinking of no harme towards vs, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I marueiled, and musing to minde the former talke betweene the captaine and him, and the vnreadinesse of our men, of whom aduauntage might haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediately to giue knowledge thereof, but before wee came to our men by a flight shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere vs, being sent, as we did gesse, to stay vs least we should carie newes to our captaine, but seeing vs so neere our men staied their horses, comming together, and suffering vs to passe, belike because we were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediately would haue departed, whereby they should haue bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen rode about the bushes to espie what wee did, and seeing vs gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming to towne in post, whereof suspicion might be had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the captaine, that standing in doubt of their curtesie, hee returned in the morning with his 3. boates, appointed with bales in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he carried none: and thus dissembling all iniuries conceiued of both parties, the captaine went a shore, leauing pledges in the boates for himselfe, & cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, sauing for the gouernors debt, which the one by no meanes would answere, nor the other, because it was no his due debt, he would not molest him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, & therefore departed, causing the two barkes which rode neere the shore to weie and goe vnder saile, which was done to the intent that captaine demaunding a testimoniall of his good behauiour there, could not haue the same vntill he were vnder the saile ready to depart, and therefore at night went for the same againe, and receiued it at the treasurers hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leaue, and departed shooting of the bales of his boate for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off

* The author of this booke.

foure faulcons and thirtie harquebusses, and this was the first time that we knew of the conueyance of theyr faulcons.

The 31 of May we departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of June wee had sight of an Iland, which we made to be Iamaica, marvelling that by the vehement course of the seas we should be driven so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fell with the middle of Iamaica, notwithstanding that to all mens sight it shewed a head land, but they were all deceived by the clouds that lay upon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the said Iland. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a Merchant, and inhabitant in Iamaica, having occasion to go to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negroes, & afterwards bought by the Tangomangoes, was by our captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his country, who perceiving the land, made as though he knew every place therof, and pointed to certaine places, which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the end he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leebord of all places, & found our selues at the West end of Iamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting vp again, so that by trusting of the Spaniards knowledge, our captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would haue done, as his custom was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our captaine, who made him loose, by ouershooting the place, two thousand pounds vp hides, which he might haue gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his country, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negroes and Tangomangoes, and in hope to come to his wife and friends, as he made sure account, in that at his going into the pinnesse, when he went a shoare he put on his new clothes, and so lop flung away his olde, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we sayled all along, but it fell out euer, by one occasion or other, that we were put beside the same, so that he was layne to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a Duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, and being told by the Prophet Elizæus, that a bushell of flower should be solde for a sickle, would not beleeue him, but thought it impossible: and for that cause Elizæus prophesied he should see the same done, but he should not eate thereof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to haue seene his owne country, did see the same, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remayne with his friendes according to his desire.

Thus having sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seuenth of June, being made to beleeue by the Spaniard, that it was not Iamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the captaine also was, because that which he made Iamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleeue he was so farre driven to leeward, and therefore setting his course to Iamaica, and after certaine dayes, not finding the same, perceiued then certainly that the Iland which he was at before, was Iamaica, and that the clouds did deceiue him, wherof he marvelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the ouershooting of Iamaica: for by this did he also ouerpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as hee was informed, was great store of hides to be had: and thus being disappointed of two of his ports, where he thought to haue sailed great profit by his traffike, and also to haue found great refreshing of victuailes and water for his men, was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shoare to obtaine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes ouerpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine Ilands, in number two hundred, wherof the most part was desolate of inhabitants: by the which Ilands the captaine passing in his pinnesse, could finde no fresh water vntill he came to an Iland bigger then all the rest, called the Isle of Pinas, where we ankered with our shippes the seuenth of June, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the sea was brackish, yet did we not refuse it, but were more glad therof, as the time then required, then we should haue beene another time with fine conduct water. Thus being reasonably watred we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very conuenient for such shippes of charge as they were, because there were many shoales leeward, and also lay open to the sea for any winde that should blow, and therefore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not vnneedfull: for little sooner were there ankers weyed, and foresayle set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest was

June.

The deceitfull force of the current.

Two hundred Ilands for the most part not inhabited.

was same for haste to cutte the cable in the hawse, and loose both anker and cable to saue her selfe.

The cape of S. Anthony in Cuba.

Thus the fourteenth of June we departed and the twentith fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Anthony, where for the space of three dayes, we doubled along till we came beyond the shoales, which are 20 leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary brise taking vs, which is the Northeast winde, put vs the 24 from the shoare, and therfore we went to the Northwest to fetch winde, and also to the coast of Florida to haue the helpe of the currant, which was iudged to haue set to the Eastward: so the 29 wee found our selues in 27 degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selues the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in deme or twelue fathome water, hauing all the while no sight of land.

Florida.

July. The yles of Tortugas. Great heapes of birds.

The first of July we had sight of certaine Ilandes of sand, called the Tortugas (which is some land) where the captaine went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them, and if they had beene twelue boats more, they might haue done the like. These Ilandes beare the name of Tortels because of the number of them, which there doe breed, whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land also, but breed onely vpon the shoare, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges to the number of three or foure hundred, and couering them with sand, are hatched by the heat of the sunne, and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue both backe and belly all of bone of the thickenesse of an inch, the fish whereof we procured, eating much like veale, and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them, but they did eate very swelly. Heere we ankered fiue houres, and then springing a fayre gale of winde, we weyed anker, and made saile to ward Cuba, whither we came the first day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the forme thereof: heere we lay off and on all night, to keepe that wee had gotten to windeward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to haue plyed to windeward to the Hauana, which is a harborough whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tarry to haue one the company of another. This hill we thinking to haue beene the Table, made accounte (as it was in deed) the Hauana to be but eight leagues to windeward, but by the persuasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleeue he knew the Table very well, and had beene at the Hauana, said that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was the Hauana: to which persuasion credit being giuen by some, and they not of the worst, the captaine was persuaded to go to leeward, and so sailed along the fourth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table, and then perceiuing his folly to giue care to such matters, was not a little sorry, both because he did consider what time he should spend ere he could get so farre to windeward againe, which would haue beene with the weathering which we had 10 or 12 dayes worke, and what it would haue beene longer he knew not, and that (which was worst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therefore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to go further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los porcos, which he was in doubt of both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoales he might haue such accesse with his shippes that he might conueniently take in the same: and while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to runne into any further danger, which we had beene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no shippe escapeth which commeth thither, as the Spanyards haue very well proued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a fayre Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pitch his owne bille whatsoeuer had happened, and taking the fayd winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot the Hauana, at the which place we thought to haue watered, but the next day, not knowing that we had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certaine knowen markes, we vnderstood that we had ouershote it twentie leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no conuenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to dissemble, and to water vpon the coast of Florida: for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoales, which are very dangerous, and because the currant shooteth to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be set vpon them, and therefore durst not approch them: so making but reasonable wayes the day aforesaid, and all night the 12 day in the morning, we fell with the Ilands vpon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes

July. The yle called the Table.

The port of Hauana.

meanes that fearing the shoales to the Eastwards, and doubting the currant comming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of, for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a currant, that bearing all sailes against the same, yet were driuen backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Jesus pinnesse, and the Sallomons boate, which were sent the same day in the afternoone, while the shippes were becalmed, to see if they could finde any water vpon the Islands aforesayd, who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a fayre gale of wind springing at sea, the shippes departed, making a signe to them to come away, who although they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shoare would not loose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe theyr way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well enough: but they spent so much time in filling the water which they had founde, that the night was come before they coulde make an end, and hauing lost the sight of the shippes, rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seeke them againe, as in deede there was a more doubt then they knew of. For when they departed, the shippes were in no currant, and sayling but a mile further, founde one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it coulde not preuaile against the same, but were driuen backe: whereupon the captaine sent the Sallomon, with the other two barkes, to beare neere the shoare all night, because the currant was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boates might better knowe how to come to them.

The state of the currant of Florida.

The Jesus also bare a light in her toppe gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the shippes and barkes forsooke not, but to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past, and therefore determined to tarry no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Jesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the currant) was carryed almost out of sight, but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them vp: they in the boates, being to the number of one and twentie, hauing sight of the shippes, and seeing them tacking about, whereas before at the first sight of them did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then euer they were: for by this they thought themselues vtterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to haue found them. Truely God wrought marueilously for them, for they themselues hauing no victualles but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestowe any further time in seeking the shippes then that present noone time: so that if they had not at that instant espyed them, they had gone to the shoare to haue made prouision for victualles, and with such thinges as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida, where the French men are (which would haue beene very hard for them to haue done, because they wanted victualles to bring them thither, being one hundred and twentie leagues off) or els to haue remayned amongest the Floridians, at whose handes they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remayned in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victualles sufficient, and gentle intertainement, if neede were, for a yeere or two, vntill which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to theyr expectations, it is hard to judge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida, are of more sauage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the rest, which the Spanyardes well prooued, who being fiue hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same, and of theyr cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a fryer, who taking vpon him to persuade the people to subiection, was by them taken with his skinne cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islandes they being a shoare, founde a dead man dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodyes of men, so that those sorts of men are eaters of the flesh of men, as well as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The fourteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Jesus, bringing them newes of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on theyr way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and so from sixe and twenty degrees to thirtie degrees & halfe, where the French men are, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering euery night, because we woulde ouershoote no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the shippes pinnesse sayled along the shoare, went into euery creeke, speaking with diuers of the Floridians, because he would understand where the French men inhabited, and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees

M. Hawkins ranged all the coast of Florida.

as

as it was declared vnto him, maruelled thereat, and neuer left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and standeth in thirtie degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be all an Island, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was maruellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found Sorrell to growe as abundantly as grasse, and where theyr houses were, great store of mayis and mill, and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also Deere great plenty, which came vpon the sands before them. Theyr houses are not many together, for in one house a hundred of them do lodge: they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for it hath stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and couered with Palmito leaues, hauing no place diuided, but one small roome for their King and Queene. In the middest of this house is a hearth where they make great fyers all night, and vpon certaine pieces of wood hewen in for the bowing of their backes, and another place made high for theyr heads, they lye vpon the same, which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fieldes, where they dresse their meat, and make prouision for victualles, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be maruelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negroes doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In theyr apparell the men onely vse deere skinnes, wherewith some only couer their priuy members, other some vse the same as garments to couer them before and behinde, which skinnes are painted, some yellow & red, some blacke and russet, and euery man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antike worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuiseth, which painting, to haue it to continue the better, they vse with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may haue better holde. In their warres they vse a slighter couler of painting their faces, therby to make themselues shew the more fierce: which after their warres ended they wash away againe. In their warres they vse bowes and arrowes, wherof their bowes are made of a kinde of Yew, but blacker then ours, but many passing the strength of the Negroes or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours, their arrowes also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points both for length, and also for nocks and fethers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very steddy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of kniues, which hauing gotten of the French men, broke the same, and put the points of them in their arrowes heads: some of them haue their heads of siluer, other some that haue want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which perceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they vse a maruellous pollicie for their owne safegard, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding: this pollicy they vsed with the French men in their fight, wherby it appeareth that they are people of some pollicy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triste, that is to say, Bad people, meaning therby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the French men found them so witty in their answers, that by the captaines owne report, a councellour with vs could not giue a more profound reason.

The riuer of May.

Florida found to be cut in Islands.

Sorrell.

The commodities of Florida.

The houses of Florida.

The maner of kindling of fire in Florida.

The women also in their apparell vse painted skinnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, & make the same surplesewise, wearing their haire downe to theyr shoulders, like the Indians. In this riuer of May aforesaid, the captaine entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourescore tunne, and two pinnesses of fifteene tunne a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in which theyr captaine Mounsieur Laudonier was, with certaine souldiers therin. To whom our captaine sending to vnderstand of a watering place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the same, he straight because there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer liue leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barkes, which going in with other boats prouided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went, where he was by the general, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently intertained, and declared vnto him ye time of their being there, which was 14 months, with the extremity they were driuē to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them, in which place they being 200 men at their first comming, had in short space eaten al the mayis they could buy of the inhabitants about them & therfore were driuen certeine of thē to serue a king of the Floridians against other his enemies for mill, and other victualles, which hauing gotten, coulde not serue them, being so many so long a time,

The French fort.

Monsieur Laudonier.

but

but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed to take away the bitternesse of them, did vse the same for bread, eating withall sundry times roots, whereof they found many good and wholesome, and such as serue rather for medicines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paynes so much as to fish in the riuer before they dooes, but would haue all things put in their mouthes, did rebell against the captaine, taking away first his armour, & afterward imprisoning him: and so to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoyling their store of victuall, and taking away a great part therof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola & Iamaica a rouing, where they spoiled, and pilled the Spaniardes, and hauing taken two caruels laden with wine and Casaua, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victualles and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such hautie stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborough in Iamaica, going daily a shoare at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such euill doers vnpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a shippe and galeasse being made out of S. Domingoes, came thither into the harborough, and tooke twentie of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest carried into Spayne, and some (to the number of fiue and twentie) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida, where at their landing they were put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the souldiours, did passe the harquebussers, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage & weaking to the rest, for they were of the best souldiors that they had: and whereas they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their daily crauing of mayis hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore inforced to robbe them, and to take away their victuall perforce, was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certaine of their company in the woods, and slew them, whereby there grew great warres betwixt them and the French men, and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but at such time as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the same: and going twentie harquebussers in a company, were set vpon by eighteene kings, having seuen or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, and droue them all downe to their boats, whose policy in fight was to be maruelled at: for hauing shot at diuers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiuing that their arrowes did not preuaile against the same, they shot at their faces & legs, which were the places that the French men were hurt in. Thus the French men returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue foure souldiors left vnhurt, whereby they might ill make any more muasions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must haue beene driuen vnto, had not God sent vs thither for their succour, for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meale, and foure pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and necessaries which he might conueniently spare: and to helpe them the better homewards whither they were bound before our comming, at their request we spared them one of our barks of fifty tunnes. Notwithstanding the great want that the French men had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would haue taken paines to get the same, but they being souldiors, desired to liue by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with ỳ Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by weares which they made to catch the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the French men take the paines to make any more. The ground yeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the French men were there, they made twenty hogsheads of wine. Also it yeldeth roots passing good, decre maruellous store, with diuers other beasts, and fowle, seruiceable to the vse of man. These be things wherewith a man might liue, hauing corne or mayis wherwith to make bread: for mayis maketh good sauory bread, and cakes as fine as flower. Also it maketh good meale beaten and sodden with water and eateth like pappe wherwith we feed children. It maketh also good beuerage sodden in water, and nourishable: which the French men did vse to drinke of in the morning, and it allaged their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this mayis was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabite the land it were requisite to haue labourers to till and sowe the ground. For they hauing victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals proffered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away from vs, although we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all to little for our selues: for surely we haue heard the French

Bread made of acorns.

The occasion of the falling out with the Floridians.

The French greatly relieued by M. Hawkins.

Eleuentie hogsheads of wine made in Florida, like to the wine of Canarie.

Labourers necessarie to inhabite new countries.

mmm

men repoze, and I know it by the Indians that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians with the head of mapis roasted, will trauel a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs and mapis, & in this order I saw threescore of them fed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when they trauell haue a kinde of herbe dryed, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbes put together, do sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and there with they liue foure or fiue dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the French men vse for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet known to any man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabite, it flourisheth with meadow, pasture ground, with woodes of Cedar and Cypres, and other sorts, as better can not be in the world: they haue for apothecary herbes, trees, roots and gumme great store, as Storax liquida, Turpintine, Gumme, Myrre and Frankinsence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Coulers both red, blacke, yellow, and ruffet, very perfect, where with they paint their bodies, and deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor alereth couler. Golde and siluer they want not: for at the French mens first comming thither, they had the same offered them for little or nothing, for they receiued for a hatchet two pounds weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the souldiours being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giuing them nothing for it: the which they perceiuing, that both the French men did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigorously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be known they had any more, neither durst they weare the same for feare of being taken away: so that hauing at their first comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and siluer, the French men know not as yet, but by gesse, who hauing trauelled to the South west of the cape, hauing found the same dangerous, by meanes of sundry banks, as we also haue found the same, and there finding masts which were wracks of Spanyards comming from Mexico, iudged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that diuers wracks haue beene made of Spanyards, hauing much treasure. For the French men hauing trauelled to the eastward a hundred and fifty miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one being in a Caruell, comming from the Indias was cast away fourteene yeeres ago, and the other twelue yeeres, whose fellowes some eaten, other some were slaine by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their golde and siluer, for it is wrought flat and grauen, which they weare about their necks, other some made round like a pancake, with a hole in the middest to hang it by their heades withall, because they thinke it a deformitie to haue great heads. As for mines either of golde or siluer, the French men can heare of none they haue vpon the Iland, but of copper, wherof as yet also they haue not made the proofe, because they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and siluer as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The French men obtained pearles of them of great bignesse, but they were blacke, by meanes of roasting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spanyards do, but for their meat: for the Spanyardes vse to keepe dayly a fishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choyse a thousand: and their order is to goe in Canoaes, or rather great pinnesses, with three men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should vse dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beads of them. The oysters which haue the smallest sort of pearles are found in seuen or eight fathome water, but the greatest in eleuen or twelue fathom.

Tabacco, & the great vertue thereof.

The variety of commodities in Florida.

Coulers.

Golde and siluer.

Two Spanyards liuing among the Floridians

Pieces of golde grauen among the Floridians.

Florida esteemed an Iland.

This copper hath found perfect golde, called by the Mexicans, Tyacca yhyn.

Pearles.

Vnicornes hornes, which the inhabitants call Seuacuan.

The Floridians haue pieces of Unicornes hornes, which they were about their necks, wherof the French men obtayned many pieces. Of those Unicornes they haue many, for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which comming to the riuer to drinke, putteth the same into the water before shee drinketh. Of these Unicornes there is of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the French men, brought home thereof to shewe. It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities, as well as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabite the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reueale the same before it be long, to the great profite of them that shall take it in hand. Of beastes in this countrey besides Deere, Foxes, Hares, Polcats, Cunnies, Owuces, Leopards, I am not able certainely to say: but it is thought that there are Lions and Tygers as well as Unicornes, Lions especially, if it bee true that is laid of the enmity betweene them & the Unicornes. For there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the Cunny the Polcat, a Sheepe the Wolfe, the Elephant the Rinoceros, and so of other beastes the like: insomuch, that whereas the one is the other can not be missing. And seeing I haue

Beastes.

made

made mention of the beastes of this Countrey, it shal not be from my purpose to speake also of the venemous beastes, as Crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, Adders of great bignesse, whereof our men killed some of a yard and a halfe long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, vpon the which a Faulcon seazing, the saide adder did claspe her taile about her, which the French Captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the faulcon, and tooke her slaying the adder, and this faulcon being wilde hee did reclaime her, and kept her for the space of 2. moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off: On these adders the Frenchmen did feede to no litle admiration of vs, and affirmed the same to be a delicate meate. And the Captaine of the Frenchmen sawe also a Serpent with 3. heads and 4. feete, of the bignesse of a great Spaniell which for want of a harquebusse he durst not attempt to slay. Of fishe also they haue in the riuer, pike, roche, salmon, troute, and diuers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, hauing a snoute much like a sworde of a yarde long. There be also of sea fishes which wee sawe comming along the coast flying, which are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof haue foure winges, but the other haue but two: Of these we sawe comming out of Guinea, a hundreth in a companie, which being chased by the Gilt heads, otherwise called the Bonitoes, doe to auoyde them the better take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, because of the drying of their winges, which serue them not to flye but when they are moyste, and therefore when they can flye no further, fall into the water, and hauing wette their wings take a newe flight againe. These Bonitoes be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her praye very fiercely, not onely in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this Bonito leape after them, and taketh them sometimes aboue the water. They were some of those Bonitoes, which being galled by a sisgig did follow our ship comming out of Guinea 500. leagues. There is a sea foule also that chaseth this flying fish as wel as the Bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this foule pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hauking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then 100. times: for the foule can flie no way but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the nomber of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yong frie of these flying fishes, which commonly keepe about the shippe, and are not so bigge as butterflies, and yet by flying doe auoyde the vnsatiablenesse of the Bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes we tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our shippe, and there was not one of them which was not worth a Bonito: for being put vpon a hooke drabling in the water, the Bonito would leape thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white cloche made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out, and in, the greedie Bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and so is deceiued: Wee tooke also Dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to beholde, and no lesse delicate in taste. Foules also there be many, both vpon lande and vpon sea: But concerning them on the lande I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the foule of the fresh riuers, these two I noted to bee the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, hauing all redde fethers, and long redde legges like a Herne, a necke according to the bill redde, whereof the vpper nebbe hangeth an inche ouer the nether; And an Egripte which is all white as the swanne, with legges like to an hearneshewe, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the Estridge his feather. Of sea foule aboue all other not common in Englande, I noted the Pellicane, which is faigned to be the louingest birde that is: which rather then her yong shoulde want, will spare her heart bloud out of her bellie, but for all this louingnesse shee is very deformed to beholde, for shee is of colour russet, notwithstanding in Guinea I haue seene of them as white as a swanne, hauing legges like the same, and a body like a Herne, with a long necke, and a thicke long beake, from the nether iawe whereof downe to the breast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, as is able to receiue a fishe as bigge as ones thigh, and this her bigge throate and long bill, doeth make her seeme so ougly.

Faulcons in Florida.

Serpents.

Dolphins.

Flemingo.

The Egript.

The Pellicane

Here I haue declared the estate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme vnto some, by the meanes that the plentie of Golde and Siluer is not so abundant, as in other places, that the cost bestowed vpon the same, will not bee able to quite the charges: Yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I haue seene in other Islandes of the Indians, where such increase of cattell hath bene that of twelue head of beastes in 25. yeeres, did in the hides of them raise 1000. pound profite yeerely, that the increase of cattell onely would raise profite sufficient for the same: For wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaines in such short time, What would a greater doe in many yeeres?

Meanes to reape a sufficient profite in Florida and Virginia.

And ſurely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the byeeue of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is ſo greene, as any time in the Sommer with vs: which ſurely is not to be marueiled at, ſeeing the Countrey ſtandeth in ſo warrie a climate: for once a day without faile they haue a ſhowre of raine. Which by meanes of the Countrey it ſelfe, which is dyie, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flouriſh therein: and becauſe there is not the thing wee all ſeeke for, being rather deſirous of pretious gaines, I do therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requiſite for a prince, who is of power able to goe thorow with the ſame, rather then for any ſubiect.

From thence we departed the 28. of July, vpon our voyage homewards, hauing there all things as might be moſt conuenient for our purpoſe: and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there ſtill remained, who with diligence determined to make great ſpeede after, as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, we prolonged our voyage in ſuch manner that victuals ſcanted with vs, ſo that wee were diuers (or rather the moſt part) in deſpaire of euer comming home, had not God of his goodneſſe better prouided for vs, then our deſeruing. In which ſtate of great miſerie, we were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which moued him to heare vs, ſo that wee had a proſperous winde, which did ſet vs ſo farre ſhoote, as to be vpon the banke of Newfound land, on S. Bartlemewes eue, & ſounded thereupon finding ground, at 130. fathoms, being that day ſomewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of freſh codde fiſh, which greatly relieued vs: and very glad thereof, the next day departing, by lingring little gales for the ſpace of foure or fiue dayes, at the which we ſawe a couple of French ſhips, and had ſo much fiſh as would ſerue vs plentifully for all the reſt of the way, the Captaine paying for the ſame both golde and ſiluer, to the iuſt value thereof, vnto the chiefe owners of the ſaide ſhippes, which they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themſelues to meete with ſuch good intertainement at ſea, as they had at our handes. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the 20. of September we came to Padſtow in Cornewall God be thanked, in ſafetie, with the loſſe of 20. perſons in all the voyage, and profitable to the venturers of the ſaide voyage, as alſo to the whole Realme, in bringing home both golde, ſiluer, pearles and other iewels great ſtore. His name therefore be praiſed for euermore. Amen.

Their arrival in Padſtow in the moneth of September, 1565.

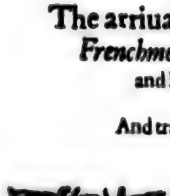
The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. Iohn Hawkins.
M. Iohn Cheſter, } ſir William Cheſters ſonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurſt.
M. Fitzwilliam.
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie, } with diuers others.

The Regiſter and true accompts of all herein expreſſed, hath been approoued by mee Iohn Sparke the yonger, who went vpon the ſame voyage, and wrote the ſame.

The arriuall and courteſie of M. Hawkins to the diſtreſſed *Frenchmen in Florida, is elſewhere alſo recorded, both in French,* and Engliſh, in the hiſtorie of Laudonier, written by himſelfe, and printed in Paris, Anno 1586. And tranſlated into Engliſh by me Richard Hakluyt, Anno 1587. and publiſhed as followeth.

Laudoniere and his company.



AS eche of vs were much tormented in minde with diuers cogitations, the thirde of Auguſt I deſcried foure ſailes in the Sea, as I walked vpon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apayde: I ſent immediatly one of them which were with me, to aduertiſe thoſe of the fort thereof, which were ſo glad of thoſe newes, that one would haue thought them to be out of their wits, to ſee them laugh and leape for ioy. After theſe ſhippes had caſt ancre, we deſcried that they ſent off their ſhippe boates to land: whereupon I cauſed one of mine to be armed with diligence to ſtride to meete them, and to knowe who they were. In

In the meane while fearing least they were Spaniards, I set my souldiers in order and readinesse, attending the returne of Captaine Vasseur, and my lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, who brought me word that they were Englishmen. And in trueth they had in their companie one whose name was Martine Attinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their seruice: which on the behalfe of M. Iohn Haukins their Generall came to request me that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stoode in great neede, signifying vnto mee that they had bene aboue 15. dayes on the coast to get some. He brought vnto me from the Generall 2. flagons of wine, & bread made of wheate, which greatly refreshed mee, forasmuch as for 7. moneths space, I neuer tasted a drop of wine: neuertheless it was all deuided among ye greatest part of my souldiers: this Martin Attinas had guided ye Englishmen to our coast, wherwith he was acquainted. For in ye yere 1562. he came thither with me, & therfore the General sent him to me. Therfore after I had granted his request, he signified the same vnto ye general, which the next day folowing caused one of his small ships to enter into the riuer, & came to see me in a great shipboat, accompanied wt gentlemē honorably apparelled, yet vnarmed: he sent for great store of bread & wine to distribute thereof to euery one. On my part I made him the best cheare I could possibly, & caused certaine sheepe & poultry to be killed, which vnto this present I had caused carefully to be preserued, hoping to store ye cōstrey withal. Now 3. dayes passed while the English general remained wt me, during which time the Indians came in frō all parts to see me, & asked me whether he were my brother: I told them he was so, & signified vnto them, that he was come to see me, & ayde me with so great store of victuals, that frō hence forward I should haue no need to take any thing of them. The bruit hereof incontinently was spred ouer all ye countrie, in such sort, as Ambassadors came vnto me frō al parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their masters, desired to make alliance wt me, & euen they which before sought to make warre against me, came to offer their seruice & friendship vnto me: whereupon I receiued them, & gratified them with certaine presents. The general immediatly vnderstood the desire and vrgent occasion which I had to returne into France; whereupon he offred to transport me, & al my company home: whereunto notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occasion he made so large an offer. For I knew not how the case stood betwixt the French & the English: and although he promised me on his faith to put me on land in France, before he would touch in England, yet I stood in doubt least he would attempt somewhat in Florida in the name of his Mistresse: wherefore I flatly refused his offer. Whereupon there rose a great mutinie among my souldiers, which said that I sought to destroy them al, And that the Brigandine whereof I spake before, was not sufficient to transport them, considering the season of the yeere, wherein wee were. The bruite and mutinie increased more and more: for after that the generall was returned to his ships, he told certaine gentlemen and souldiers which went to see him, partly to make good cheere with him, he declared and said vnto them, that he greatly doubted, that hardly we should be able to passe safely in those vessels which we had, and that in case we should enterprise the same, we should no doubt be in great ieopardie: Notwithstanding, if I were so cōtented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leaue me a small ship to transport the rest. The souldiers were no sooner come home, but they signified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently consented together, that in case I would not accept the same, they would imbarke themselues with him, and forsake me, so that he would receiue them according to his promise. They therefore assembled themselues together, and came to seeke me in my chamber, and signified vnto me their intention, Whereunto I promised to answere them in one houre after. In which meane space I gathered together the principall members of my companie, which, after that I had broken the matter with them, answered mee all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuse his offer, nor contemne the occasion which presented it selfe. And that they coulde not thinke euill of it in France, if, being forsaken as we were, wee ayded our selues with such meanes, as God hath sent to vs. After sundrie debatings of this matter, in conclusion I gaue my aduise that wee ought to deliuer him the price of the shippe which hee was to leaue vs, and that for my part I was content to giue him the best of my stuffe, and the siluer which I had gathered in the Countrey.

Whereupon notwithstanding it was determined, that I should keepe the siluer, for feare least the Queene of Englande seeing the same, shoulde the rather bee incouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired: That it was farre better to carry it into Fraunce, to giue incouragement to our Princes not to leaue off such an enterprise of so great importance for our Common wealth. And that seeing wee were resolued to depart, it was farre better to giue him our Artillerie, which otherwise wee should be constrained to leaue behinde vs, or to hide in the ground, by reason of the weakenesse of our men, being not able to imbarke the same. This point being thus concluded, and resolued on, I went (my selfe) vnto the English Generall, accompanied

Siluer in Florida.

with my lieuetenant, and Captaine Valleur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the pilot, and my ſeruant, all men of experience in ſuch affaires, & knowing ſufficiently how to driue ſuch a bargaine. We therefore took a view of the ſhip, which the Generall would ſell, whom we drew to ſuch reaſon, that he was content to ſtand vnto mine owne mens iudgement, who eſteemed it to bee worth 700. crownes, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I deliuered him in earneſt of the ſumme, 2. baſtards, 2. minions, one thouſand of yron, & one thouſand of poulder: this bargaine thus made, he conſidered the neceſſitie wherein we were, hauing for al our ſuſtenance but mil & water: wherevpon being moued with pitie, he offered to relieue me with 20. barrels of meale, 6. pipes of beanes, one hogſhead of ſalt, and 100. of waxe to make candles. Moreouer, for ſomuch as he ſaw my ſouldiers goe barefoote, he offered me beſides 50. paire of ſhoes, which I accepted, and agreed of a price with him, and gaue him a bill of my hand for the ſame, for which vntil this preſent I am indebted to him. He did more then this, for particularly he beſtowed vpon my ſelfe a great iarre of oyle, a iarre of vineger, a barrel of oliues, and a great quantitie of riſe, and a barrel of white biſket: beſides he gaue diuers preſents to the principall officers of my company, according to their qualities. So that I may ſay, that we receiued as many courteſies of the General, as it was poſſible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtleſſe, he hath wonne the reputation of a good & charitable man, deſeruing to be eſteemed as much of vs al, as if he had ſaued all our liues. Incontinent after his departure, I ſpared no paines to haſten my men, to make biſcuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hoope my caſke to take in water needefull for the voyage.

Thus farre Laudoniere, concerning M. Haukins and his courteſie.

A relation of the commodities of Noua Hiſpania, and the *maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawkes mar-* chant, which liued 5. yeeres in the ſaid Countrey, and drewe the ſame at the requeſt of M. Richard Hakluyt Eſquire of Eiton in the Countie of Hereford, 1572.

S. Iohn de Vllua.

SAint Iohn de Vllua, is an Iſland not high aboue the water, whereas now the Spaniards, vpon M. Iohn Hawkins being there, are in making a ſtrong fort. In this place all the ſhippes that come out of Spaine with goods for theſe parts do vnlade. For they haue none other port ſo good as this is. The comming into this place hath 3. chanels, and the beſt of all is the Northermoſt, which goeth by the maine land: and on euery ſide of the chanels, there are many ſmall rockes as bigge as a ſmall barrell: they will make men ſtand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Iſland thereby called the Iſland of ſacrifices, whereas the Spaniards vſe in times paſt vnlade their goods. And for that they ſay there are vpon it ſpirits or deuils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In theſe places the North winde hath ſo great dominion, that oftentimes it deſtroyeth many ſhippes and barkes. This place is giuen to great ſickneſſe. Theſe Iſlands ſtand in 18. degrees and a halfe, and about the ſame is great plentie of fiſh.

Spirits.

Vera Cruz.

Fiue leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua is a faire riuer: it lieth Northweſt from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spaniards called Vera Cruz, and with ſmall veſſels or barkes, which they call Fragates, they carry all their marchandiſe which commeth out of Spaine, to the ſaid towne: and in like maner bring all the golde, ſiluer, Cochonelio, hides, and all other things that the ſhippes carry into Spaine vnto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they carry it to Mexico, and to Pueblo del los Angelos, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and diuers other places ſo farre within the Countrey, that ſome of them are 700. miles off, and ſome more and ſome leſſe, all vpon horſes, mules, and in waynes drawne with oxen, and in carres drawne with mules. In this towne of Vera Cruz within theſe 20. yeres, when women were brought to bedde, the children newe borne incontinently died: which is not ſo now in theſe dayes, God be thanked.

Muskito.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diſeaſes by reaſon of the great heate, and a certaine gnat or flie which they call a Muskito, & biteth both men and women in their ſleepe, and as ſoone as they are bitten, incontinently the fleſh ſwelleth as though they had bene bitten with ſome venemous worme. And this Muskito or gnat doeth moſt followe ſuch as are newly come into the Countrey: Many there are that die of this annoyance.

This towne is ſituated vpon the riuer aforeſaide, and compaſſed with woods of diuers maners and ſortes, and many fruits, as Oranges and Lemmons, Guiaues, and diuers others, and birds in them,

them, popiniayes both small and great, and some of them as bigge as a raucn, and their tailes as long as the taile of a Fesant. There are also many other kinde of birdes of purple couller, and small monkies marueilous proper. Popiniayes. Monkies.

This hotte or sicke Countrey continueth 45. miles towardes the Citie of Mexico: and the 45. miles being passed, then there is a temperate Countrey and full of tillage: but they water all their corne with riuers which they turne in vpon it. And they gather their wheate twise a yeere. And if they should not water the ground where as their corne is sowne, the Countrey is so hotte it would burne all. Wheate twise in a yeere.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it aboue 16000. households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was wonne in so short time, and with so little losse of men. Wherefore they are all Gentlemen and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the Cochonilio growing. Tlaxcalla a free Citie.

Mexico is a great Citie: it hath more then fiftie thousande households, whereof there are not past fiue or sixe thousande houses of Spaniards, all the other are the people of the Countrey, which liue vnder the Spaniards lawes. There are in this Citie stately buildings and many Monasteries of friers and nonnes which the Spaniards haue made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windoes, which is not so comely as the building of the Spaniards. This Citie standeth in the middest of a great lake, and the water goeth through all or the most part of the streetes, and there come small boates, which they call Canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to builde, and corne. Mexico.

This Citie is subiect to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kill people. This Citie is very well prouided of water to drinke, and with al maner of victuals, as fruits, fish and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guinie cocks and hennes, and all other foule. There are in this Citie euery wecke three faires or marktes, which are frequented with many people as well Spaniards as the people of the Countrey. There are in these faires or markets all maner of things that may bee inuented to sell, and in especiall things of the Countrey. The one of these faires is vpon the Monday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. Iames his faire is vpon the Thursday, and vpon Saturday is S. Iohns faire. In this Citie is alwayes the kings Gouernour or Viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there bee other places of Justice, yet this is aboue all; so that all men may appeale vnto this place, and may not appeale from this Citie, but onely into Spaine before the King: and it must be for a certaine summe; And if it be vnder that summe, then there is no appellation from them. Many riuers fall into this lake which the Citie standeth in: but there was neuer any place founde whither it goeth out.

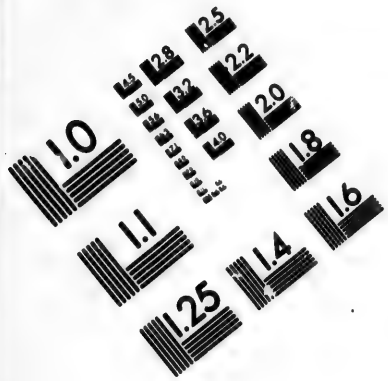
The Indians knowe a way to drowne the Citie, and within these 3. yeeres they would haue practised the same: but they which shoulde haue bene the doers of it were hanged, and euer since the Citie hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare least at sometime they might be deceiued: for the Indians loue not the Spaniards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and Orchards of the fruits of the Countrey marueilous faire, where the people haue great recreation. The men of this Citie are marueilous vicious, and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodies, more then they are in other Cities or townes in this Countrey. A way to drowne Mexico.

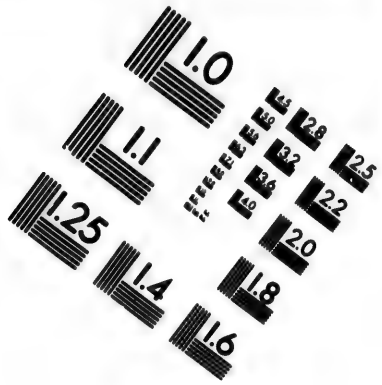
There are neere about this Citie of Mexico many riuers and standing waters, which haue in them a monstrous kinde of fishe which is marueilous rauening, and a great deuourer of men and cattell. He is wont to sleepe vpon the drie land many times: and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. Hee is like vnto a serpent sauing that he doeth not flye, neither hath he wings. Crocodiles.

There is Westout of Mexico a port towne which is on the Southsea, called Puerto de Nauidad, whereas there are shippes which they haue ordinarily for the Nauigation of China, which they haue newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico. Nauigation to China from port de Nauidad.

There is another porte towne which is called Culluacan on the South Sea which lyeth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 150. leagues from the same. And there the Spaniards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which as they say, is betweene the Newfounde land and Groenland, and they call it the Englishmens straite, which as yet was neuer fully found. They say, that Straight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spaniards accompt to be marueilous rich. The Northwest straight.

Towarde the North from Mexico, there are great store of siluer mynes. There is greater





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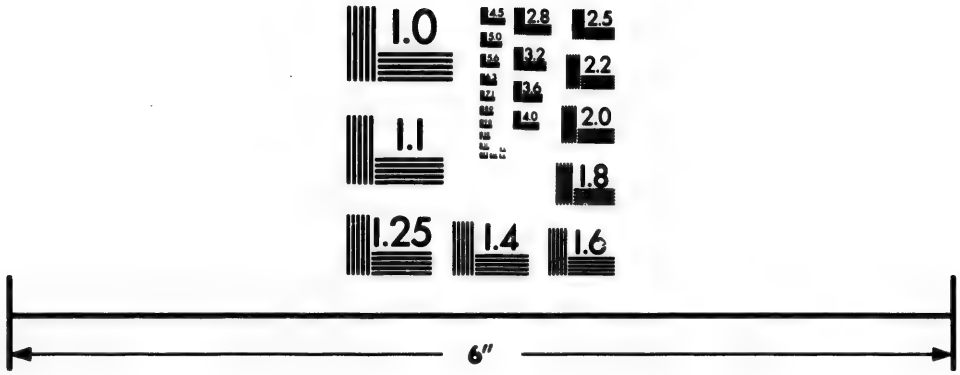

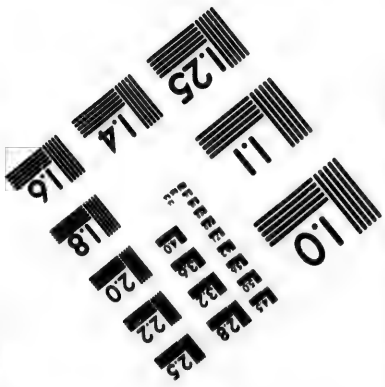

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quantitie of siluer founde in these mines towarde the North, then there is in any other partes: and as the most men of experience said alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly vpon great hilles and stonie ground, marualous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Painting earth. Out of some of the mines, the Indians finde a certaine kinde of earth of diuers couleurs, wherewith they paint themselues in times of their daunces, and other pastimes which they vse.

Golde mines. In this Countrey of Noua Hispania, there are also mines of gold, although the golde be commonly found in riuers, or very neere vnto riuers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great riuers and great store of fishe in them, not like vnto our kindes of fish. And there are marueilous great woods, and as faire trees as may bee seene of diuers sorts, and especially fiue trees that may make any shippe that goeth vpon the sea, okes and pineapples, and another tree which they call a Miskitoit beareth a fruite like vnto a peasecod marueilous sweete, which the wilde people gather and keepe it all the yeere, and eate it in steede of bread.

The Spaniards haue notice of seuen Cities which olde men of the Indians shewe them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They haue vsed and vse dayly much diligence in the seeking them, but they cannot finde any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a misse vpon them, so that they can not see them.

7. Cities by witchcraft not found of the seekers.

They haue vnderstanding of another Citie which they call Copalla, and in like maner, at my being in the Countrey, they haue vsed much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they haue found the lake on which it should stande, and a Canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and coulde not finde nor see any man nor the towne, which to their vnderstanding should stand on the same water or very neere the same.

The beastes of Noua Hispania. There is a great nomber of beastes or kine in the Countrey of Cibola, which were neuer brought thither by the Spaniards, but breed naturally in the Countrey. They are like vnto our oxen, saying that they haue long haire like a Lion, and short hornes, and they haue vpon their shoulders a bunche like a Camell, which is hier then the rest of their body. They are marueilous wilde and swift in running. They call the beastes or kine of Cibola,

Cibola abandoned. This Cibola is a Citie which the Spaniards founde nowe of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneis, windoes made of stone and timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to drawe their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones vpon the graues. And the Captaine would not suffer his soldiers to breake vp any part of these graues, saying, hee would come another time to doe it.

They asked certaine people which they mette, whither the people of this Citie were gone: And they made answere, they were gone downe a riuer which was thereby very great, and there had builded a Citie which was more for their commoditie.

This Captaine lacking things necessarie for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe without finding any treasure according to his expectation: neither founde they but fewe people, although they founde beaten wayes, which had bene much haunted and frequented. The Captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great checke of the gouernour, because he had not gone forwards and seene the ende of that riuer.

Water congealed to salt. They haue in the Countrey farre from the seaside, standing waters which are salt: And in the moneths of Aprill and May, the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings vse and profite.

Dogs of India described. Their dogges are all crooked backt as many as are of the Countrey breede, and cannot runne fast: their faces are like the face of a pigge or an hogge, with sharpe noses.

Cacao a fruit current as money. In a certaine prouince which is called Guatimala, and Sacanosco, there is growing great store of Cacao; which is a berrie like vnto an Almond: It is the best Marchandise that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meate to eate. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese or other things.

Fruites. There are many kinde of fruites of the Countrey which are very good, as Plantans, Sapotes, Guiaues, Pinas, Aluacatas, Tunas, Mamios, Lymons, Orenges, Walnuts, very smalland hard, and little meate in them, grapes which the Spaniards brought into the Countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the Countrey, and are very small, quinses, peches, figges, and but few apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and Calabasses.

There is much honie both of bees, and also of a kind of tree which they cal Maguez. This hauy of

of Maguez is not so sweete as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten onely with bread, then the other is: and the tree serueth for many things, as the leaues make threed to sowe any kinde of bags, and are good to couer or thatch houses, and for diuers other things.

They haue in diuers places of the Countrey many hot springs of water. As about all other, I haue seene one in the prouince of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, and it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe bee cast into it, within one halfe howre, it will be as well sodden, as it will be ouer a fire in halfe a daye. I haue seene halfe a Sheepe cast in, and immediatly it hath beene sodden, and I haue eaten parte of it. Hot springs.

There are many Hares and some Conies. There are no Partridges, but aboundance of Quayles. Hares and conies.

They haue great store of fishe in the South Sea, and many Oysters, and very great. The people doe open the Oysters, and take out the meate of them, and dry it, as they doe any other kind of fishe, and keepe them all the yeere: and when the times serue, they sende them abroad into the Countrey, to sell as all other fishe. They haue no Salmon, nor Trowte, nor Pele, nor Carpe, Tench, nor Pike, in all the Countrey. Sea fishe.

There are in the Countrey mightie high mountaines, and hils, and snowe vpon them. They commonly burne, and twise euery day they cast out much smoke, and ashes, at certaine open places, which are in the toppes of them. Mountaines.

There is among the wild people much Manna. I haue gathered of the same, and haue eaten it, and it is good. For the Apothecaries send their seruants at certain times, to gather of the same, for purgations, and other vses. Manna.

There are in the mountaines many wild hogs, which all men may kill, and Lyons and Tygers, which Tygers doe much harme to men that trauell in the wildernes.

In this Countrey, not long since, there were two poore men that found a meruelous rich myne, and when these men went to make a register of the same, according to the Lawe and custome, before the Kings officers, they thought this myne not meete for such men as they were, and violently tooke the said myne for the King, and gaue no part therof vnto the two poore men. And within certaine dales the Kings officers resorted thither to labour in the myne, and they found two great mightie hils were come together, so they founde no place to worke in. And in the time, while I was among them, which was fiue yeeres, there was a poore sheepheard, who keping of his sheepe, happened to finde a Well of quicke siluer, and he went in like manner to manifest the same, as the custome and manner is. The Kings officers deale in like order, as they did with the two poore men that found the rich myne, taking it quite from the sheepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke siluer, or part therof, they could neuer finde it againe. So these things haue bene declared vnto the King, who hath giuen commandement, that nothing being found in the fieldes, as mynes, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things haue bene done in this Countrey, which men might count for greate meruells. Mines discouered, not found again.

There is great abundance of suger here, and they make diuers confetues, and very good, & send them into Peru, whereas they sell them meruelous well, because they make none in those parts. Suger and confetues.

The people of the Countrey, are of a good stature, tawnie coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and giuen much to drinke both wine of Spaine, & also a certain kind of wine, which they make th hony of Maguez, and rootes, and other things which they vse to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and giuen to much beastlines, and void of all goodnes. In their wantonnes, they vse and commit sodomie, and with their mothers and daughters they haue their pleasures and pastimes. Whereuppon they are defended from the drinking of wines, vpon paines of money, as well he that selleth the wines, as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine, and in France, were not sufficient for the West Indias onely. Description of the Indians person and manners.

They are of much simplicitie, and great cowards, void of all valour, and are great Witches. They vse diuers times to talke with the Deuill, to whome they doe certaine sacrifices and oblations: many times they haue bene taken with the same, and I haue seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people are giuen to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the comming of the Spaniards: I say all manner of artes. They are very artificiall in making of Images, with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kinde of maner as he is. The finenes and excellencie of this is wonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should giue themselues to so fine an arte as this is. They are Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, and

Copper-

Copper Smiths, Carpenters, Maſons, Shoemakers, Tailers, Sadlers, Imbroderers, and of all other kind of ſciences: and they will, and doe worke ſo good cheape, that poore yong men that go out of Spaine, to get their liuing, are not ſet on worke. Which is the occaſion there are many idle people in the Countrey. For the Indian will liue all the weeke with leſſe then one groate, which the Spaniard cannot doe, nor any man elſe.

The Indians ignorance from whence they came.

They ſay, that they came of the linage of an olde man, which came thither in a boate of wood, which they call a Canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood, or after, neither can they giue any reaſon of the flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spaniards came firſt among them, they did certaine ſacrifice to an Image made in ſtone, of their owne inuention. The ſtone was ſet vpon a great hill, which they made of hickes of earth, they call it their Cowa. And certaine daies in the yeere, they did ſacrifice certaine olde men, and yong children, and onely beleeued in the Sunne and the Moone, ſaying, that from them they had all things that were neceſſarie for them. They haue in theſe parts great ſtore of cotton wooll, with which they make a manner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it ſerueth for ſhirts & ſmocks and all other kind of garments, which they weare vpon their bodies: and the Spaniards vſe it to all ſuch purpoſes, eſpecially ſuch as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all manner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I ſay, linnen cloth would be ſold out of all meaſure.

The Sunne and moone honoured.

The wild Indians.

The wild people goe naked, without any thing vpon them. The women weare the ſkinne of a Deere, before their priuities, and nothing elſe vpon all their bodies. They haue no care for any thing but onely from day to day for that which they haue neede to eate. They are bigge men, and likewiſe the women. They ſhoote in bowes, which they make of a cherrie tree, and their arrowes are of a Cane, with a ſharpe flint ſtone in the end of the ſame: they will pierce any coate of maile, and they kill Deere, and Cranes, and wild Geeſe, Duckes, and other fowle, and Woomes, and Snakes, and diuers other vermin, which they eate. They liue very long, for I haue ſeene men that haue bene 100. yeeres of age. They haue but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

Friers in reuerence.

The Indians haue the Friers in great reuerence. The occaſion is, that by them, and by their meanes, they are free, & out of bondage, which was ſo ordained by Charles the Emperour, which is the occaſion, that now there is not ſo much gold and ſiluer comming into Europe, as there was while the Indians were ſlaues. For when they were in bondage, they could not chuſe but doe their taſke euery daye, and bring their Maſters ſo much mettall out of their Mynes. But nowe they muſt be well paied, and much entreated to haue them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the Mynes, and to the King's quinto or cuſtome.

Copper mines.

There are many Mynes of Copper, in great quantitie, whereof they ſpend in the Countrey, as much as ſerueth their turnes. There is ſome gold in it, but not ſo much as will pay the coſtes of the fining. The quantitie of it is ſuch, and the Mynes are ſo farre from the ſea, that it will not be worth the fraight to carry it into Spaine. On the other ſide, the Kings officers will giue no licence to make Ordinance thereof: whereupon the Mynes lie vnlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the Countrey, ſo that with it they couer Churches, and other religious houſes: wherefore they ſhall not neede any of our lead, as they haue had neede thereof in times paſt.

The pompe of owners of Mynes.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the Mynes, is meruelous to behold. The apparell both of them, and of their wiues, is more to be compared to the apparell of Noble perſons, then otherwiſe. If their wiues goe out of their houſes, as vnto the Church, or any other place, they goe out with great Maieſtie, and with as many men and maides, as though ſhe were the wife of ſome Noble man. I will aſſure you, I haue ſeene a Myners wife goe to the Church, with 100. men, and 20. Gentlewomen, and maides. They keepe open houſe, who will, may come to eate their meate. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and ſupper. They are Princes in keeping of their houſes, and bountifull in all manner of things.

A good owner of Mynes muſt haue at the leaſt 100. ſlaues, to carrye, and to ſtampe his mettals: he muſt haue many Mules, and men to keepe the Mynes: he muſt haue mils to ſtampe his mettals: he muſt haue many waines, and Oxen to bring home wood to fine the ore: he muſt haue much quickeſiluer, and a meruelous quantitie of ſalt brine, for the mettals, and he muſt be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quickeſiluer, it is a newe inuention, which they finde more profitable, then to fine their ore with lead. Howbeit the ſame is very coſtly. For there is neuer a hundreth of quickeſiluer, but coſteth at the leaſt 60. pounds ſterling. And the Mynes fall daily in decay, and of leſſe value: and the occaſion is, the fewe Indians that men haue to labour their Mynes.

The plenty of cattell.

There is in new Spaine, a meruelous increaſe of cattel, which daily doth increaſe, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may haue a great Steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow

tallowe in his bellie for 16. shillings, and some one man hath 20. thousand head of cattell of his owne. They sel the hides vnto the Merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be wel spared. They spend many in the Countrey in shoes and bootes, and in the mynes: and as the Countrey is great, so is the increase of the cattell wonderfull. In the Iland of Santo Domingo, they commonly kil the beasts for their hides and tallowe, and the fowles eate the carkales: and so they doe in Cuba, and Porto Ricco, whereas there is much suger, and Cana fistula, which daily they lade into Spaine. They haue great increase of sheepe in like maner, and daily doe intend to increase them. They haue much wool, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as serueth the Countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I haue seene cloth made in the Citie of Mexico, which hath bene sold for ten pezos a vare, which is almost 4. pounds English, and the vare is lesse then our yard. They haue Daw growing in the Countrey, and Alam, and Brasill, and diuers other things to dye withall, so that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth, but hereafter our cloth will be little set by in these partes, vnlesse it be some fine cloth. The wools are commonly 4. shillings euery roue, which is 25. pounds: and in some places of the Countrey that are farre from the places whereas they make cloth, it is worth nothing, and doth serue but onely to make bedes for men to lye on.

Sheepe, wool. Cloth. Daw. Alam. Brasill.

They make hats, as many as doe serue the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

Many people are set on worke, both in the one, and in the other: they spin their wooll as we do, and in steepe of oile, they haue hogs grease: they twist not their threed so much as we doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kertles, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for selle then 12. pence the vare. It is called Bayall.

They haue much silke, and make all maner of sortes thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Veluets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, sauing that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

They haue many horses, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They haue as good Iennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they be in Spaine. And with their Mules they carry all their goods from place to place.

Horses. Mules. Iennets.

There is raine vsually in this Countrey from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, euery day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for the waters which fal in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroied. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and alls all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horses and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Miners should bee without it, they could not labour their Mines: for all their seruants eate none other bread, but only of this Maiz, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England.

Maiz graine for man and beast.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more, vnto the King euery yeere. This is paid in all Noua Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, sauing the citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the Citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so little a time. And although at the first, they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to charge vpon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes euery yeere for the King, which is as beneficiall vnto him, and as great cost vnto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods from Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be carried ouer the necke of a lande, vnto a porte towne, in the south sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ship their goods againe, and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither 3. moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. daies. They haue seldome foule weather, and few ships are lost in the south sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit, 1568. there was a ship made out of Peru, to seeke Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the south of the Equinoctiall, and found an Iland with many blacke people, in such number, that the Spaniards durst not goe on land among them. And because they had bene long vppon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so durst not on land, to know what commoditie was vpon it. And for want of victuals, they arriued in Noua Hispania, in a port called Porte de Nauidad, and thence returned backe againe into Peru, whereas they were euill entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Iland.

Salomons Ilands sought, and found in the South sea. 1568.

They haue in this port of Nauidad, ordinarily their ships, which goe to the Iles of China, which are certain Iles, which they haue found within these 7. yeeres. They haue brought from thence

China found by the West.

thence gold, and much Cinamon, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that euery man that may haue a peece of them, will giue the weight of siluer for it. There was a marriner that brought a pearle, as big as a doues egge, from thence, & a stone, for which the Viceroy would haue giuen 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these Ilands, & the Spaniards haue not many of them as yet: "for the Portingals disturbe them much, & combate with them euery day, saying, it is part of their conquest, & to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, & they are great marriners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, & siluer, & silke of all sorts, & goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine lande, haue certaine traffike with some of these Ilanders, & come thither in a kind of ships, which they haue with one sile, and bring of such merchandize as they haue neede of. And of these things there haue bene brought into Newe Spaine both cloth of gold, & siluer, & diuers maners of silkes, & workes of gold and siluer, maruelous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a Countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the Ilands 150. leagues: and the Ilands are not farre from the Moluccas northwards. And the people of those Ilands, which the Spaniards haue, say, that if they would bring their wiues & children, that then they should haue among them what they would haue. So there goe women daily, & the king paieth all the charges of the maried men & their wiues, that go to those Ilands. And there is no doubt, but the trade will be meruelous rich in time to come.

"This is to be vnderstood of the time when this discourse was written. anno 1572.

China ships with ons saile.

It was my fortune to be in companie with one Diego Gutieres, who was the first Pilot that euer went to that Countrey of the Phillipinaes. He maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, aswel riches, as others, and saith, if there be any Paradise vpon earth, it is in that countrey: and adderh, that sitting vnder a tree, you shall haue such sweete smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor haue any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smels will be so sweete. This man hath good liuings in Noua Hispania, notwithstanding he will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure, there is aboundance, as he maketh mention. In this Countrey of Noua Hispania, there are many Bucks and Does, but they haue not so long hornes as they haue here in England. The Spaniards kill them with handguns, and with graphounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes, and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, and like wise they make maruelous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird, which is like vnto a Rauen, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such aboundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead flesh which is in the Countrey. Other wise the aboundance of carren is so much, that it would make a maruelous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded, there shall none of them be killed. These birds are alwaies about Cities, and Townes, where there is much flesh killed.

Chamoice.

Spanish leather.

Indian Rauens not killed, to deuoure carrion.

The Indians are much fauoured by the Iustices of the Countrey, and they call them their Orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas iustice is, they are alwell punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard being farre from Mexico, or any place of iustice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedie, he maketh the Indian doe what he commandeth him, and if he will not doe it, he beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, vntill he find an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, and although it be a Knight, or a right good Gentleman, he is foorthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Iustice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and ciuill, as they are: and if they should haue this fauour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may call them dogs, and vse other euill words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needes put it vp, and goe his way.

Wrongs done to the Indians punished.

Iustice cause of ciuilitie.

The poore Indians will goe euery day 2. or 3. leagues to a Faire or Market, with a childe vpon their necks, with as much fruite or rootes, or some kind of ware, as cotton woll, or Tabis of all colours, as shall be not past worth a pennie: and they will maintaine themselues vpon the same. For they liue with a maruelous small matter.

They are in such pouertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall haue an Indian to goe with you all the day, with your bed vpon his backe, for one rotall of plate: and this you shall haue from one Towne to another. Here you are to vnderstand, that all men that trauell by the

the way,are alwaies wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeues, and will steale all that they may,and you shall haue no recompence at their hands.

The garments of the women, are in this manner. The vppermost part is made almost like to a womans smock,sauing that it is as broad aboue as beneath,and hath no sleeues, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of lumen cloth, made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers,of red Cadis and blewe,and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they haue another cloth made after the same manner, and that goeth round about their waste,and reacheth to their shoes,and ouer this a white fine sheete vpon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made vp round with an haire lace about their head. And the men haue a small paire of breeches,of the same cotton wooll, and their shirtes which hang ouer their breeches,and a broad girdle about their middles,and a sheete with flowers vpon their backs, and with a knot vpon one shoulder,and an hat vpon their heads,and a paire of shoes. And this is all their apparell,although it be a Calique,which they vse in all the Countrey. The apparell of the Indians.

The wals of the houses of the Indians,are but plaine, but the stones are laid so close, that you shall not well perceaue the ioynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done,and finely ioyned together,there is some beautie in their wals. They are meruelous small and light,as Pumie stones. They make their doores very little,so that there can goe in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses,are small,and one roome they haue reserued for their friendes, when they come to talke one with another,and that is alwaies faire matted, and kept meruelous cleane, and hanged full of images,and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eate their meate vpon the ground, and sleepe on the ground vpon a mat,without any bed,both the gentlemen,and other. The houses of the Indians.

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another,aswell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not howe to doe it with an yron,and a stone. Fire rubbed out of two sticks.

In Noua Hispania,euery 10. or 12. leagues they haue a contrarie speech, sauing one by about Mexico: so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey. Diuers speeches.

Mutezuma which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest Princes which haue bene seene in our time,or long before. He had all kind of beasts,which were then in the country,and all maner of birds,and fishes,and all maner of wormes,which creepe vpon the earth,and all trees,and flowers,and herbes,all fashioned in siluer and gold,which was the greatest part of all his treasure,and in these thinges had he great ioy,as the olde Indians report. And vnto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma,is hidden,and that the Spaniards haue it not. This King would giue none of his people freedome, nor forgiue any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were neuer so poore. For if it had bene told him, that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute,according to the custome, then he would haue him bound to lye at such times as tributes should be paid, a quill full of Lyce, saying, he would haue none free,but himselfe. He had as many wiues,or concubines, as he would haue, and such as liked him. Alwaies whensoeuer he went out of his Court,to passe the time,he was borne vpon 4. of his noble mens shoulders,set vpon a table,some say,of gold,and very richly wrested with feathers, of diuers and many colours and flowers. He washed all his bodie euery day,were it neuer so cold. And vnto this day,so doe all the Indians,and especially the women. Mutezuma, and his riches. The Indians wash themselues euery day.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subiection. They may haue in their houses no sword nor dagger,nor knife with any pointe,nor may weare vppon them any manner of armes, neither may they ride vpon any horse, nor mules, in any sadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They haue attempted diuers times to make insurrections,but they haue bene ouerthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardines.

There remaine some among the wild people,that vnto this day eate one another. I haue seene the bones of a Spaniard,that haue bene as cleane burnished, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are carried away by them, but they neuer come againe, whether they be men or women. Campbals.

They haue in the sea Ilands of red salt in great aboundance, whereas they lade it from place to place,about the sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides, and fishe: and in their mynes they occupie a great quantitie. Iland of salt.

They haue much Allam, and as good as any that is in all the Leuant, so that they neede none of that commoditie. Allam.

They haue also of their owne growing,much Cana fistula, and much Salsa Perilla, which is meruelous good for many kind of diseases. Cassia fistula. Salsa Perillia.

There are in Florida, many Iarrefalcons,and many other kind of Hawkes,which the Gentle- Florida.

men

men of Noua Hispania send for euery yeere. The Spaniards haue two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

The 3. vnfortunate voyage made with the Iesus, the Minion, *and foure other shippes, to the partes of Guinea, and the VVest Indias*, in the yeeres 1567. and 1568. by M. Iohn Hawkins.

October. The shippes departed from Plymmouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567. and had reasonable weather, until the seuenth day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape Finester, there arose an extreame storme, which continued foure daies, in such sorte, that the fleete was dispersed, and all our great boates lost, and the Iesus our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serue the voyage: whereupon in the same storme we sette our course homeward, determining to giue ouer the voyage: but the eleuenth day of the same moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the Islands of Grand Canaries, where according to an order before prescribed, all our shippes before dispersed, mette in one of those Islands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of Nouember, towards the coast of Guinea, and arriued at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of Nouember: where wee landed 150. men, hoping to obtaine some Negroes, where we gatte but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their enuenomed arrowes: & although in the beginning, they seemed to be but small hurtes, yet there hardly escaped any, that had bloode drawen of them, but died in strange sorte, with their mouthes shutte, some ten dayes before he died, and after their woundes were whole, where Iimy stiffe had one of the greatest woundes, yet thankes be to God, escaped. From thence we past the time vpon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence, the Riuers from Rio grande, vnto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Januarie, in which time wee had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negroes: yet notwithstanding the sickenes of our men, and the late time of the yeere commanded vs away: and thus hauing nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indias, I was with the rest of our companie in consultation to goe to the coast of Guyne, hoping there to haue obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to haue defraied our charge. But euen in that present instant, there came to vs a Negro, sent from a King, oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise, that as many Negroes as by these wares might be obtained, as well of his part, as of ours, should be at our pleasure: whereupon we concluded to giue aide, and sent 120. of our men, which the fifteenth of Januarie, assaulted a towne of the Negroes of our Allies aduersaries, which had in it 8000. Inhabitants, and very strongly impaled and fenced, after their manner, but it was so well defended, that our men preuailed not, but lost fiue men, and 40. hurt: so that our men sent foorth with to me for more helpe: whereupon considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commodity of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the King of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being couered with dry Palme leaues) obtained the towne, and put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250. persons, men, women, and children, and by our friend the King of our side, there was taken 600. prisoners, whereof we hoped to haue had our choise: but the Negro (in which nation is seldome or neuer found truth) meant nothing lesse: for that night he remooued his campe, and prisoners, so that we were faine to content vs with those fewe which we had gotten our selues.

Gomera. Nouember. Enuenomed arrowes. December. Ianuarie. A towne of 8000. Negroes taken. No truth in Negroes.

Now had we obtained betweene 4. and 500. Negroes, wherewith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indias, and there, for our Negroes, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with some gaines, whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watring, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before hath bene accustomed, til the 27. day of March, which day we had sight of an Island, called Dominica, vpon the coast of the west Indias, in 14. degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards, as we might, somewhat hardly, because the King had straightly commanded all his Gouernours in those partes, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, & courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita vnto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worthy noting, sauing at Cape de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha, from whence come all the pearles: the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer vs to take water, he had signified his minde with diuers

February. March. Dominica. April. Ship.

diuers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entred, and furnished himselfe with a 100. Hargabuliers, so that he thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negroes: of which purpose he had not greatly failed vnles we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his fauour) we were enforced to do, & so with 200. men brake in vpon their bulwarkes, & entred the towne with the losse only of ii. men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spanyards because after their volye of shott discharged, they all fled. June. Rio de la Hacha taken.

Thus hauing the town, with some circumstance, as partly by the Spanyards desire of Negroes, & partly by friendship of the Treasorer, we obtained a secrete trade: whereupon the Spanyards reuolted to vs by night, & bought of vs to the nomber of 200. Negroes: in all other places where we traded the Spanyards inhabitants were glad of vs and traded willingly.

At Cartagena the last towne we thought to haue seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spanyard the gouernor was so straight, & because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24. of July, hoping to haue escaped þ time of their stormes which then soone after began to raigne, the which they cal Furicanos, but passing by the west end of Cuba, towardes the coast of Florida there happened to vs the xii. day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of 4. daies, which so beat the Jesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and with all was in so extreame a leake that we were rather vpon the point to leaue her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe sought the coast of Florida where we found no place nor Hauen for our ships because of the shalownes of the coast: thus being in greater dispaire, & taken with a new storme which continued other 3. dayes, we were inforced to take for our succor þ Port which serueth the Citie of Mexico called Saint John de Vllua which standeth in xix. degrees: in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way iii. ships which carried passengers to þ nomber of C. which passengers we hoped should be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, and a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete: shortly after this the xvi. of September we entered the Port of Saint John de Vllua and in our entrie the Spanyardes thinking vs to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboorde vs, which being deceiued of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediatly when they sawe our demaund was nothing but victuals, were reconforted. I found also in the same Port xii. ships which had in them by the report. 200000. li. in golde and siluer, all which (being in my possession, with the Ringes Iland as also the passengers before in my way thitherwarde staide) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the wayght of a grote: onely because I would not bee delayed of my dispatch, I staied two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was 200. miles from vs, to the Presidentes and Counsell there, shewing them of our arriuall there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our shippes and victualles, which wantes wee required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidentes and Counsell there shoulde with all conueniene speede take order, that at the arriuall of the Spanishe fleete, which was daily looked for, there might no cause of quarrel rise betweene vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commaundement might bee had in that behalfe. This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at nyght, being the very day of our arriuall, in the next morning which was the sixteenth day of the same moneth, we sawe open of the Hauen xiii. great shippes, and vnderstanding them to be the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediatly to aduertise the General of the fleete of my being there, doing him to vnderstand, that before I would suffer them to enter þ Port, there should some order of condicions passe betweene vs for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace: now it is to be vnderstood that this Port is a little Iland of stones not three foote aboue the water in the hiest place, and but a bow shoote of length any way, this Iland standeth from the maine land two bowe shootes or more, also it is to be vnderstood that there is not in all this coaste any other place for shippes to arriue in safetie, because the North wind hath there such violence, that vnles the shippes be very safely moored with their ancres fastned vpon this Iland, there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Hauen was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboord the other, so that we could not giue place to them, nor they to vs: here I began to bewaile þ which after followed, for now said I, I am in two dangers, & forced to receaue the one of them. That was, either I must haue kept out the fleete from entring the Port, þ which with Gods helpe I was very well able to do, or els suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they neuer faile to execute, where they may haue opportunitie, or circumuent it by any meanes: if I had kept them out, then had there bin preset shipwarke of al þ fleete which amounted in value to sixe Millions, which was in

Cartagena.

July. Furicanos.

Storme.

September. Saint John de Vllua a Port.

The Spaniardes deceiued.

Our requests.

The fleete of Spaine.

The maner of the Port S. Iohn de Vllua.

North windes perilous.

1800. thouſand pounds. value of our money 1800000. li. which I conſidered I was not able to anſwere, fearing the Queens Maieſties indignation in ſo weighty a matter. Thus with my ſelfe reuoluing ꝑ doubts, thought rather better to abide ꝑ Iutt of the vncertainty, then the certainty. The vncertaine doubt I accompt was their treaſon which by good policy I hoped might be preuented, & therefore as chuſing the leaſt miſchiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our firſt meſſenger come & returned from the fleete with report of the arriual of a vice Roy, ſo that he had auctority, both in all this Prouince of Mexico (otherwiſe called noua Hiſpania) & in the ſea, who ſent vs word that we ſhould ſend our cõditions, which of his part ſhould (for the better maintenãce of amity betweene ꝑ Princes) be both honorably granted, & faithfully performed, with many faire words how paſſing the coaſt of the Indies he had vnderſtood of our honeſt behauiour towards the inhabitants where we had to do aſwel elſwhere as in ꝑ ſame Port, the which I let paſſe, thus following our demand we required victual for our money, & licence to ſel aſmuch ware as might furniſh our nãs, & that there might be of either part xii. gentlemen as hoſtages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Iland for our better ſafety might be in our owne poſſeſſion, during our abode there, & ſuch ordinance as was planted in the ſame Iland which was xi. peeces of Braſſe: & that no Spanyarde might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon: theſe conditions at the firſt, he ſomewhat miſliked, chiefly the gard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which it ſeemed had had, we had ſoone knowen our fare: for with the firſt North wind they had cut our cables and our ſhips had gone aſhore: but in the ende hee concluded to our requeſt, bringing the xii. hoſtages to vs, which with all ſpeede of either part were receaued, with a writing from the vice Roy ſigned with his hand and ſealed with his ſeale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blowne with cõmandement that none of either part ſhould be meane to inuiolate the peace vpon paine of death: & further it was concluded that the two generals of the fleetes ſhould meete, & giue faith eche to other for the performance of the premiſſes which was ſo done. Thus at the end of 3. daies all was concluded and the fleete entred the Port, ſaluting one another as the maner of the ſea doth require. Thus as I ſaid before, thurſday we entred the Port, friday we ſawe the fleete, and on monday at night they entred the Port: then we laboured ii. daies placing the Engliſh ſhips by them ſelues & the Spaniſh ſhips by them ſelues, the captaines of each part & inferiour men of there partes promiſſing great amity of all ſides: which euen as vñ all fidelity was ment of our part, ſo the Spanyardes ment nothing leſſe of their parts, but from the maine land had furniſhed them ſelues with a ſupplie of men to the nomber of 1000. and ment the next thurſday being the 23. of September at dinner time to ſet vpon vs of all ſides, the ſame thurſday in the morning the treaſon being at hand, ſome appearance ſhewed, as ſhifting of weapon from ſhip to ſhip, planting and bending of ordinãce from the ſhip to the Iland where our men warded, paſſing too & fro of companies of men more then required for their neceſſary buſines, and many other yll likelyhodes which cauſed vs to haue a vehement ſuſpition, and therewithall ſent to the vice Roy to enquire what was ment by it, which ſent immediatly ſtraight commandement to vnplant all thinges ſuſpicious, & alſo ſent word that he in the faith of a vice Roy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not ſatiſfied with this anſwere becauſe we ſuſpected a great nomber of men to be hid in a great ſhip of 900 tonnes which was moored next vnto the Minion ſent againe to the vice Roy the maiſter of the Ieſus which had the Spaniſh tongue and required to bee ſatiſfyed if any ſuch thing were or not, which ſeeing the vice Roy that the treaſon muſt bee diſcouered, forthwith ſtayd our maiſter, blewe the trumpet, and of all ſides ſet vpon vs: our men which warded a ſhore being ſtricken with ſodein feare, gaue place, fled, and ſought to recouer ſuccour of the ſhippes, the Spanyardes being before prouided for the purpoſe landed in all places in multitudes from their ſhippes which they might eaſely doe without boates, and ſlewe all our men a ſhore without mercy, a fewe of them eſcaped aboorde the Ieſus. The great ſhippe which had by the eſtimation 300. men placed in her ſecretly, immediatly fell aboorde the minion which by Gods apointment in the time of the ſuſpition we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the Minion was made ready to auoide and ſo leeſing her hedfaſtes, and hayling away by the ſtearne faſtes ſhee was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe ſhe defended the violence of the firſt brunt of theſe CCC. men. The Pynion being paſte out they came aboorde the Ieſus, which alſo with very much a doe and the loſſe of many of our men were defended and kept out. Then were there alſo two other ſhippes that aſſaulted the Ieſus at the ſame inſtant, ſo that ſhee had hard getting looſe, but yet with ſome time we had cut our hedfaſtes and gotten out by the ſtearne faſtes. Now when the Ieſus and the Pynion were gotten aboad two ſhippes length from the Spaniſh fleete, the fight beganne hote of all ſides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spanyardes was ſuppoſed to be ſuncke their vice Admirall burned and one other of there principall ſhips ſuppoſed to be ſunke, ſo that the ſhips,

A vice Roy.

Faire words begiled.

Our requeſts.

The peace concluded.

Treaſon.

A vice Roy faile of his words.

The treaſon braſte forth.

Sodden feare.

The Minion eſcapeth hardily.

The Ieſus eſcaped hardily.

Sharpe wars.

3. Ships of the Spanyardes conſumed.

ships were little to annoy vs.

Then is it to bee vnderstood that all the ordinance vpon the Ilande was in the Spanyardes handes, which did vs so great annoyance, that it cutt all the Mastes and yardes of the Iesus, in such sort that there was no hope to cary her away: also it sunke our small shippes, whereupon wee determined to place the Iesus on that side of the Mynion that shee myght abide all the batterie from the lande, and so be a defence for the Mynion till night, and then to take such reliefe of victuall and other necessaries from the Iesus as the time woulde suffer vs, and to leaue her. As wee were thus determining and had placed the Minion from the shott of the lande, suddenly the Spanyardes had fired two great shippes which were comming directly with vs, and hauing no meanes to auoide the fire, it bread among our men a marueilous feare, so that some sayd, let vs depart with the Minion, other sayde, let vs see where the winde will carrie the fyre from vs. But to bee short, the Mynions men which had alwayes there sayles in a readinesse, thought to make sure worke, and so without eyther consent of the Captayne or Master cutte their sayle, so that verie hardly I was receaued into the Mynion.

A hard case.

Fire.

The most part of the men that were left a lyue in the Iesus, made shift and followed the Minion in a small boat, the rest which the little boate was not able to receaue, were inforced to abide the mercy of the Spanyards (which I doubt was very little): so with the Minion onely and the Iudith (a small barke of fiftye tunne) wee escaped, which barke the same nyght forsooke vs in our great myserie: wee were nowe remooued with the Mynion from the Spanyshe shippes two bowe shootes and there roade all that nyght: the next morning wee recouered an Ilande a myle from the Spanyardes where there tooke vs a North winde, and being left onely with two Ankers and two cables (for in this conflicte wee loste three Cables and two Ankers) wee thought alwayes vpon death which euer was present, but God preserued vs to a longer tyme.

Small hope to be had of tyrants.

A storme.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Satturday wee set sayle, and hauing a great nomber of men and lyttle victuals our hope of life waxed lesse and lesse: some desired to yelde to the Spanyardes, some rather desired to obtayne a place where they might giue themselues to the Infidels, and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: so thus with manie sorowfull hearts wee wandred in an vnknowen Sea by the space of fourteene dayes, tyll hunger inforced vs to seeke the lande, for hides were thought very good meate, rattes, cattes, mise and dogges none escaped that myght bee gotten, parrates and monkayes that were had in great prise, were thought there very profitable if they serued the tourne one dinner: thus in the ende the eyght day of October wee came to the lande in the botome of the same bay of Mexico in twenty three degrees and a halfe where wee hoped to haue founde inhabitantes of the Spanyardes, reliefe of victualles, and place for the repaire of our shippe, which was so sore beaten with shotte from our enemyes and brused with shooting of our owne ordinance, that our weary and weake armes were scarce able to defende and keepe out the water. But all thinges happened to the contrary, for we founde neyther people, victuall, nor hauen of reliefe, but a place where hauing faire weather with some perill we might land a boate: our people being forced with hunger desired to be set a land, whereunto I concluded.

Small hope of life.

Hard choise.

Miseries.

October 1568.

Many miseries.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to goe homewards, I put apart, so that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one side and a hundred of the other side: these hundred men we set a land with all diligence in this little place before said, which being landed, we determined there to refresh our water, and so with our little remaine of victuals to take the Sea.

The next day hauing a lande with me fiftie of our hundreth men that remained for the speedier preparing of our water aboorde, there arose an extreme storme, so that in three dayes we could by no meanes repayre our shippes: the shippe also was in such perill that euery houre we looked for shipwracke.

The greatest miserie of all.

But yet God againe had mercie on vs, sent faire weather, had aboorde our water, and departed the sixteene day of October, after which day wee had faire and prosperous weather till the sixteene day of Nouember, which day God be praysed wee were cleere from the coast of the Indians, and out of the Chanell and Goulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Cuba. After this growing neere to the colde Countrie, our men being oppressed with Famine, died continually, and they that

Nouember.

The goulfe of Bahama.

were left, grewe into such weakenes that wee were scantly able to manure our ship, and the winde being alwaies yll for vs to recouer England, determined to go with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to releeue our company & other extreame wants. And being arriued the last day of December. December in a place neare vnto Vigo called Ponte vedra, our men with excesse of freshe meate grewe into miserable diseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there was none of our men suffered to goe a lande, yet by accesse of the Spanyardes, our feblenes was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceassed not to seeke by all meanes to betraie vs, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships & xii. fresh men wherewith we repaired our wants as wee might, and departing the xx. day of January 1568. arriued in Mounts bay in Cornewale the xxv. Januarie. of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a paynfull man with his penne, and as great a time as hee had that wrote the liues and deathes of the martirs.

Iohn Hawkins.

The Relation of Dauid Ingram of Barking, in the Countie of *Essex Sayler, of sundry things which he with others did see, in traueiling by* land from the most Northerly partes of the Baie of Mexico (where he with many others were set on shoare by Master Hawkins) through a great part of America, vntill he came within fiftie leagues or there abouts of Cape Britton.

ABout the beginning of October, Anno 1568. Dauid Ingram with the rest of his company being 100. persons in all, were set on land by M. Iohn Hawkins, about sixe Leagues to the West of the riuer La mina, or Rio de Minas, which standeth about 140. leagues west & by North from the cape of Florida, who trauseling towards cape Britton, spent about 12. moneths in the whole, And about seuen moneths thereof in those Countries, which lie towards the North of the riuer of May, in which time (as the said Ingram thinketh) he traueiled by land two thousand miles at the least, and neuer continued in any one place aboue three or foure dayes, sauing onely at the Citie of Balma, where he stayed sixe or seuen dayes.

Kings. There are in those partes (sayth he) very many Kings, commonly within a hundreth or a hundreth and twenty miles one from an other, who are at continual warres together: The first King that they came before, dwelt in a Countrey called Giricka, who caused them to be stripped naked, and wondring greatly at the whitenes of their skins, let them depart without further harme.

Large precious stones. The Kings in those Countries are clothed with painted or colloured garments, and thereby you may know them, and they weare great precious stones, which commonly are Rubies, being 4. inches long, and two inches broad. And if the same bee taken from them, either by force or sleight, they are presently deprined of their kingdomes.

The Kings in their maiestie. When they meane to speake with any person publikely, they are alwaies carried by men in a sumptuous chaire of Siluer or Christal, garnished with diuers sortes of precious stones.

The maner of saluting their kings. And if you will speake with the king at your first approching neere to him, you must kneele downe on both your knees, and then arise againe and come somewhat neerer him, within your length, the kneele downe againe as you did before. Then take of the earth or grasse between both your hands, kissing the backside of each of them, and put the earth or grasse on the crowne of your head, and so come, & kisse the kings feete. Which circumstances being performed, you may then arise and stand vp, and talke with him.

How to know the noble men. The Noble men and such as be in special fauour with the King, do commonly weare feathers in the haire of their heads for the most part, of a Byzze, as bigge as a goose of russet collour. And this is the best marke that this Ingram can giue to know him by.

Pearle. There is in some of those Countries great aboundance of pearle, for in euery cottage he found pearle, in some houses a quart, in some a pottle, in some a pecke, more or lesse, where he did see some as great as a beane. And Richard Browne one of his companions, found one of these great pearles in one of their Canoes or boats, which pearle he gaue to Mounsier Campain, who tooke them aboard his shy, and brought them to Newhauen in France,

Bracelets of Gold. All the people generally do weare Manillos or Bracelets, as big as a mans finger, vpon each of

of their armes, and the like on the small of erthe of their legs, wherrof commonly one is golde and two siluer.

And many of the women also doe weare plates of golde, couering their bodies in maner of a payre of curets, and many bracelets and chaines of great pearle. Curets of golde.

The people commonly are of good fauour, feuter & shape of body, of growth aboue fiue foote high, somewhat thicke, with their faces and skins of colour like an olyue, and toward the North somewhat tawnie, but some of them are painted with diuers colours, they are very swift of foote, the haire of their heads is shauen in sundry spots, and the rest of their head is traced. The fauour and shape of the people.

In the South partes of these countreys they go all naked, sauing that the Noble mens priuities are couered with the necke of a goorde, and the womens priuities with the bayne or leafe of the palme tree. But in the North partes they are clothed with beastes skins, the hayrie side being next to their bodies in winter. Naked people

They are so brutish & beastly, that they will not forbeare the vse of their wiues in open presence. Brutish behauiour.

They are naturally very courteous, if you do not abuse them, either in their persons or goods, but vse them courteously. The killing or taking of their beasts, birds, fishes, or fruites cannot offende them, except it be of their cattell which they keepe about their houses, as Kine, Guinie hennes, or such like. People courteous.

If any of them doe holde vp both their handes at length together, and kisse the backes of them on both sides, then you may vndoubtedly trust them, for it is the greatest token of friendship that may be. A sure token of friendship.

If any of them shal come vnto you with a horsetaile in his hand, then you may assure your selfe that hee is a Messenger from the King, and to him you may safely commit your person, or go to the king, or any where els, or by him send any thing or message to the king. For these men are alwayes either Ensigne bearers in the warres, or the kings messengers, who will neuer betray you. Messengers from the king

If you will haue any of the people come aboue your ship, hang out some white cloth vpon a staffe, for that is a signe of amitie. To allure the people to speach.

If you will bargaine for ware with them, leaue the thing that you will sell vpon the ground, and go from it a prettie way off: then will they come and take it, and set downe such wares as they will giue for it in the place: And if you thinke it not sufficient, leaue the wares with signes that you like it not, and they will bring more, vntill either they or you be satisfied, or will giue no more. Otherwise you may hang your wares vpon a long poles end, and so put more or lesse on it, vntill you haue agreed on the bargaine. The maner of traffique and dealing with them.

When they goe to the warres, they march in battell aray two and three in a ranck. How they march in battell.

Their Trumpets they doe make of certaine beasts teeth, they haue a kinde of Drum which they make of beastes skins, they make shields and Targets of the skins of beastes, compassed with willowe twigs, and being dried, they are strong and defensible. Their weapons and instruments for warre.

Their weapons are dartes, headed with yron, the heads are two fingers broad, and halfe a foot long, which are fastened within a socket.

They haue also shorte bowes, strung with ỹ barke of trees, being halfe an inch broad, & the arrowes are of bone, a yarde long, nocked and headed with siluer & bone, and their arrowes are of small force within a stones cast of them, and you may put them by with a staffe a prettie way off.

They haue short broad swordes of blacke yron of the length of a yarde, or very neere an elle, bearing edges thicker then backs of knines, somewhat like the foyles in our fence schooles.

They haue crooked knines of yron, somewhat like a woodknife, or hanger, wherewith they will carue excellently both in wood and bone.

Their Ensigne is a horse taile, with glasse or Chrystall in some of them being dyed in sundry colours, as red, yellow, greene, &c.

The people in those Countreys are professed enemies to the Canibals or men eaters: The Canibals doe most inhabite betweene Norumbega, & Bariniah, they haue teeth like dogs teeth, and thereby you may know them. In the warres they doe pitch their campe as neere as they may vnto some wood of Palme tree, which yeelde them meate, drinke, and present remedy against poysoned arrowes. Canibals.

Their buildings are weake and of small force, their houses are made round like Doue houses, and they doe dwell together in Townes and Villages. And some of them haue banqueting houses in the top of them, made like the louuer of a hall, builded with pillars of massie siluer, and chrystall, framed square: whereof many of them are as big as a bopes leg of fifteene yeeres of age, and some lesse. Their houses and buildings.

This Ingram did also see diuers Townes and Villages, as Gunda, a Towne a slight shoote Townes and Villages.

shoote in length.

Ochala, a great Towne a mile long.

Balma, a rich Citie, a mile and a halfe long.

Bega, a Countrey, and Towne of that name, three quarters of a mile long, where are good store of Oxe hides.

Saguanah, a Towne almost a mile in length.

Bariniah, a Citie a mile and a quarter long: Also there is a Riuer and a Towne of that name, but lesse then the first aboue named.

Gunda, a small Towne and a Riuer, both of that name. And this is the most Northerly part, that this Ingram was at.

There are besides those Townes aforenamed, many other great Townes which this Ingram passed by, commonly distant fiue or eight miles one from the other, which haue diuers small Villages within eight or ten miles from them.

Vessels of massie siluer, for common vses. They haue in euery house scoupes, buckets, and diuers other vessels of massie siluer, wherewith they doe throwe out water and dust, and otherwise doe imploy them to their necessary vses in their houses: All which this Ingram did see common and vsuall in some of these Countreys, especially where he found the great Pearles.

Gold in the heads of Riuers. There are also great riuers, at the heads whereof, this Ingram & his companions did find sundry pieces of golde, some as big as a mans fist, the earth being washed away with the water.

Rocks of chrystall. And in other places, they did see great rockes of Chrystal, which growe at the heads of great and many Riuers, being in quantitie to loade shippes.

Fine Furres. There are also in those partes, plentie of fine Furres, vnknowen to this Ingram, vsed after the maner of the Countrey.

Sweete turfe to burne. The people there do burne a kind of white Turfe or earth, which they dig out of the marishes, a fadome deepe in the ground. It burneth very cleare, and smelleth as sweete as muske, and that earth is as wholesome, sweete, and comfortable, to smell vnto, as any Pomander. They do make their fire of this earth for the sweetnes thereof, hauing great aboundance of wood.

Their maner of kindling fire When they want fire, they take briers, and rub them very hard together betweene their fists, and so with hard and often rubbing they kindle and make fire.

Iron and Minerall salt. They haue great plentie of Iron, and there is also great plentie of minerall salt, in the marish ground which looketh reddish, a thing necessary for the great fishings neere the sea shore, which are there aboundant, and the fish very large and huge.

The fertilitie of the soyle. The ground & Countrey is most excellent, fertile and pleasant, & specially towards the Riuer of May. For the grasse of ỳ rest is not so greene, as it is in these parts, for the other is burnt away with the heate of the Sunne. And as all the Countrey is good and most delicate, hauing great plaines, as large & as faire in many places as may be seene, being as plaine as a board: And then great & huge woods of sundry kind of trees, as cedar, Lignum vitæ, Bombasse, plants & bushes, bark that biteth like Pepper, (of which kind, yong M. Winter brought home part from ỳ straight of Magelane) with the fruitfull Palme tree, & great plentie of other sweete trees to this Ingram vnknowen. And after that plaines againe, and in other places great closes of pasture, enuironed with most delicate trees, in stead of hedges: they being as it were set by the hands of men: Yet the best grasse for the most part is in the high Countries, somewhat farre from the Sea side, and great Riuers, by reason that the lowe grounds there be so rancke, that the grasse groweth faster then it can be eaten, whereby the olde grasse lieth withered thicke, and the newe grasse growing through it. Whereas in the vpper partes, the grasse and ground is most excellent and greene. The ground not being ouercharged with any olde withered grasse, as is afore specified.

Plaines.

Great woods. Palmes.

Closes and pastures.

The Palme tree. The Palme tree aforesayd carieth hayres on the leaues thereof, which reach to the ground. Whereof the Indians doe make ropes and cords for their Cotten beds, and doe vse the same to many other purposes.

Wine of the Palme. The which Tree, if you picke with your knife, about two foote from the roote, it will yeelde a Wine in colour like whey, but in taste strong and somewhat like Bastard, which is most excellent drinke. But it will distemper both your head and body, if you drinke too much thereof, as our strong Wines will doe in these partes.

Meate of the Palme. The branches of ỳ top of ỳ tree, are most excellent meat raw, after you haue pared away ỳ bark.

Oyle against poysoned arrowes. Also there is a red oyle that commeth out of ỳ roote of this tree, which is most excellent against poisoned arrowes & weapons: for by it they doe recouer themselues of their poysoned wounds.

The Plantine with his fruits There is a tree called a Plantine, with a fruite growing on it like a pudding, which is most excellent meate raw.

They

They haue also a red berry like a Pescod, called Guyathos, two or three inches long, which groweth on short bushes full of pricks like the Sloe or Thorne tree, and the fruite eateth like a greene Raisin, but sharper somewhat: They stampe this berry and make Wine thereof, which they keepe in vessels made of wood.

They haue also in many places, Vines which beare Grapes as big as a mans thumbe. Vines with great Grapes.

There is also great plentie of herbes, and of all kinde of flowers, as Roses, and Gilleflowers, like ours in England, and many others which he knewe not. Herbes and flowers.

Also, they haue a kinde of Graine, the eare whereof is as big as the wrist of a mans arme: the Graine is like a flat pease, it maketh very good bread and white. Graine.

They doe also make bread of the roote called Cassaua, which they doe drie, and beate it as small as they can, and temper it with water, and so bake it in cakes on a stone. Bread of a Cassada.

There is also great plenty of Buffes, Beares, Horses, Kine, Woolues, Foxes, Deare, Goats, Sheepe, Hares, and Conies: Also other cattell like ours, to this Examinate vnknowen, the most part being wild: the Hides and skinnes of them are good Marchandize. There is very great store of those Buffes, which are beasts as big as two Oxen, in length almost twentie foot, hauing long eares like a Blood hound, with long haires about their eares, their hornes be crooked like Rams hornes, their eyes blacke, their haires long, blacke, rough, & shagged as a Goat: The Hides of these beasts are solde very deare, this Beast doeth keepe companie onely by couples, male and female, & doeth alwayes fight with others of the same kinde when they do meete. There is also great plentie of Deare both red, white, and speckled. This last sort this Examinate knoweth not. There is also great plentie of another kinde of Sheepe which carie a kinde of course wooll: This Sheepe is very good meate, although the flesh be very red. They are exceeding fatte, and of nature loth to rise when they are laid, which is alwayes from fiue a clocke at night, vntill fiue a clocke in the morning: betweene which time you may easily kill them, but after they be on foote they are very wilde, & rest not in one place, but liue together in heards, in some 500, as it happeneth, more or lesse: And these red Sheepe are most about the Bay of Saint Marie, as this Examinate gesseth. There are Beares both blacke and white. There are Woolues. The Foxes haue their skins more grilled then ours in England. There are Conies both white and red, and grey in euery place great plentie. Beasts of sundrie kindes. Vacca gibbosa, supposed a Buffe. Deare. Sheepe bearing woll the flesh red.

This Examinate did also see in those Countries a Monstrous beast twise as big as an Horse, and in proportion like to an Horse, both in maine, hoofe, haire, and neighing, sauing it was small towards the hinder partes like a Grey hound. These Beasts hath two teeth or hornes of a foote long growing straight forth by their nosethrilles: they are naturall enemies to the Horse. A strange Beast.

Hee did also see in that Countrey both Elephants and Dunces. Hee did also see one other strange Beast bigger then a Beare, he had neither head nor necke: his eyes and mouth were in his breast. This beast is very vgly to beholde, and cowardly of kinde. It beareth a very fine skin like a Rat, full of siluer haires. Elephants and Dunces. A strange shapen Beast.

There are in those Countries abundance of Russet Parrots, but very fewe greene. There are also Birds of all sortes as we haue, and many strange Birds to this Examinate vnknowen. There are great plenty of Guinie hennes which are tame Birds, and proper to the Inhabitants, as big as Geese, very blacke of colour, hauing feathers like Downe. There is also a Bird called a Flamingo, whose feathers are very red, and is bigger then a Goose, billed like a Shouell, and is very good meate. There is also another kinde of Foule in that Countrey which hunteth the Riuers neere vnto the Ilands: They are of the shape and bignesse of a Goose but their wings are couered with small yelowe feathers, and cannot flie: You may driue them before you like sheepe: They are exceeding fatte and very delicate meate, they haue white heads, and therefore the Countrey men call them Penguins (which seemeth to be a Welsh name.) And they haue also in vse diuers other Welsh words, a matter worthy the noting. There is also a very strange Bird, chiefe as big as an Eagle, very beautifull to beholde, his feathers are more orient then a Peacockes feathers, his eyes are glistering as an Hawkes eyes, but as great as a mans eyes, his head and thigh as big as a mans head and thigh: It hath a crest and tuffe of feathers of sundry colours on the top of the head like a Lapwing hanging backwards: His beake and talents in proportion like Egles, but very huge and large. Russet Parrots. Birdes like ours. Guinie hens. A red Bird. Penguins. A great strage Bird.

Touching Tempests and other strange monstrous things in those partes, this Examinate saith, that he hath seene it Lighten and Thunder in sommer season by the space of foure & twentie houres together: the cause whereof he iudgeth to be the heate of the Climate. Tempests.

He farther saith, that there is a Cloud sometime of the yeere seene in the ayre, which commonly turneth to great Tempests. And that sometimes of the yeere there are great windes in maner of Furicanos. Turnados.

of Whirlewindes.

Their maner of Religion. Touching their Religion, he saith that they honor for their God a Deuil, which they call Colluchio, who speaketh vnto them sometimes in the likenesse of a blacke Dogge, and sometimes in the likenesse of a blacke Calfe.

And some doe honor the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres.

Adulterie punished with death. He saith ꝑ the people in those Countries are allowed many Wiues, some fiue, some tenne, & a king sometimes an hundred: And ꝑ Adulterie is very seuerely punished in maner following, that is to say: The woman taken in adulterie, must with her owne hands cut ꝑ throte of the Adulterer, and the next of his kindred doth likewise cut ꝑ throte of the Adulteresse. And being asked in what maner they take their executions, he saith: That they are brought to execution by certaine Magistrates, who do deliuer vnto ꝑ woman the knife, wherewith she cutteth ꝑ throte of the Adulterer.

Then appeareth their Colluchio or Deuil, in the likenesse aforesaid, and speaketh vnto them, and to that Deuil the parties brought to execution doe great reuerence, and with many prayers to it doe take their death.

Their maner of Burials. He saith that such persons as are put to death in such sort, haue not any of their friends buried with them: but such as die naturally, haue alwayes buried quicke with them one of their dearest friendes to keepe them companie, and to prouide necessaries and victuall for them, who doe willingly cõsent thereto, being thereto perswaded by their Colluchio or Deuil, whõ they do worship.

The Deuil fled away at the name of the holy Trinitie. He saith further, that he & his two fellowes, namely, Richard Browne, and Richard Twide, went into a poore mans house, & there they did see the said Colluchio or Deuil, with very great eyes like a blacke Calfe: Upon the sight whereof, Browne saide, There is the Deuil, and thereupon he blessed himselfe: In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. And Twide said very vehemently, I defie thee and all thy workes. And presently the Colluchio shrancke away in a stealing maner forth of the doores, and was seene no more vnto them.

Great Riuers. Also they passed ouer many great Riuers in those Countries, in Canoes or Boates: some foure, some fiue, some eight, some tenne miles ouer: whereof one was so large, that they could scarse crosse the same in foure and twentie houres.

Musicall instruments. Also he saith, that in the same Countrie, the people haue instruments of Musicke made of a piece of a Cane, almost a foote long, being open at both endes: which sitting downe, they smite vpon their thighes and one of their handes, making a pleasant kind of sound.

And they do vse an other kind of instrument like a Taber, couered with a white skinne somewhat like Parchment.

This Examinate can very well describe their gestures, daunceing, and songs.

After long trauaile, the aforesaide Dauid Ingram with his two companions Browne and Twide, came to the head of a riuer called Garinda, which is 60. Leagues West frõ Cape Britton: where they vnderstood by the people of that Countrey of ꝑ arriuall of a Christian. Whereupon they made their repaire to the Sea side, and there found a French Captaine named Monsieur Champaigne, who tooke them into his Shippe and brought them vnto Newhauen, & from thence they were transported into England, Anno. Dom. 1569.

Siluer in exchange of trifles. This Monsieur Campaigne, with diuers of his companie was brought into ꝑ Village of Bariniah, about twentie miles vp into the Countrie by ꝑ said Examinate and his two Companions, by whose meanes he had a trade with the people of diuers sortes of fine furres, & of great rebbe leaues of trees almost a yard long, & about a foote broade, which he thinketh are good for dying.

Also the said Monsieur Champaigne, had there for exchange of trifling wares, a good quantitie of rude, and wrought siluer.

He saith further, that diuers of the said Frenchmen which were in the said Shippe called the Gargarine, are yet liuing in Homflewe vpon the coast of France, as he thinketh, for he did speake with some of them within these three yeeres.

About a fortnight after their comming from Newhauen into England, this saide Examinate and his two companions came to master John Hawkins, who had set them on shore vpon the Bale of Mexico, and vnto eche of them he gaue a reward.

Richard Browne his companion was slaine about fiue yeeres past in the Elizabeth of master Cockins of London: And Richard Twide his other cõpanion died at Ratcliffe in John Sherewoods house there, about three yeeres past.

The language of some of the Countrie.

Gwando. Is a worde of Salutation, as among vs: Good morrowe, Good euen, God saue you or such like.
Caricona. A King.
Caraccona. A Lord.

Fons.

Fona. Bread.
Carmugnar. The Pittities.
Kerucca. The Sunne.

Also the sayd Dauid Ingram trauelling towardes the North, fownd the maine sea vpon the Northside of America, and trauailed in the sight thereof the space of two whole dayes, where the people signified vnto him, that they had seene shippes on that coast, and did draw vpon the ground the shape and figure of shippes, and of their sailes and flagges. Which thing especially proueth the passage of the Northwest, and is agreeable to the experience of Vasques de Coronado, which found a shippe of China or Cataia vpon the Northwest of America. The maine Sea on the North parte of America.

Also the sayd examinate sayth, that there is an Iland called Corrasau, and there are in it fiue or six thousand Indians at the least, and all those are gouerned by one onely Negro, who is but a slaue to a Spaniard. And moreouer the Spaniardes will send but one of their slaues with an hundred or two hundred of the Indians, when they goe to gather golde in the Riuers descending from the mountaines. And when they shal be absent by the space of twentie or thirty dayes at the least, euery one of the Indians will neuertheless obey all the Slaues commaundements with as great reuerence, as if he were their naturall King, although there be neuer a Christian nere them by the space of an hundred or two hundred miles: which argueth the great obedience of those people, and how easily they may be gouerned when they be once conquered. Corrasau Iland.

A discourse written by one Miles Phillips Englishman, one of the company put a shore in the West Indies by M. Iohn Hawkins in the yeere 1568. contayning many speciall things of that countrie and of the Spanish gouernement, but specially of their cruelties vsed to our Englishmen, and amongst the rest to himselfe for the space of 15. or 16. yeeres together, vntill by good and happy meanes he was deliuered from their bloody hands and returned to his owne countrie. Anno, 1582.

The first Chapter.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from of the coast of England, with the number, and names of the shippes, their Captaines and Masters, and of our traffique and dealing vpon the coast of Africa.

Vpon mundy being the second of October, 1567. the weather being reasonable fayre, our Generall M. Iohn Hawkins, hauing commaunded all his captaines and masters to be in a readinesse to make sayle with him, hee himselfe being imbarked in the Iesus, whereof was appointed for Master, Robert Barret, hoysed sayle, and departed from Plymmouth vpon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, & America, being accompanied with fiue other sayle of shippes, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine Master Iohn Hampton, and Iohn Garret Master. The William and Iohn, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and Iames Raunce Master. The Iudith, in whome was Captaine M. Francis Drake now knight, and the Angel whose Master, as also the Captaine and Master of the Swallow I now remember not. And so sayling in companie together vpon our voyage vntill the tenth of the same moneth, an extreame storme then tooke vs necre vnto cape Finister, which dured for the space of foure dayes, and so separated our shippes, that wee had lost one another, and our Generall finding the Iesus to be but in ill case, was in minde to giue ouer the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleuenth of the same moneth the seas waxing calme, and the winde comming fayre, he altered his purpose, and held on the former entended voyage: and so comming to the Iland of Gomera being one of the Ilands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our shippes which were before dispersed, wee there tooke in fresh water and departed from thence the fourth of Nouember, and holding on our course, vpon the eighteenth day of the same moneth we came to an anker vpon the coaste of Africa, at cape Verde in twelue fadome water, and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, This fleete consisteth of 6. shippes.
1 The Iesus
2 The Mynion.
3 The William and Iohn.
4 The Iudith.
5 The Angel.
6 The Swallow.

men, to the number of 160 or there about, seeking to take some Negroes. And they going up in to the countrey for the space of six miles, were incountred with a great number of the Negroes: who with their inuenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retyre to the shippes, in which conflict they recouered but a fewe Negroes, and of these our men which were hurt with their enuenomed arrowes, there died to the number of 7. or 8. in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that we were forced to put stickes & other things into their mouths to keepe them open, & so afterward passing the time vpon the coast of Guinea, vntill the twelfe of Januarie, we obteined by that time the number of 150 Negroes. And being ready to depart from the sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negroes, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall graunted vnto, and went himselfe in person a land, with the number of 200 of our men or thereabouts, and the sayde King which had requested our ayde, did ioyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fyre vpon a towne of the sayd King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of 8 or 10 thousand Negroes, and they perceiuing that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to saue themselues, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of 8 or 900, which our Generall ought to haue had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde falsifying his worde and promise, secretly in the night conueyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as hee had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to haue nowe very neere the number of 500 Negroes thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as he had from the coast of Africa towardes the west Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speede to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a storme that we had, we lost one of our ships namelie the William and Iohn, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

The 2. Chapter.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arriuall in the West Indies, also of our trade, and traffike there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards vsed towards vs, by the Vice-Roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise giuen, and seeking to haue intrapped vs.

ALl things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, vpon the third day of Februarie, 1568. we departed from the coast of Affrica, hauing the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard, and sayling so for the space of 25. dayes, vpon the 27. of March, 1568. we came in sight of an Iland, called Dominica, vpon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 222. of longitude: from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, euer making traffike with the Spaniards, and Indians as he might, which was somewhat hardly obtayned, for that the king had straightly charged all his gouernours in those partes not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of Aprill, and May, our General had reasonable trade and traffike, and curteous entertainement in sundry places, as at Margarita, Coraisao, and els where, til we came to Cape de la vela, & Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the gouernour there would not by any meanes permit vs to haue any trade or traffike, nor yet suffer vs to take in fresh water: By meanes whereof our Generall for the auoyding of famine & thirst about the beginning of June, was enforced to lande two hundreth of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes he coulde procure: And so recouering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secrete and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of two hundreth and vpwards, and of our other marchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Gouernour was so straight, that we coulde not obteine any traffike there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the auoiding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to beginne there about that time of the yeere, and so the 24. of July 1568. wee departed from thence directing our course North, leauing the Ilands of Cuba vpon our right hand, to the East ward of vs, and so sayling towarde Florida, vpon the 12 of August, an extreme tempest arose, which dured for the space of eight dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed & beaten hither, & thither,

so

In this wee were in continuall feare to bee drowned by reason of the shallownesse of the coaste, and in the ende we were constrayned to flee for succour to the porte of S. John de Vllua, or Vera Cruz, scituated in 19 degrees of latitude, and in 200. seuentie nine degrees of longitude which is the porte that serueth for the citie of Mexico: in our seeking to recouer this porte our Generall met by the way, three small shippes that carried passengers, which hee tooke with him, and so the sixteenth of September, 1568 wee entred the sayde porte of S. Iohn de Vllua. The Spaniards there supposing vs to haue bene the King of Spaynes fleete, the chiefe officers of the countrey there abouts came presently aboorde our Generall, where perceiuing themselues to haue made an vnwise aduenture, they were in great feare to haue bene taken and staied: howbeit our Generall did vse them all very curteously: in the sayd porte there were twelue shippes, which by report had in them in treasure to the valew of 200 thousand pound, all which being in our Generall his power and at his deuotion, he did freely set at libertie, as also the passengers which he had before staied, not taking from any of them all the valewe of one groate: onely he staied two men of credite and account, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alua, and the other Don Pedro de Reuera, and presently our Generall sent to the Vizroye to Mexico which was therefore leagues of, certifying him of our arriuall there by force of weather, desiring that forasmuch as our Queene his Soueraigne, was the King of Spayne his louing sister and friend, that therefore he would, considering our necessities and wants, furnish vs with victuals for our Name, and quietly to suffer vs to repaire and amend our shippes. And furthermore that at the arriuall of the Spanish fleete which was there daily expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarrell arise betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, hee humbly requested of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe some speciall order bee taken. This message was sent away the 16 of September, 1568, it being the very day of our arriuall there. The next morning being the seuenteenth of the same moneth, we descryed 13 sayle of great shippes: and after that our Generall vnderstood, that it was the king of Spaynes Fleete then looked for, hee presently sent to aduertise the Generall hereof, of our being in the sayde porte, and giuing him further to vnderstande, that before hee houlde enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there shoulde passe betweene the two Generals some orders and conditions to bee obserued on either part, for the better continuing of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals request made vnto the Viceroye. And at this instant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, considering with himselfe that if he should keepe out that fleete from entring into the porte, a thing which he was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then should that fleete be in danger of present shipwracke and losse of all their substance, which amounted vnto the valewe of one myllion and 800 thousande crownes. Againe he saw that if he suffered them to enter, hee was assured that they would practise by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other side the hauen was so litle, that the other fleete entring, the shippes were to ride one hard aboorde of another: also hee sawe that if their fleete should perish by his keeping of them out, as of necessitie they must if he should haue done so, then stoode he in great feare of the Queene our Soueraignes displeasure in so waighty a cause, therefore did hee choose the lest euill, which was to suffer them to enter vnder assurance, and so to stande vpon his garde, and to defende himselfe and his from their treasons which we were well assured they would practise, and so the messenger being returned from Don Martine de Henriques, the new Viceroy, who came in the same Fleete, and had sufficient authoritie to commaund in all cases both by sea and by land in this prouince of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our General, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soueraigne, all our requests should bee both fauourably graunted, and faithfully performed: signifying further that he heard and vnderstood of the honest and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the King of Spaynes subiects in all places where he had bene, as also in the sayde porte: so that to be briefe our requests were articled, and set downe in writing, viz.

1 The first was that wee might haue victuals for our money, and license to sell as much heere, as might suffice to furnish our wants.

2 The second, that we might be suffered peaceably to repayre our shippes.

3 The third that the Iland might bee in our possession during the time of our abode there, in which Iland our Generall for the better safetie of him and his, had alreadie planted and placed certaine ordinance which were eleuen peeces of brasse, therefore hee required that the same might so continew, and that no Spaniard should come to land in the sayde Iland, hauing or bearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the last, that for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace

4. Articles concluded vpon, betwixt the English and the Spaniards: although the treacherous Spaniards kept none of them.

peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelue gentlimen of credite be deliuered of either part as hoſtages. Theſe conditions were concluded and agreed vpon in writing by the viceroy and ſigned with his hande, and ſealed with his ſeale, and tenne hoſtages vpon either part were receiued. And further it was concluded that the two Generals ſhould meete, and giue faith eche to other for the performance of the promiſes. All which being done, the ſame was proclaymed by the ſound of a trumpet, and commaundement was giuen that none of either part ſhould violate or breake the peace vpon payne of death: thus at the end of three dayes all was concluded, and the fleete entred the port, the ſhips ſaluting one another as the manner of the ſea doth require: the morow after being Friday we laboured on al ſides in placing the Engliſh ſhips by themſelues, and the Spaniſh ſhips by them ſelues, the captaines and inferiour perſons of either part, offering, and ſhewing great curteſie one to another, and promiſing great amitie vpon all ſides. Howbeit as the ſequel ſhewed, the Spaniards ment nothing leſſe vpon their parte. For the Viceroye, and gouernour thereabout, had ſecretly at land aſſembled to the number of 1000 choſen men, and well appointed, meaning the next thurſday being the 24 of September at dinner time to aſſault vs, and ſet vpon vs on all ſides. But before I goe any further, I think it not amiſſe briefely to diſcribe the maner of the Iland as it then was, and the force & ſtrength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards ſince the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the ſame place, haue vpon the ſame Iland built a faire caſtle, and bulwarke very well fortified: this porte was then at our being there, a litle Iland of ſtones, not paſt three foote aboue water in the higheſt place, and not paſt a bow ſhotte ouer any way at the moſt, and it ſtandeth from the mayne land, two bowſhootes or more: and there is not in all this coaſt any other place for ſhips ſafely to ariue at: alſo the Northy windes in this coaſt are of great violence and force, and vnleſſe the ſhippes bee ſafely moored in, with their ankers faſtened in this Iland, there is no remedie, but preſent deſtruction and ſhipwracke. All this our generall wiſely foreſeeing, did prouide that hee would haue the ſayde Iland in his cuſtodie, or els the Spaniardes might at their pleaſure, haue but cut our cables, and ſo with the firſt Northwinde that blewe wee had had our paſport, for our ſhippes had gone a ſhore. But to returne to the matter. The time approching that their treaſon muſt bee put in practiſe, the ſame Thurſday morning, ſome appearance thereof beganne to ſhewe it ſelfe, as ſhifting of weapon from ſhippe to ſhippe, and planting, and bending their ordinance againſt our men that warded vpon the lande, with great repayre of people: which apparant ſhewes of breache of the Viceroyes fayth, cauſed our Generall to ſende one to the Viceroye, to enquire of him what was ment thereby, which preſently ſent and gaue order, that the ordinance afore ſayde, and other things of ſuſpicion ſhoulde bee remooued, returning anſwere to our Generall in the fayth of a Viceroye, that hee woulde bee our defenſe, and ſafetie from all villanous treacherye: this was vpon Thurſday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith ſatiſfied, ſeeing they had ſecretly conuaied a great number of men aboorde a great hulke or ſhip of theyrs of 900 tunne, which ſhippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee ſent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the maſter of the Ieſus, a man that couldе ſpeake the Spaniſh tongue very well, and required that thoſe men might bee vnſhipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiuing that their treaſon was throughly eſpied, ſtayed our Maſter, and ſounded the trumpet, and gaue order that his people ſhould vpon all ſides charge vpon our men, which warded on ſhore, and elſe where, which ſtrooke ſuch a maſe, and ſudden feare among vs, that many gaue place, and ſought to recouer our ſhips for the ſafetie of themſelues. The Spaniards which ſecretly were hid in ambuſh at lande were quikly conuaied ouer to the Iland in their long boates, and ſo comming to the Iland, they flewe all our men that they couldе meete with, without any mercie. The Mynion which had ſomewhat before prepared her ſelfe to auoyde the danger, haled away and abode the firſt brunt, of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they ſought to fall aboorde the Ieſus, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men ſlayne: but yet our men defended themſelues, and kept them out: ſo the Ieſus alſo gotte looſe, and ioyning with the Mynion, the fight waxed whot vpon all ſides: but they hauing wonne and got our ordinance on ſhore, did greatly annoy vs. In this fight, there were two great ſhips of the Spaniards ſunke, and one burne, ſo that with their ſhippes they were not able to harme vs, but from the ſhore they beat vs cruelly with our owne ordinance, in ſuch ſorte that the Ieſus was very ſore ſpopled, and ſuddenly the Spaniards hauing fires two great ſhippes of their owne, they came directly againſt vs, which bred among our men a marueilous feare. Howbeit the Mynion which had made her ſayles ready, ſhifted for her ſelfe, without conſent of the Generall, captaine or maſter, ſo that very hardly our Generall could be receiued into the Mynion: the moſt of our men that were in the Ieſus ſhifted for themſelues

The baſeneſſe of a Spaniſh Viceroy his fayth.

The villanous treacherie of the Spaniards & their cruelty.

selues, and followed the Minion in the boate, and those which that small boate was not able to receiue, were most cruelly slaine by the Spanyards. Of our shippes none escaped sauing the Minion and the Judith: and all such of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spanyards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men at shoare, they tooke and hung them vp by the armes vpon high postes vntill the bloud burst out of their fingers ends: of which men so vsed, there is one Copslowe, and certaine others yet aliue, who through the mercifull prouidence of the almighty, were long since arriued heere at home in England, carrying still about with them (and shall to their graues) the markes and tokens of those theyr inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealing.

The third Chapter.

Wherein is shewed, how that after we were escaped from the Spanyards, we were like to perish with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the auoiding thereof was constrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miseryes wee after that sustayned amongst the Sauage people, and how we fell againe into the hands of the Spanyards.

After that the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promise, most cruelly dealt with our Generall maister Hawkins, at S. Iohn de Vllua, where most of his men were by the Spanyards slaine and drowned, and all his shippes sunke and burnt, sauing the Minion, and the Judith which was a small barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then captaine, maister Francis Drake, aforesaid: the same night the said barke lost vs, we being in great necessitie, and inforced to remooue with the Minion two bowshoote from the Spanish fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning we weyed anker, and recouered an Island a mile from the Spanyards, where a storme tooke vs with a North winde, in which we were greatly distressed, hauing but two cables, and two ankers left: for in the conflict before, we had lost three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the storme being ceased, and the weather fayre, wee weyed, and set saile, being many men in number, and but small store of victualles to suffice vs for any long time: by meanes whereof wee were in dispayre and feare that wee should perish through famine, so that some were in minde to yeelde themselues to the mercie of the Spanyardes, other some to the Sauages or Infidels, and wandering thus certayne dayes in these vnknowne Seas, hunger constrained vs to eate hides, cattes and dogges, mice, rattes, parats and munkyes: to be short, our hunger was so great, that wee thought it sauourie and sweete, whatsoeuer we coulde get to eate.

And on the eight of October we came to lande againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to haue found some inhabitants, that we might haue had some reliefe of victualles, and a place where to repayre our shippe, which was so greatly bruised, that wee were scarseable with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppressed with famine on the one side, and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to finde reliefe, we began to be in woonderfull despayre, and we were of many mindes, amongst whome there were a great many that did desire our Generall to set them on lande, making theyr choyse rather to submit themselues to the mercie of the Sauages or Infidels then longer to hazard themselues at Sea, where they very well saw, that if they should all remayne together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger woulde inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which request our Generall did very willingly agree, considering with himselfe that it was necessary for him to lessen his number, both for the safetie of himselfe and the rest: and thereupon being resolued to set halfe his people on shoare that hee had then left aliue, it was a worlde to see howe suddenlie mens mindes were altered, for they which a little before desired to be set on land, were nowe of another minde, and requested rather to stay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced, for the more contentation of all mens mindes, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order: First hee made choyse of suche persons of seruice and account, as were needefull to stay, and that being done, of those which were willing to goe he appointed such as hee thought might be best spared, and presently appointed that by the boate they should be set on shoare, our Generall promising vs that the next yeere he woulde eyther come himselfe, or else sende to fetche vs home. Heere agayne it woulde haue

 caused

cauled any many heare to haue relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and how loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormie and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boate were safelie set a shoare, but of them which were in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attayne to the shoare, and therefore we were constrayned through the cruell dealing of John Hampton captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatswaine of the Jesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine Sea, hauing more then a mile to shoare, and so to shift for our selues, and either to sincke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) thrown out, and compelled to leape into the Sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

In the euening of the same day, it being Sunday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shoare, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men dranke so much, that they had almost cast themselues away, for we could scarse get life in them for the space of two or three houres after: other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruite which were found on lande, hauing a stone in it much like an almond (which fruite is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a manner all of vs both feeble, faint and weake.

The next morning it being Tuesday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to trauell along by the Sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation: whether they were Christians or Sauages, we were indifferent, so that wee might haue wherewithall to sustaine our hungrie bodyes, and so departing from an hill where wee had rested all night, not hauing any dry thred about vs, for those that were not wet being throwne into the Sea, were throughly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly: As we went from the hill, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and woods that grew there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the Sea, and vpon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needes passe on our way Westward, through those marshes, and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kinde of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they do not feed vpon mans flesh as Canibals do.

Chichemici a warlike and cruell people.

These people are called Chichemici, and they vse to weare their haire long, euen downe to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to seeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spanyards, of whome they haue beene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spanyards there is no mercy. They perceiuing vs at our first comming on land, supposed vs to haue beene their enemies, the wandering Spanyards, and hauing by their forerunners descryed what number wee were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sort, raysed a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely vpon vs, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, vnto whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not hauing amongst vs any kinde of armour, nor yet weapon, sauing one caliuer, and two olde rustie swoordes, whereby to make any resistance, or to saue our selues: which when they perceiued, that we sought not any other then fauour and mercy at their hands, and that we were not their enemies the Spanyards, they had compassion on vs, and came and caused vs all to sit downe: and when they had a while sitten, and taken a perfect view of vs, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst vs, and those they did stripe starke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but they that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went their wayes, and left vs, without doing vs any further hurt, onely in the first hunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiuing in what weake case we were, pointed vs with their hands which way we should goe to come to a towne of the Spanyards, which as we afterwards perceiued, was not past ten leagues from thence, vsing these words: Tampeco, tampeco Christiano, tampeco Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, Go that way, and you shall finde the Christians. The weapons that they vse are no other but bowes and arrowes, and their aime is so good, that they very seldome misse to hit any thing that they shoot at. Shortly after they had left vs stripe (as aforesaid) we thought it best to diuide our selues into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of vs went vnder the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man aliue, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine ouer vs all, and those which went vnder his leading, of which number I Miles Phillips was one, trauelled Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed vs to go. The other halfe went vnder the leading of

of one Iohn Hooper, whome they did choose for their captaine, and with the company that went with him, Dauid Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and trauelled Northward, and shorte after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountred with the sauage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine: then againe they deuided themselues, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with vs againe, as in truth there was about the number of fiue or twentie or sixe and twentie of them that mette with vs in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selues, how many we were that were set on shoare, and we found the number to be an hundred & fourteene, whereof two were drowned in the Sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so that there remained an hundred and foure, of which fiue and twentie went Westward with vs, and two and fiftie to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often tolde me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were fiue and twenty of them that came againe to vs. So that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainely heard of, the number of three and twentie men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet aliue, and married in the sayd countrey, at Sibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and causes, that make me so to thinke of the that were lacking, which were Dauid Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names we could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we trauelled on still Westward, sometime through such thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other some times we should trauell through the plaines, in such high grasse that we could scarse see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should haue of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being stricken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for we went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieue our selues. Wee were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kinde of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spanyards called them Muskетas. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies be: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarse so bigge as a gnat: they will sucke ones blood maruellously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venemous that the place will swell extremely, euen as one that is stoong with a waspe or bee: but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselues, then they doe you no other hurt, but leaue behinde them a redde spotte somewhat bigger then a sleabiting. At the first we were terribly troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their quallities, and resistance we could make none against them, being naked: as for colde we feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes so warme. And as we trauelled thus for the space of tenne or twelue dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe into the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceiue any, and vsing often the same order to climbe vp into high trees, at the length they descryed a great riuer that fell from the Northwest in the maine Sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebusse shotte off, which did greatly incourage vs, for thereby we knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we trauelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small ioy vnto vs, and so we came to the North side of the riuer of Panuco, where the Spanyards haue certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebusse was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bowshoote vpon our left hand: of this riuer we dranke very greedily, for we had not mette with any water in sixe dayes before, and as we were heere by the riuer side resting our selues, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebusse was shot off, we perceiued many Spanyardes vpon the other side of the riuer, riding vp and downe on horsseback, and they perceiuing vs, did suppose that wee had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichemici, the riuer was not past halfe a bowe shoot ouer: and presently one of the Spanyards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and so came ouer, being rowed by two Indians, and hauing taken the view of vs, did presently rowe ouer backe againe to the Spanyards, who without any delay made out about the number of twentie horssemen, and imbarking themselues in the Canoas, they led their horsses by the reines swimming ouer after them, and being come ouer to that side of the riuer where wee were, they sadled their horsses, and being mounted vpon them with their launces charged, they came very fiercely, running at vs. Our captaine Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did persuade vs to submitte and yeelde our selues vnto them, for being naked, as wee at this time were, and without weapon, we

Dauid Ingra.

could not make any resistance, whose bidding wee obeyed, and vpon the yeelding of our selues, they perceiued vs to be Christians, and did call for more Canoas, and carryed vs ouer by foure and foure in a boate, and being come on the other side, they vnderstanding by our captaine how long we had beene without meate, imparted betweene two and two a loafe of bread made of that corne, which the Spanyardes call Mayse, of the bignesse of one of our halpennie loaues, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweet and pleasant vnto vs, for wee had not eaten any in a long time before, and what is it that hunger doth not make to haue a sauory and a delicate taste? and hauing thus imparted the bread amongst vs, those which were men they sent afore to the Towne, hauing also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were young, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke vp vpon their horsses, behinde them, and so carryed vs to the Towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came ouer.

This Towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruites, as Oringes, Limmons, Pomgranets, Apricoks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spanyards, men, women, and children, besides Negroes. Of their Salines, which lie vpon the West side of the riuer, more then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profite, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and carrie it vp into the Countrey, and there sell it to their owne Countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by Sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. Iohn de Vllua, and the other Portes of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred Hauens West and by South aboue threescore leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua. When we were all come to the Towne, the Gouernour there shewed himselfe very seuere vnto vs, and threatened to hang vs all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in truth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from vs, and of that which they left, the Spanyardes which brought vs ouer, tooke away a good part also: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Gouernour heere had a chaine of golde, which was giuen vnto him at Carthagena, by the Gouernour there: and from others he had some small store of money: so that we accounted that amongst vs all he had the number of fiue hundred Pesos, besides the chaine of golde.

And hauing thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused vs to be put into a little house much like a Hogstie, where we were almost smoothered: and before we were thus shutte vp into that little coate, they gaue vs some of the Countrey wheat, called Mayse, sodden, which they feed their Hogges withall. But many of our men which had beene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grieuous, desired to haue the helpe of their Surgions to cure their wounds. The Gouernour, and most of them all answered, that we should haue none other Surgion but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale vs of all our griefes: and thus reuiling vs, and calling vs English dogges, and Lutheran heretikes, we remayned the space of three dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of vs, waiting euery houre to be bereaued of our liues.

The fourth Chapter.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were carryed to Mexico to the Vice Roy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties wee receiued during that time, and how in the end we were by proclamation giuen to serue as slaues to sundrie Gentlemen Spanyardes.

Vpon the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remayning in a perplexitie, looking euery houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spanyardes weaponed to fetch vs out of the house, and amongst them we espyed one that brought a great many of newe halters, at the sight whereof wee were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently haue suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercy and for forgiuenesse of our sinnes, we prepared our sinnes, making vs ready to die, yet in the end, as the sequell shewed, their meaning was not so: for when we were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behinde vs, and so

by coupling vs two and two together, they commaunded vs to march on through the Towne, and so alongst the country from place to place towardes the citie of Mexico, which is distant from Panuco West and by South the space of three score leagues, having onely but two Spaniards to conduct vs, they being accompanyed with a great number of Indians warding on either side with bowes and arrowes, least we should escape from them. And trauelling in this order, vpon the second day at night we came vnto a Towne which the Indians call Nobelo, and the Spaniardes call it Santa Maria: in which Towne there is a house of White fryers, which did very courteously intreate vs, and gaue vs hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments also to couer our selues withall, made of white bayes: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruite, called Nochole, which fruite is long and small, much like in fashion to a little Cowcumber. Our greedie feeding caused vs to fall sicke of hote burning agues. And heere at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had beene before shot in with an arrowe into the throat at the first incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the cloche, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and so trauelled on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within fiue leagues of Mexico, named Mesticlan, where is a house of Blacke fryers: and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The fryers sent vs meat from the house ready dressed, and the fryers, and men and women, vsed vs very courteously, and gaue vs some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Heere our men were very sicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruite called in the Indian tongue, Guinetos, which fruite did binde vs so fore, that for the space of tenne or twelue dayes we could not ease our selues. The next morning we departed from thence without two Spaniards & Indian guyds, as aforesaid. Of these two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteously intreat vs, and would carefully goe before to prouide for vs both meat and things necessary to the vttermost of his power: the other was a young man, who all the way trauelled with vs, and neuer departed from vs, who was a very cruell caitiffe, and he carryed a iauelin in his hand, and sometimes when as our men with very feeblenesse and faintnesse were not able to goe so fast as he required them, he would take his iauelin in both his hands, and stricke them with the same betweene the necke and the shoulders so violently, that hee would strike them downe, then would he cry and say: Marches, marches Engleses perros, Luteranos, enemicos de Dios: which is as much to say in English: March, march on you English dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of siluer, and are about fiue leagues distant from this towne of Pachuca towardes the Northwest.

Heere at this towne the good olde man our Gouernour suffered vs to stay two dayes and two nights, hauing compassion of our sicke and weake men, full sore against the minde of the young man his companion. From thence we tooke our iourney, and trauelled foure or fiue dayes by little villages, and Stancias, which are Farmes or Dairie houses of the Spaniardes, and euer as we had neede, the good olde man would still prouide vs sufficient of meates, fruites, and water to sustaine vs. At the end of which fiue dayes wee came to a towne within fiue leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where we also stayed one whole day and two nights, where was a fayre house of Gray fryers, howbeit, we saw none of them. Heere we were told by the Spaniards in the Towne, that we had not past fifteene English miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very ioyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we should either be released, and set free out of bondes, or els be quickely dispatched out of our liues: for seeing our liues thus carryed bound from place to place, although some vsed vs courteously, yet could wee neuer ioy, nor be merry till we might perceiue our selues set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning we departed from thence on our iourney towardes Mexico, and so trauelled till we came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very fayre church, called our Lady church, in which there is an image of our Lady of siluer and gilt, being as high & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of siluer as there be dayes in the yeere, which vpon high dayes are all lighted. Whensoeuer any Spaniardes passe by this church, although they be on horsseback, they will alight, and come into the church, & kneele before this image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all euill: so that whether he be horsman or footman he will not passe by, but first goe into the church, and pray as aforesaid, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleeue that they shall neuer prosper, which image they call in the Spanish tongue, Nostra signora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certaine

colde baths, which arise, springing vp as though the water did freshe: the water whereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that haue any hope or mouth, to wash themselues therewith, for as they say, it healeth many: and euery yeere once vpon our Lady day the people vse to repayre thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spanyards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their owne countrey building.

Here wee were met with a great number of Spanyards on horsebacke, which came from Mexico to see vs, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a wonder: wee were still called vpon to march on, and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calla Sancta Catherina: and wee stayed not in any place till wee came to the house or pallace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the middest of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaça chill Marquese. Wee had not stayed any long time at this place, but there was brought vs by the Spanyards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to haue satisfied fiue times so many as we were: some also gaue vs hats, and some gaue vs money: in which place we stayed for the space of two houres, and from thence wee were conueyed by water in to large Canoas to an hospitall where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. Iohn de Vllua: wee should haue gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for vs. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco died within the space of fourteene dayes: soone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladyes hospitall, in which place wee were courteously vsed, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought vs diuers things to comfort vs withall, as succats and marmilets, and such other thinges, and would also many times giue vs many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remayned for the space of sixe moneths, vntill we were all whole and sound of body, and then wee were appointed by the Vice Roy to be carryed vnto the towne of Tescuko, which is from Mexico Southwest distant eight leagues: in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for all people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: into which place diuers Indians are solde for slaues, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelue. It was no small griefe vnto vs when wee vnderstood that we should be carryed thither, and to be vsed as slaues, wee had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were carryed to the prison of Tescuko, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, and almost famished, yet by the good prouidence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meete with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an English man borne of a Spanish woman: this man could speake very good English, and by his meanes wee were holpen very much with victualles from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, and bread. And if we had not beene so relieued, we had surely perished: and yet all the prouision that we had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length we agreed amongst our selues to breake foorth of prison, come of it what would, for wee were minded rather to suffer death then longer to liue in that miserable state.

And so hauing escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selues, the night was darke, and it rayned terribly, and not hauing any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, wee perceiued our selues to be come hard to the citie of Mexico, which is foure & twentie English miles from Tescuko. The day being come we were espyed by the Spanyards, and pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head iustices, who threatned to hang vs for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent vs into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, and comming thither, wee found there our English gentlemen which were deliuered as hostages when as our generall was betrayed at S. Iohn de Vllua, as is aforesayd, and with them we also found Robert Barret, the Maister of the Iesus, in which place we remayned labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of foure moneths, hauing but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice vs all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread, wee had euery man two loaues a day, of the quantity of one halfepennie loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they hauing remooued our gentlemen hostages, and the Maister of the Iesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his owne house, did cause it to be proclamed, that what gentleman Spanyard soeuer was willing, or would haue any English man to serue him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Iustices within one moneth after notice giuen, that they should repayre to the said garden, and there take their choice: which

proclamation

proclamation was no ſooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, ſo that happie was he that could ſoonest get one of vs.

The 5. Chapter.

Wherein is ſhewed in what good ſort, and how wealthily we liued with our maſters vntill the comming of the Inquiſition, when as agayne our ſorowes began a freſh: Of our impriſonment in the holy houſe, and of the ſeuere iudgement and ſentences giuen againſt vs, and with what rigour and crueltie the ſame were executed.

THe gentlemē that thus tooke vs for their ſeruants or ſlaues, did new apparel vs throughout, with whom we abode, doing ſuch ſeruice as they appointed vs vnto, which was for the moſt part to attend vpon them at the table, and to bee as their chamberlaines, and to waite vpon them when they went abroade, which they greatly accounted of: for in that countrey no Spaniard will ſerue one another, but they are all of them attended and ſerued by Indians weekely, and by Negroes which be their ſlaues during their life. In this ſort we remained and ſerued in the ſaid citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the ſpace of a yeere and ſomewhat longer. Afterwards many of vs were by our maſters appointed to go to ſundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to bee as ouerſeers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which Mines many of vs did profite and gaine greatly: for firſt we were allowed three hundred Pezoes a man by a yeere, which is three ſcore pound ſterling, and beſides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought vnder our charge, vpon our well vſing and intreating of them, would at times as vpon Saturdayes whē they had left worke, labour for vs, & blow as much ſilver as ſhould be worth vnto vs 3. marks or thereabouts, euery marke being worth 6. Pezoes, & a halfe of their money, which 19. Pezoes & a half, is worth 4. li. 10. s. of our money. Sundrie weeks we did gaine ſo much by this meanes beſides our wages, that many of vs became very rich, and were worth three thouſand or foure thouſand Pezoes, for wee liued and gained thus in thoſe Mines ſome three or foure yeeres. As concerning thoſe Gentlemen which were deliuered as hoſtages, and that were kept in priſon, in the Viceroy his houſe, after that we were gone from out the garden to ſerue ſundry Gentlemen as aforelaid, they remained priſoners in the ſayde houſe for the ſpace of foure moneths after their comming thither, at the ende whereof the Fleete beyng readie to depart from S. Iohn de Vllua, to goe for Spaine, the ſaid Gentlemen were ſent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I haue heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquiſition houſe, as thoſe which haue bene deliuered home after they had ſuffered the perſecution of that houſe can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret alſo the maſter of the Jeſus, was ſent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he ſuffered perſecution in the Inquiſition, and at the laſt was condemned to bee burnt, and with him three or foure more of our men, of whom one was named Gregorie, and another John Browne, whom I knew, for they were of our Generall his Muſitians, but the names of the reſt that ſuffered with them I know not.

Now after that ſixe yeeres were fully expired ſince our firſt comming into the Indies, in which time we had bene impriſoned and ſerued in the ſaid countreys as is before truely declared. In the yeere of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie foure, the Inquiſition began to be eſtabliſhed in the Indies, very much againſt the mindes of many of the Spaniards themſelues: for neuer vntill this time ſince their firſt conquering and planting in the Indies, were they ſubiect to that bloodie and cruell Inquiſition. The chiefe Inquiſitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and Iohn de Bouilla his companion, and Iohn Sanchis the Fiſchall, and Pedro de la Rios, the Secretarie: they being come and ſerued, and placed in a very faire houſe neere vnto the white Friers, conſidering with themſelues that they muſt make an entrance and beginning of that their moſt deteſtable Inquiſition here in Mexico, to the terrour of the whole country, thought it beſt to call vs that were Engliſhmen firſt in queſtion, and ſo much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence, that many of vs were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good bootie and praie to the Inquiſitors: ſo that now againe began our ſorowes a freſh, for we were ſent for, and ſought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made vpon paine of looſing of goods, and excommunication, that no man ſhould hide or keepe ſecret any Engliſhman or any part of their goods. By meanes whereof we were all ſoone apprehended in all places, and all our goods ſeized and taken for the Inquiſitors vſe, and ſo from

all

all partes of the countrey we were conueied and sent as prisoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, & were neuer paid two together in one place, so that we saw not one another, neither could one of vs tell what was become of an other. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a yeere and a halfe, and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison euer as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there seuerely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Aue Maria, and the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of vs could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And hauing the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend & Tescuco alwayes present with the for an interpreter, he made report for vs, that in our owne country speach, we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceed to demaund of vs vpon our othes what we did beleeue of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeue that the holl of bread which the priest did hold vp ouer his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & bloud of our Sauiour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demaund of vs what we did remember of our selues, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the saferie of our liues were constrained to say, that we neuer did beleeue, nor had bene taught otherwise then as before we had said. Then would they charge vs that we did not tel them the trueth, that they knew to the contrary, and therfore we should call our selues to remembrance, & make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be racked, and made to confesse the trueth whether we would or no. And so comming againe before them the next time, we were still demaunded of our beliefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bene taught, & also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name vnto vs, so that we could neuer be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise vs, that if we would tell them trueth, then should we haue fauour & be set at liberty, although we very wel knew their faire speaches were but meanes to intrap vs, to the hazard and losse of our liues: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for vs by a secret meanes that wee hid, that we kept vs still to our first answer, & would still say that we had told the trueth vnto them, and knew no more by our selues nor any other of our fellowes then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Ladie, or any of his blessed saincts, we were hartily sory for the same, and did crie God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for Gods sake, considering that we came into those countries by force of weather, and against our wils, and that neuer in all our liues we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, that therefore they would haue mercy vpon vs, yet all this would not serue: for still from time to time we were called vpon to confesse, and about the space of 3. moneths before, they proceeded to their seuere iudgement, we were all racked, and some enforced to beare that against themselues, which afterwards cost them their liues. And thus hauing gotten from our own mouthes matter sufficient for the to proceed in iudgement against vs, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the middest of the market place in Mexico right ouer against the head church, & 14. or 15. dayes before the day of their iudgement, with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all partes of the citie, before whom it was then solemnly proclaimed, that whosoeuer would vpon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the English heretikes, Lutherans, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell iudgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certain fooles coats which they had prepared for vs, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yealow cotton & red crosses vpon them, both before & behinde they were so busied in putting on their coates about vs, and in bringing vs out into a large part, and placing and pointing vs in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of iudgement, vpon the morow, that they did not once suffer vs to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was giuen to euery one of vs for our breakfast a cuppe of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, wee set foorth of the prison, euery man alone in his yealow coate, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand vnlighted, hauing a Spaniard appointed to go vpon either side of euery one of vs: and so marching in this order and maner toward the Scaffold in the Market place, which was a bowe shoote distant or thereabouts, wee found a great assemblie of people all the way, and such throng, that certayne of the Inquisitors officers on horsebacke were constrained to make way,

and

and so comming to the Scaffold, wee went vp by a paire of staires, and found seates readie made and prepared for vs to sit downe on, euery man in order as he should be called to receiue his iudgement. We being thus set downe as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came vp another paire of staires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Iustices with them. When they were set downe and placed vnder the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came vp also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300. persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there a solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently began their seuere and cruell iudgement.

The cruell iudgements of the Spanish Inquisitors vpō our poore countrymen.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Iesus, and hee had iudgement to haue three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slaue for 10. yeeres.

After him was called John Gray, John Browne, John Rider, John Moone, James Collier, and one Thomas Browne: these were adiudged to haue 200. stripes on horsebacke, and after to be committed to the Gallies for the space of 8. yeeres.

Then was called John Keyes, and was adiudged to haue 100. stripes on horsebacke, and condemned to serue in the gallies for the space of 6. yeeres.

Then were seuerally called the number of 53. one after another, and euery man had his seuerall iudgement, some to haue 200. stripes on horsebacke, and some 100. and condemned for slaues to the gallies, some for 6. yeeres, some for 8. and some for 10.

And then was I Miles Phillips called, and was adiudged to serue in a monasterie for 5. yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coate, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called John Stopie, Richard Williams, Dauid Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull: these fiue were condemned to serue in monasteries without stripes, some for 3. yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing towards night, George Riuelie, Peter Pomfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called, and had their iudgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for vs that had receiued our iudgement, being 68. in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in ꝑ morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575. we were all brought into a court of ꝑ Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readinesse for euery one of our men which were condemned to haue stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60. and so they being inforced to mount vp on horsebacke naked from the middle vpward, were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the Citie, and had the number of stripes to euery one of them appointed, most cruelly layd vpon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: & before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went, Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went, there were some of the Inquisitors themselues, and of the familiars of that white hell order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English heretikes, Lutheranes, Gods enemies: and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, and they returned to the Inquisitors house, with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, they were then taken from their horses, & caried againe to prison, where they remained vntill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receiue the rest of their martyrdome, and I and the 6. other with me which had iudgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serue an apprentiship in the monasteries, were taken presently & sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

The 6. Chapter.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that wee were adiudged to serue in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, & what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.

MIles Phillips and William Lowe, were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an ouerseer of Indian workemen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to bee a curteous

curteous and louing kind of people, ingenious, and of great vnderstanding, and they hate & abhorre the Spaniards with all their hearts, they haue vsed such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subiection and seruitude, that they and the Negroes also doe daily lie in wayte to practise their deliueraunce out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniards doe keepe them in. William Lowe he was appointed to serue the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and Dauid Alexander were appointed to the gray Friers, John Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paule Horsewell the Secretarie tooke to be his seruant: Thomas Hul was sent to a monasterie of priests, where afterward he died. Thus we serued out the peeres that wee were condemned for, with the vse of our fooles coates, and we must needes confesse that the Friers did vse vs very curteously: for euery one of vs had his chamber with bedding and diet, & all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themselues doe vtterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort vs the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that diuelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hand know what the right doeth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serue in those religious houses, wee were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged vp in the head church, called Ecclesia Maiore, and euery mans name and iudgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coats hanged vp, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and iudgements, and vnderneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coates and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffred to goe vp and downe the countrey, and to place our selues as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espiall alwayes attending vs and all our actions, so that wee durst not once to speake or looke awrie. Dauid Alexander and Robert Cooke they returned to serue the Inquisitor, who shortly after maried them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams maried a rich widow of Biskaie with 4000. Pezoes: Paule Horsewell is maried to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paule Horsewel hath maried, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in mariage foure thousand Pezoes, and a faire house: John Storie hee is maried to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leaue and licence to goe into Spaine where hee is now married: for mine owne part I could neuer thoughly settle my selfe to marrie in that countrey, although many faire offers were made vnto mee of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could haue no liking to liue in that place, where I must euery where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my native countrey: and, to returne and serue againe in the Mines where I might haue gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that diuelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choise rather to leaue to weare Grograines and Taffataes, and so compounding with a Silke weauer, I bound my selfe for 3. yeeres to serue him, and gaue him 150. Pezoes to teach me the science, otherwise he would not haue taught me vnder seuen yeeres prentiship, and by this meanes I liued the more quiet, and free from suspicion. Howbeit I should many times bee charged by familiars of that diuelish house, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to bee an heretike Lutheran againe: To whom I would answere that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knew all very well that it was impossible for mee to escape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I answered that I had bound my selfe at an occupation. Well sayd the Inquisitor, I know thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here vpon payne of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the porte of S. Iohn de Vllua, nor to any other porte, To the which I answered, that I would willingly obey. Yea sayd he, see thou doe so and thy fellowes also, they shall haue the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Arte, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, vpon the South sea, & that they were comming to Mexico to take the spoile therof, which wrought a maruelous great feare amongst them, & many of those that were rich, began to shift for themselues, their wiues & children: vpon which hurlie burlie the Viceroy caused a generall muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to the number of 7000. and odde housholders of Spaniards in ꝑ citie & suburbs, & of single men vnmaried, the number of 3000. and

of

of Mestizes, which are counted to be the sonnes of Spaniards borne of Indian women twentie thousand persons, and then was Paule Horsewell and I Miles Phillips sent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an English man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we answered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of three score yeeres or thereabouts, and was now gouernour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demaunded of vs if we knew one Francis Drake, and we answered, no.

While these things were in doing, there came newes that all the Englishmen were gone, yet was there eight hundred men made out under the leading of seuerall captaines, whereof two hundred were sent to the porte of S. Iohn de Vllua, vpon the North Sea under the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were sent to Guatimala in the South sea, who had for their captaine Iohn Cortes, two hundred more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South sea, ouer whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Roblis, and two hundred more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was sayd that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Roblis Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Phillips went as interpreter, hauing licence giuen by the Inquisitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there presently embarked himselfe in a small ship of three score tunne or thereabout, hauing also in compaine with him two other small barkes, and not past two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ship, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, so that for certaine, if we had met with captaine Drake, he might easily haue taken vs all: We being imbarked kept our course and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and leauing the land vpon our left hand, and hauing coasted thus for the space of eighteene or twentie dayes, and were more to the South then Guatimala, wee met at last with other ships which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was cleane gone off the coast more then a moneth before: and so we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, because his men were very sore sea sicke: All the while that I was at Sea with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with master Drake, we should all be taken, so that then I should haue bene freed out of that danger and miserie wherein I liued, and should returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But musing thereof, when I saw there was no remedie but that wee must needes come on land againe, little doth any man know the sorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was constrained to make faire weather of it. And so being landed, the next morow after, we began our iourney towards Mexico, and past these townes of name in our way, as first the towne of Tuatepec, 40. leagues from Mexico, from thence to Washaca, 40. leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24. leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Lo pueblo de los Angelos, where is a high hill which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18. leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8. leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and most of his men tooke boate, and came to Mexico againe, hauing bene footh about the space of seuen weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had trauelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to bee heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and said, Surely we shall haue him shortly come into our hands driuen a land through necessitie in some one place or other, for he being now in these seas of Sur, it is not possible for him to get out of them againe, so that if he perish not at sea, yet hunger will force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I should not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwayes be at my masters house in a readinesse at an howers warning, when euer I should be called for: that notwithstanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18. leagues from Mexico, to send away certaine hides and Cuchinello, that they had there at their Stancias or dairie houses, and my master hauing leaue of the Secretarie for me to goe with them, I tooke my iourney with them being very well horsed and appointed, and comming thither and passing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleete was ready to depart, I not being past 3. dayes iourney from the porte of S. Iohn de Vllua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape, and I was the bolder, presuming vpon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my selfe, that when I came to S. Iohn de Vllua, I would get to bee entertained as a souldior, and so goe home into Spaine in the same Fleete, and therefore secretly one euening late, the moone shining faire, I conueied my selfe away, and riding so for the space of two nights and two dayes, sometimes in, and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, vpon the second day at

The Spanish Viceroy prophecieth, but falsly.

night

night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where the fleete rode, but only 8. leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe houer after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before Iustices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in truth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Iustices, there was a great hurlie burlie about the matter, euery man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I stiffly denied, affirming that I knew not the man, yet would they not beleeue me, but urged still vpon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conueied away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my griefe, it chaunced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the yeale that was come to towne to sell hennes, who told the Iustices that they did me wrong, and that in truth hee knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demaunded of him how hee knew that, and threatened him that he sayd so, for that hee was my companion, and sought to conuey me away from my father, so that he also was threatened to be laid in prison with me: he for the discharge of himselfe stood stiffe in it, that I was an Englishman, and one of captaine Hawkins men, and that hee had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the blacke Friers at Mexico, for three or foure whole yeeres together: which when they heard they forsooke him, and began to examine me a new whether that speach of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceiued that I could not denie, and perceiuing that I was run from Mexico, and came thither of purpose to conuey my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorowful heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off, howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed state, thinking by his speach, and knowing of me, to haue set me free frō that present danger which he saw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, & to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedie but patience perforce: and I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3. weeks, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes, and condemned to the gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amōgst those my prison fellows some that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truely they had compassion of me, and would spare of their victuals & any thing els that they had to do me good, amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he vnderstood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I should be shortly sent back againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. Iohn de Vllua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison fellow of himselfe, & without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often vnto him to the grate of the prison to bring him wine & victuals to buie for him two kniues which had files in their backs, which files were so well made that they would serue & suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, and of those kniues or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had caused it to be made for me, & let me haue it at ꝑ very price it cost him, which was 2. Pezos, the value of 8. s. of our mony, which knife when I had it, I was a ioyfull man, and conueied the same into the foote of my boot, vpon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3. or 4. dayes after that I had thus receiued my knife, I was suddenly called for, & brought before the head Iustice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be striken off and sent to a Smiths in ꝑ towne, where was a new paire of bolts made readie for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre cōming between ꝑ shackles, & caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there ready to depart with sundry other wagons to the number of 60. towards Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandize which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremost of all the companie, and as wee trauelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my handes out of the manacles, and as God would although it were somewhat painfull for mee, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and euer as we went, when the wagons made most noyse, and the men busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts, and trauelling thus for the space of eight leagues from Vera Cruz, wee came to an high hill, at the entring vp of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went a long, and the wagon man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an ostrie that a Negro woman keeper, and at this place for that the going vp of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better, they doe alwayes accustome to take the mooles of 3. or 4. wagons, and to place them all together for the drawing vp of one wagon, & so to come downe againe, and fetch vp others in that order.

All

all which came very wel to paſſe for as it drew towards night whē moſt of the Wagoners were gone to water wt their wagons, in this ſort I being alone had quickly filed off my bolts, & ſo eſpying my time in the darke of the euening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conueyed my ſelfe into the woods there adioyning, carying my bolts and manacles with me, and a few biſcets, and two ſmall cheeſes. And being come into the woods I threw my yrons into a thicke buſh, and then couered them with moſſe and other things, and then ſhifted for my ſelfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good prouidence of Almighty God, I was freed from mine yrons all ſauing the coller, that was about my necke, and ſo got my libertie the ſecond time.

The 7. Chapter.

Wherein is ſhewed how I eſcaped to Guatimala, vpon the South ſea, and from thence to the port of Cauallios, where I got paſſage to goe into Spaine, and of our arriuall at the Hauana, and our comming to Spaine, where I was againe like to haue bene committed priſoner, and how through the great mercie of God I eſcaped, and came home in ſafetie into England, in Februarie 1582.

THe next morning (day light being come) I perceiued by the Sunne riſing what way to take to eſcape their handes, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods vpon the left hande: and hauing left that way that went to Mexico vpon my right hand, I thought to keepe my courſe as the woods and mountaines lay, ſtill direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was ſure to conuey my ſelfe farre enough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going on in the woods, I ſaw many great fires made to the North not paſt a league from the mountaine where I was, and trauailing thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my head and cheeſe, the very ſame forenoone I met with a companie of Indians which were hunting of deare for their ſuſtenance, to whome I ſpake in the Mexicane tongue, and tolde them howe that I had of a long time bene kept in priſon by the cruel Spaniards, and did deſire them to helpe me file off mine yron coller, which they willingly did, reioycing greatly with mee, that I was thus eſcaped out of the Spaniards handes. Then I deſired that I might haue one of them to guide me out of thoſe deſart mountaines towardes the South, which they alſo moſt willingly did: and ſo they brought me to an Indian towne 8. leagues diſtant from thence named Shalapa, where I ſtayed 3. dayes, for that I was ſomewhat ſickely. At which towne (with the golde that I had quilted in my dublet,) I bought me an horſe of one of the Indians, which coſt me 6. Peſoes, and ſo trauailing South, within the ſpace of 2. leagues I happened to ouertake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whome then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lamente the cruelties vſed againſt vs by the Inquiſitors, and truely hee vſed me very courteouſly: and I hauing confidence in him did indeede tell him, that I was minded to aduenture to ſee if I could get out of the ſaid countrey, if I could finde ſhipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and aduice herein, which hee faithfully did, not onely in diſcerning me which was my ſafeſt way to trauaile, but he alſo of himſelfe kept me company for the ſpace of three dayes, and euer as we came to the Indians houſes (who vſed and intertained vs well) he gathered among them in money to the value of 20. Peſoes, which at my departure from him hee freely gaue vnto me. So came I to the citie of Guatimala vpon the South ſea, which is diſtant from Mexico, about 250. leagues, where I ſtayed 6. dayes, for that my horſe was weake. And from thence I trauailed ſtill South and by Eaſt ſeuen dayes iourney, paſſing by certaine Indian townes, vntill I came to an Indian towne diſtant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to goe to the port Cauallos in the Northeaſt ſea. It was anſwered me in trauailing thither I ſhould not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes iourney: ſo here I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to ſerue vs ſo long time, and tooke with vs ſixe things to kindle fire euery night, becauſe of wilde beaſtes, and to dreſſe our meate: and euery night when wee reſted, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our ſelues, and my horſe. And in the night time we ſhould here the Lions roare, with Tygers, Dunces, and other beaſtes, and ſome of them we ſhould ſee in the night, which had eyes ſhining like fire. And trauayling thus for the ſpace of twelue dayes wee came at laſt to the port of Cauallos vpon the Eaſt ſea, diſtant from Guatimala South and by Eaſt, two hundreth leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for ſhippes, and is without either caſtle or bulwarke. I hauing diſpatched mine my guides, went downe to the hauen, where I ſaw certaine ſhips louers chiefly laden with Canary wines, where I ſpake with one of the

Maiters, who asked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he said, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship paying for my passage: And he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger; for said he, it may be that you haue killed some man, or be indebted, and would therfore runne away: To that I answered that there was not any such cause. Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezoes, he would carry me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly sold my house, & made my prouision of hennes and bread to serue me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and neuer stayed vntill wee came to the Hauana, which is distant from port de Cauallios by sea 500. leagues: where we solde the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bounde home from the Indies. And here I was hired for a souldier to serue in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himselfe went. There landed while I was here 4. ships out of Spaine, being all ful of souldiers and ordinance, of which nomber there were 200. men landed here & 4. great brasse pieces of ordinance, although the castle were before sufficiently prouided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance, And 100. lastly to S. Iohn de Vllua. As for ordinance there they haue sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Iesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice Roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The sending of those souldiers to euery of those portes, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the generall of his fleete, giuing him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him at any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Azores, but to keepe his course more to the Northwarde, aduertising him withall, what nomber and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Anthony had at that time at the Terçera, & yles aforesaid: which the generall of the fleete well considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very diuetifully obserue and obey: for in trueth he had in his said fleete 37. saile of ships, and in euery of them there was as good as 30. pipes of siluer one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochenelio, sugers, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other Apothecarie drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guſman, did prouidently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be to the vttermost of his power, and commanded vpon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboord without his sword and harquebusse, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Anthony, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them: and euer as the weather was faire, the said generall would himselfe go aboord from one ship to another, to see that euery man had his full prouision according to the commandement giuen. Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would haue made a foule spoile among st them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, sauing onely the Admiral, and Vice Admirall: And againe ouer and besides the weakenes and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deepely laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to haue held out any long fight. Wel, thus we set saile, & had a very ill passage home, for weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner Northeast, and brought our selues to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Anthony his fleete, and were vpon our voyage from the 4. of June, vntil the 10. of September, & neuer saw land til we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none should go on shoare vntil he had licence: as for me, I was knowne by one in the ship, who told the Maister that I was an Englishman, which (as God would) was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be merry, & pleasant that we were all come so wel in safetie. Presently after, licence came that we should goe on shoare, and I prested to be gone with the first: howbeit, the M. came vnto me and said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Siuil by water: I knew his meaning wel inough, & that he ment there to offer me vp as a sacrifice to y Holy house. For the ignorant zeale of a nomber of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke, that they haue done God good seruice, when they haue brought a Lutheran heretique to the fire to be burnt: For so do they accompt of vs. Wel. I perceiuing all this, tooke vpon me not to suspect any thing, but was still iocund and merry: howbeit, I knew it stoode me vpon to shift for my selfe, And so wayting my time when the Maister was in his cabbin asleepe, I conueyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moored, and so by the cable haled on shoare, where I lept on land & let the boate go whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, & then neuer staied at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Siuil: so that the

next

next morning I came to Siuill, and ſought me out a worke maſter, that I might fall to my ſcience, which was weauing of taffataes, and being intertained I ſet my ſelf cloſe to my worke, and durſt not for my life once to ſtirre abroad for feare of being knowen, and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my felowes ſay, that he heard there was great inquirie made for an Engliſhman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it. I would to God I might knowe him, ſurely I would preſent him to the Holy houſe. And thus I kept ſtill within doores at my worke, and fained my ſelfe not well at eaſe, & that I would labor as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the ſpace of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things newe, different from the apparel that I did weare at ſea, and yet durſt not be ouerbolde to walke abroad: and after vnderſtanding that there were certaine Engliſh ſhips at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boate and went aboord one of them, and deſired the Maſter that I might haue paſſage with him to goe into England, and told him ſecretly that I was one of thoſe which Captaine Hawkins did ſet on ſhoare in the Indies: he very courteouſly prayed mee to haue him excuſed, for he durſt not meddle with me, & prayed mee therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceiued, with a ſorowful heart God knoweth I tooke my leaue of him, not without watrie cheeks. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my ſelf to be a ſouldier to go in the K. of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Maiorca, and comming thither in the end of ꝑ Chriſtmas holydayes, I found there 2. Engliſh ſhips, the one of London, and the other of the Weſt countrey, which were ready fraighted and ſtayed but for a faire wind. To the M. of the one, which was of the Weſt countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was nowe deſirous to go home and ſee my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and ſo hauing agreed with him for my paſſage I woke ſhipping. And thus through the prouidence of Almightie God, after 16. yeres abſence, hauing ſuſtained many and ſundry great troubles and miſeries, as by this diſcourſe appeareth, I came home to this my natiue countrey of England, in the yeere 1582. in the the moneth of Februarie in the ſhippe called the Landret, and arriued at Poole.

The voyage of Robert Tomſon marchant, into Noua Hiſpania in the yere 1555. *With diuers obſeruations concerning the* ſtate of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himſelfe.

RObert Tomſon borne in the towne of Andouer in Hampſhire, begun his trauaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March, who departing out of ꝑ citie of Briſtol in a good ſhip called the Barke yong, in companie of other marchants of the ſaide citie, within 8. dayes after arriued at Lisbone in Portingal, where the ſaid Robert Tomſon remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he ſhipped himſelfe for Spaine in the ſaid ſhippe, and within 4. dayes arriued in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluſia, which is vnder the kingdome of Spaine, and from thence trauailed vp to the Citie of Siuil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there he repaired to one Iohn Fields houſe an Engliſh marchant, who had dwelt in ꝑ ſaid citie of Siuil 18. or 20. yeres maried with wife and children: In whoſe houſe the ſaid Tomſon remained by the ſpace of one whole yeere or there about, for 2. cauſes: The one to learne the Caſtilian tongue, The other to ſee the orders of the countrey, and the cuſtomes of the people. At the ende of which time hauing ſeene the fleetes of ſhips come out of the Indies to that citie, with ſuch great quantitie of golde and ſilver, pearles, precious ſtones, ſugar, hides, ginger, and diuers other riche commodities, hee did determine with himſelfe to ſeeke meanes & opportunitie to paſſe ouer to ſee that rich countrey from whence ſuch great quantitie of rich cõmodities came. And it fel out that within ſhort time after the ſaid I. Field (where the ſaid Tomſon was lodged) did determine to paſſe ouer into the Weſt Indies himſelf, with his wife, children & familie, and at the requeſt of the ſaid Tomſon, he purchaſed a licenſe of the King to paſſe into the Indies, for himſelfe, his wife & children, & among them alſo for the ſaid Tomſon to paſſe with them: ſo that preſently they made preparation of victual & other neceſſary prouiſion for the voyage. But the ſhips which were prepared to performe the voyage being all ready to depart, vpon certaine conſiderations by the kings commandement were ſtayed & arreſted til further ſhould be knowen of the kings pleaſure. Whereupon the ſaid Iohn Field, with R. Tomſon and his company being departed out of Siuil & come downe to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and ſeeing the ſtay made vpon the ſhips of the ſaid fleete, & being not aſſured when they would depart, determined to ſhippe themſelues for the yles of the Canaries, which is 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to ſtay till the ſaid fleete ſhould come thither: for that is continually their port to make ſtay at ſixe or eight dayes, to take freſh water, bread, fleſh, and other neceſſaries.

So that in the moneth of Februarie in An. 1555. the said Rob. Tomson with the said Iohn Field and his company, shipped themselues out of the towne of S. Lucar in a caruel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arriued at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ship that rode in the said port beganne to cry out of all measure with lowd voyces, in so much that the Castle which stoode fast by began to shoote at vs, and shot 6. or 8. shot at vs, and stroke downe our maine masse, before we could hoise out our boate to go on land, to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and comming into his countrey. So that being on land & complaining of the wrong and damage done vnto vs: they answered, that they had thought wee had bene Frenchrouers, that had come into the said port, to do some harme to the shippes that were there. For that 8. dayes past, there went out of the said port a caruel much like vnto ours, laden with sugers and other marchandise for Spaine, and on the other side of the point of the said Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said caruel, & vnladed out of her into the said Frenchship, both men & goods. And being demaunded of the said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, They answered that there remained diuers other ships, and one laden with sugars (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine, vpon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship wel appointed into the said caruel that they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the euening came into the port, not hauing past 3. or 4. houres, and so came to an ancre hard by the other ships that were in the said port, & being seene by the castle & by the said ships, they made no reckoning of her, because they knew her, and thinking that she had found contrary winds at the sea, or had forgot some thing behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, & so made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said caruel with the Frenchmen in her, went aboord the other ship that lay hard by laden with sugars, and vnder the Spaniards that were in her vnder hatches, and presently let slip her cables and ancres, and set saile and caried her cleane away, & after this sort deceiued them: And they thinking & fearing that we were the like, did shoote at vs as they did. This being past, the next day after our arriual in the said port, we did vnbarke our selues and went on lande vp to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants seruants of one Anthony Hickman & Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London, that lay there in traffique, of whome wee receiued great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had seene the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next ile of the Canaries 18. leages off, called Teneriffe, & being come on land, went vp to the citie called the La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete: which in the ende came, and there hauing taken that which they had neede off, we shipped our selues in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the said fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman maried in the citie of Cales in Spaine, whose name was Iohn Sweeting, and came in the saide ship for captaine also an Englishman maried in Cadiz, & sonne in law to the saide Iohn Sweeting, whose name was Leonard Chilton, and also came in the saide ship another Englishman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. peeres or there about, whose name was Raph Sarre. So that wee departed from the said Ilands in the moneth of October the foresaid yeere 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of newe Spaine, and by the way towardes the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 42. dayes after wee departed from the yles of Canaries, we arriued with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, & went in ouer the barre where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before the towne, where we went on land and refreshed our selues 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but bisket brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeeld no kinde of graine to make bread withall. But the bread they make there is certaine cakes made of rootes, called Cassaua, which is something substantiall, but it hath but an vnsauery taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beefe and mutton they haue great store: for there are men that hath 10000. head of cattel, of oxen, bulls and kine, which they do keepe onely for the hides, for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundreth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete & sauery, and so wholsome, that they giue it to sicke folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons: although they haue good store of poultrie of that sort, as also of Guinycocks & Guiny hens. At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of aboue 500. houholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The countrey is most part of the yere very hot, & very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke & molest the people very much in the night when they are all eepe, in pricking their faces & hands, and other

parts

parts of their bodies ye lie uncouered, & make them to swel wonderfully. Also there is another kinde of small worme which creepeth into the soles of mens feete & especially of ye blacke Moores & children which use to go barefoot, and maketh their feete to grow as big as a mans head, & doth so ake that it would make one run mad. They haue no remedy for the same, but to open ye flesh sometimes 3. or 4. inches & so digge them out. The countrey yeeldeth great store of suger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fistula & Salsa perillia: mines of siluer & gold there are none, but in some riuers there is found some smal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withall in that place, is black money made of copper & brasse: and this they say they do use not for that they lacke money of golde and siluer to trade withall out of the other partes of India, but because if they should haue good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold & siluer, and let the countrey commodities lie stil. And thus much for S. Domingo. So wee were comming frō the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, and there staying until the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of January we departed thence towards the day of Mexico and new Spaine, towarde which we set our course, and so sayled 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. Iohn de Vllua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge: And being so neere our said port, there rose a storme of Northerly winds, which came off from Terra Florida, which caused vs to cast about into the sea againe, for feare least that night we should be cast vpon the shoare before day did breake, & so put our selues in danger of casting away: the winde and sea grew so foule and strong, that within 2. houres after the storme began, 8. ships that were together were so dispersed, that we could not see one another. One of the shippes of our company being of the burthen of 500. tunne called ye hulke of Carion, would not cast about to sea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchase the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, but missing the port went with the shoare & was cast away. There were drowned of that ship 75. persons, men women and children, and 64. were saued that could swimme, and had meanes to saue themselues: among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had bin present the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the rest of his seruants and houshold. We with ye other 7. ships cast about into the sea, the storme during 10. dayes with great might, boysterous winds, fogs & raine: our ship being old & weake was so tossed, that she opened at the sterne a fathom vnder water, & the best remedy we had was to stop it wō beds & pilobiers, and for feare of sinking we threw & lightened into the sea al the goods we had or cold come by: but that would not serue. Then we cut our maine mast & threwe all our ordinance into the sea sauing one piece, which early in a morning when we thought we should haue sunke, we shot off, & as pleased God there was one of the ships of our company nere vnto vs, which we saw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the sound of the piece, & vnderstanding some of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards vs, & when they came within hearing of vs, we desired them for ye loue of God to help to saue vs, for that we were al like to perish. They willed vs to hoise our foresaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would doe their best to saue vs, and so we did: And we had no sooner hoised our foresaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of sea, strooke in the foresaile, and caried saile and maste all ouerboord, so that then wee thought there was no hope of life. And then we beganne to imbrace one another, euery man his friende, euery wife her husbande, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our soules to Almightie God, thinking neuer to escape aliue: yet it pleased God in the time of most neede when all hope was past, to aide vs with his helping hand, & caused the wind a litle to cease, so that within 2. houres after, the other ship was able to come aboord vs, & tooke into her with her boate man, woman & childe, naked without hose or shoe vpon many of our feete. I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boate, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ship into the boat with a yong sucking child in her armes, lept to short and fel into the sea and was a good while vnder the water before the boat could come to rescue her, and with the spreding of her clothes rose aboue water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boat hauing stil her childe vnder her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall loue towards her childe would not let her let the childe goe. And when shee came aboorde the boate, shee helde her childe so fast vnder her arme stil, that two men were scant able to get it out. So we departed out of our shippe and left it in the sea: it was worth foure hundreth thousande ducats, shippe and goods when we left it. And within three dayes after wee arriued at our port of S. Iohn de Vllua in Newe Spaine. I doe remember that in the great and boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night, there came vpon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maste, a certaine little light, much like vnto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Corpos sancto, and saide it was saint Elmo, whome they take to be the aduocate of Sailers. At the which

sight the Spaniards fell downe vpon their knees and worshipped it, and praying God and saint Elmo to cease the torment, and saue them from the perill that they were in, with promising him that at their comming on lande, they would repaire vnto his Chappell, and there cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to bee done. The Friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be stil, and likewise saide Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies vpon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceiue it, nor gaue no credite to it, till it pleased God to sende vs the remedie and deliuered vs from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therefore. This light continued, aboorde our shippe about 3. houres, flying from maste to maste, and from toppe to toppe: and sometime it woulde bee in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they saide, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, and so flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit in the masts and shrowdes of the shippes that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I haue seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are giuen to beleeue and worship such vaine things and toyes, as God, to whome all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and necessities doe lett to call vpon the liuing God, who is the giuer all good things.

The 16. of Aprill in An. 1556. we arriued at the port of S. Iohn de Vllua in newe Spaine, very naked & distressed of apparel, & all other things, by meanes of the losse of our foresaid ship & goods, and from thence we went to the new towne called Vera cruz, 5. leagues from the said port of S. Ioh. de Vllua, marching stil by ye sea side, where we found lying vpon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes & al, some of them of 4. 5. & 6. cart load by our estimation, which as the people told vs, were in the great stormy weather which we dured at sea, rooted out of ye grosid in Terra Florida, right against that place, which is 300. leagues ouer by sea, and brought thither. So that we came to the said towne of Vera cruz, where we remained a moneth: and there the said Iohn Field chanced to meet with an old friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordoua, a very riche man of the saide towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his cōming thither with his wife & family, and of his misfortune by sea, came vnto him & receiued him and al his houshold into his house, & kept vs there a whole moneth, making vs very good cheere, & giuing vs good interteinment, & also gaue vs that were in al 8. persons of the said I. Fields house, double apparel new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shoes, and al other necessary apparel, and for our way vp to the citie of Mexico, horse, moyles, & men, & money in our purses for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount vnto the summe of 400. crownes. So that after we were entred 2. dayes iourney into the countrey, I the said Robert Tomson fel sicke of an ague, so that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried vpon Indians backs, from thence to Mexico. And when we came within half a dayes iourney of the citie of Mexico, the said I. Field also fel sicke, and within 3. dayes after we arriued at the said citie, he died: And presently sickened one of his children, and 2. more of his houshold people, and within 8. dayes died. So that within 10. dayes after we arriued at the citie of Mexico, of 8. persons that were of vs, of ye said company, there remained but 4. of vs aliue, & I the said Tomson at the point of death of the sicknes that I got vpon the way, which cōtinued with me the space of 6. moneths. At the end of which time it pleased almighty God to restore me my health againe, although weake & greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to liue, & to seeke a way how to profit my self in ye countrey, seeing it had pleased God to send vs thither in safetie. Then by friēdship of one Th. Blake a Scotish man borne, who had dwelt & had bene maried in the said citie aboue 20. yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the seruice of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerers of the saide citie, whose name was Gonçalo Serezo, with whom I dwelt 12. moneths & a half. At the end of which I was maliciously accused by the holy house for matters of religion, & so apprehended and caried to prison, where I lay close prisoner 7. moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to ye Jailer that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meate & drinke. In the meane time was brought into the said prison one Augustin Boacio an Italian of Genoua also for matters of religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the Southeastward of the citie of Mexico: At the ende of the sayde seuen moneths, wee were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance vpon an high Scaffolde, made before the high Altar, vpon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great nomber of people, who were at the least fiue or sixe thousande. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to see the sayde Auto (as they call it:) for that there were neuer none before, that had done the like in the

saide

saide Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutherianes were, nor what it meant: for they neuer heard of any such thing before. We were brought into the Church, euery one with a S. Benito vpon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the midst, and cast ouer a mans heade: both flaps hange one before, and an other behinde, and in the middest of euery flap, a S. Andrewes crosse, made of red cloth, sowed on vpon the same, and that is called S. Benito. The common people, before they sawe the penitents come into the Church, were giuen to vnderstand, that we were Heretikes, Infidels, and people that did despise God, and his workes, and that we had bene more like deuils then men, and thought we had had the fauour of some monsters, or heathen people. And when they saw vs come into the Church in our plaiers coates, the women & children began to cry out, and made such a noise, that it was strange to see and heare, saying, that they neuer saw goodlier men in all their liues, and that it was not possible that there could be in vs so much euill, as was reported of vs, and that we were more like Angels among men, then such persons of such euil religion as by the priests and Friers we were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that we should be so vsed for so smal an offence. So that being brought into the saide high Church, and set vpon the scaffold which was made before the high altar, in the presence of al the people, until high Masse was done, and the sermon made by a Frier, concerning our matter, and putting vs in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion vpon vs, for that we were Heretikes, and people that were seduced of the deuill, and forsaken the faith of the Catholike Church of Rome, with diuers other reprochful words, which were too long to recite in this place. High Masses sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were read, euery man what he had said and don, and presently was the sentence pronounced against vs. That was, that the said Augustine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the daies of his life, and put into perpetual prison, where he shoulde fulfil the same, and all his goods confiscated and lost. And I the said Tomson to weare the S. Benito for 3. yeres, and then to be set at liberte. And for the accomplishing of this sentence, or condemnation, we must be presently sent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. Iohn de Vllua, and there to be shipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with strait commandement, that vpon paine of 1000. duckets, the Maisters euery one should looke straitly vnto vs, and carry vs to Spaine, and deliuer vs vnto the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Siuill, that they should put vs in the places, where we should fulfil our penances that the Archbishop of Mexico had enioyned vnto vs, by his sentence there giuen. For performance of the which, we were sent downe from Mexico, to the sea side, which was 65. leagues, with fetters vpon our feete, and there deliuered to the Maisters of the ships, to be caried for Spaine, as before is said. And it was so, that the Italian fearing, that if he had presented himselfe in Spaine before the Inquisitors, that they would haue burned him, to preuent that danger, when we were comming homeward, & were arriued at the Iland of Tercera, one of the Iles of the Azores: the first night that we came into the said port to an anker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, and swamme naked a shoare, and so presently got him to the further side of the Iland, where he found a little Caruel ready to depart for Portingall, in the which he came to Lisbone, and passed into France, and so into England, where he ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept still aboord the ship, and came into Spaine, and was deliuered to the Inquisitors of the Holy house of Siuill, where they kept me in close prison, til I had fulfilled the 3. yeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at libertie: and being in the citie of Siuil a cather of one Hugh Typton, an English merchant of great doing, by the space of one yeere, it fortuned that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called Iohn de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indias, and had got great summes of gold and siluer, and with one only daughter shipped himselfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gaue all that he had vnto his onely daughter, whose name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arriued at the Citie of Siuil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to me 2500. pounds in bars of golde and siluer, besides iewels of great price. This I thought good to speake of, to shewe the goodnes of God to all them that put their trust in him, that I being brought out of the Indias, in such great miserie and infamie to the world, should be prouided at Gods hande in one moment, of more then in all my life before, I could attaine vnto by my owne labour. After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were set vp in the high Church of the said Citie, with our names written in the same, according to their vse & custome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of vs, as long as the Romish Church doth raigne in that Countrey. The same haue bene seene since by one Iohn Chilton, and diuers others of our nation, which were left in that Countrey long since, by sir Iohn Hawkins. And because it shalbe known wherefore it was that I was so punished by the Clergies hand, as

before

before is mentioned, I will in briefe words declare the same.

It is so, that being in Mexico, at the table, among many principal people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had ouerthrowen all their Churches, and houses of religion, and that all the images of the saints of heauen that were in them, were throwen downe and broken, and burned, and in some places stoned bigly mates with them, and denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had beene certified out of Spaine, by their friends. To whom I made answere, that it was so, that in deede they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of Friers, and Monkes, that were in England, and the images that were in their churches, & other places, were taken away, & vsed there no more: for that (as they say) ꝑ making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse commandement of Almightie God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen image, &c. & that for ꝑ cause they thought it not lawful that they should stand in the church, which is the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these words, who was my Master, Gonsalo Ceresо answered and said, if it were against the commandement of God, to haue images in the churches, that then he had spent a great deale of money in vaine, for that 2. yeeres past, he had made in ꝑ monastery of Santo Domingo, in ꝑ said city of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure siluer & gold, with pearles & pretious stones, which cost him 7000. & odde pesos, & euery peso is 6. s. 8. d. of our money, which in deede was true, for that I haue seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was an other gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause, more then any other that was there, said, that they knew wel enough that they were made but of stocks & stones, & that to them was no worship giuen, but that there was a certaine veneration due vnto them, after they were set vp in the church, & that they were set there to a good intent: the one, for that they were bookes for the simple people, to make them vnderstand the glory of the saints that were in heauen, & a shape of them, to put vs in remembrance to cal vpon them, to be our intercessors vnto God for vs, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that vsing deuotion to saints in heauen, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subiect hath offended his king vpon ꝑ earth, in any kind of respect, is it for the parte to go boldly to the king in person, & to demand pardon for his offences? no saith he, ꝑ presumption were to great, & possibly he might be repulsed, & haue a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seeke some priuate man neere the King in his Court, & make him acquainted with his matter, and let him be a Mediator to his Maiestie, for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, & obtaine the thing which he doeth demande: euen so saith he, it is with God & his saintes in heauen, for we are wretched sinners, and not worthy to appeare, nor present our selues before the Maiestie of God, to demand of him the thing that we haue neede of: therefore thou hast neede to be deuout, and haue deuotion to the mother of God, and the saints of heauen, to be intercessors to God for ther, & so maist thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou doest demand. To this I answered, & saide, Sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessarie they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speake of, if he be so merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his subiects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or place, & say vnto him, come hither, I know that thou hast offended many lawes, if thou doest know therof, & doest repent thee of the same, with full inent to offend no more, I will forgiue thy trespasse, & remember it no more: said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man neede to go seeke friendship at any of the kings priuat seruants handes, but goe to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgiue thee, then thou art to demand forgiuenes at his hands. Euen so is it with our gratious God, who calleth & crieth out vnto vs throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, & by his owne mouth, saith, Come vnto me all ye that labour, & are ouer laden, & I wil refresh you, besides 1000. other offers & proffers which he doth make vnto vs in his holy Scriptures. What then haue we need of the saints helpe that are in heauen, whereas the Lord himself doth so freely offer himself vnto vs? At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonied, & said, that by that reason, I would giue to vnderstand, that the inuocation of saints was to be dissembled, & by the lawes of God not commanded. I answered, that they were not my words, but the words of God himself: looke into the scriptures your self, & you shal so find it. The talke was perceaued to be preiudiciall to the Romish doctrine, & therfore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, & al remained vnthought vpon, had it not bene for a villanous Portingal that was in the company, who said, Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Prouidy, & saide, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was

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an Englishman, who had said, that there was no neede of saints in ꝑ church, nor of any inuocation of Saints, vpon whose denomination I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and some other thing, and thereupon was bled, as before is written.

Now to speake somewhat of the description of the countrey, you shal vnderstand, that the port of S. Iohn de Vlua, is a very litle Iland low by the water side, the broadest or longest part therof not aboue a bowe shoote ouer, and standeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one house, and a litle Chappell to say Masse in: in all the Iland, the side to the land ward, is made by mans hands, with free stone and grauel, and is 4. fathom deepe downe right, wherfore the great ships that come in there, doe ride so neere the shoare of the Iland, that you may come and goe aland vpon their beake noses. They vse to put great chaines of yron in at their hallers, and an anker to the landward, and all litle enough to moze well their shippes for feare of the northerly winds, which come off the coast of Florida, that sometimes haue caried ships, and houses, & all away to the shoare. The king was wont to haue 20. great mightie Negroes, who did seruice in nothing else, but onely to repaire the said Iland, where the foule weather doth hurt it. The Countrey al there about, is very plaine ground, & a mile from the sea side a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the same, so that when the marriners of the ships are disposed, they go vp into the wildernes, & do kil of the same, & bringeth them aboord to eate, for their recreation.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almost by the Sea side, til you come within one league of the place, and then you turne vp towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle riuer hard by the said townes side, which sometimes of the yeere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not past 300. houlholds, and serued but ꝑ the folke of the ships, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliuer it to their owners, as also the owners and their factors to receaue their goods of the Maisters of the ships. This towne standeth also in a very plaine on the one side the riuer, and the other side is enuironed with much land lowen from the sea side with the tempest of weather, many times comming vpon that coast. This towne also is subiect to great sicknes, & in my time many of the marriners & officers of the ships do die with those diseases there accustomed, & especially those that were not vsed to the Country, vnknew the danger thereof, but would commonly go in the sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruite of the Countrey, with much disorder, & especially gaue themselues to womens company at their first comming: whereupon they were cast into a burning ague, of the which fewe escaped.

Halfe a daies iourney from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of 5. or 6. houses, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinacle made of lime & stone, fast by a riuer side, where the Indians were wont to do their sacrifices vnto their gods, which is a plaine & low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and also subiect to sicknes: but afterward, halfe a daies iourney that you do begin to enter into the high land, you shal find as faire, good, and sweete Countrey, as any in the world, & the farther you go, the goodlier and sweeter the countrey is, til you come to Pueblo de los Angelos, which may be some 43. leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. houlholds, or thereabout, standing in a goodly soile. Betweene Vera Cruz & that, you shall come through many townes of the Indians, & villages, & many goodly fields of medow grounds, Riuers of freely waters, forests, & great woods, very pleasant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angelos, to Mexico, is 22. leagues of very faire way, & countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a citie in my time, of not aboue 1500. houlholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of India people in the Suburbs of the said City, dwelt aboue 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This Citie of Mexico, is 65. leagues from the North sea, and 75. leagues from the south sea, so that it standeth in the midst of the maine land, betwixt the one sea & the other. It is situated in the middest of a lake of standing water, & enuironed round about with the same, sauing in many places, going out of the city, are many broad waies through the said lake or water. This lake and city is enuironed also with great mountaines round about, which are in compasse aboue 30. leagues, & the said city & lake of standing water, doth stand in a great plaine in the midst of it. This lake of standing water doth proceede from the shedding of the raine, that falleth vpon the said mountaines, & so gather themselues together in this place. All the whole proportion of this city doth stand in a very plaine ground, & in the midst of the said city, is a square place of a good bow shoote ouer from side to side: & in the midst of the said place, is the high church, very faire & wel builded al though, at that time but halfe finished, & round about the said place, are many faire houses built: on the one side, are the houses where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, & nowe there lie alwaies the Viceroyes that the king of Spaine sendeth thither euery 3. yeeres. And in my time was there for Viceroy a gentleman of Castil, called Don Luis de Velasco. And on the other side of ꝑ said place, ouer against the same, is the Bishops house, very faire built, and many other houses of goodly building:

ding. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was he that first conquered the said Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which he made with great labour and trauell of his person, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart vnto him. And when hee came home, he could not be suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrowe that hee tooke, hee died, and this hee had for the rewarde of his good seruice. The said Citie of Mexico, hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the streete, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streetes of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleere water, that euery man may put into his house, as much as he will, without the cost of any thing, but of the letting in. Also there is a great caue, or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, euen vnto the high place, where come euery morning at the breake of the day, 20. or 30. Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all manner of prouision for the Citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commodity for the Inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of Beefe, Mutton, and Hennes, Capons, Quailes, Guinye Cocks, and such like, all are very good cheape: to say, the whole quarter of an Oxe, as much as a slaue can carry away from the Butchers, for 5. compnes, that is, 5. Roials of plate, which is iust 2. shillings and 6. pence, and a fat Sheepe at the Butchers, for 3. Roials, which is 18. pence, and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kind of fruites, as Apples, Peares, Pomegranats, and Quinces, at a reasonable rate. The citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Friaries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there alwaies very temperate, the day differeth but one howre of length all the yeere longe. The fields and the woods alwaies greene. The woods full of Popiniayes, and many other kind of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will reioyce to heare it. In the fieldes are such odoriferous smels of flowers and hearbs, that it giueth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico 2. 3. or 4. leagues off, are diuers townes of Indians, some of 4000. or 6000. housholds, which doe stand in such a goodly soile, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were dwelling and aliue in Mexico, many ancient men, that were of the Conquerors at the first conquest, with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered. About Mexico, there are diuers Mynes of siluer, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mynes that are in all New Spaine, are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mynes of S. Martines, 30. leagues, both to the eastward of Mexico, where is great store of gold and siluer. Also there is a place, called the Misteca, 50. leagues to the northwest, which doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and cochinelio. Wine and oile there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruites in that Countrey, whereof wee haue none such, as Plantanos, Guyaues, Sapotes, Tunes, and in the wildernes great store of black cheries, & other wholsome fruites. The Cochynelle is not a worme, or a flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that groweth vpon certaine bushes in the wilde fielde, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Also the Indico that doth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wild fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the said Indico is made. Balme, salsa perilla, Cana fistula, suger, Oxe hides, and many other good & seruiceable things the Countrey doth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there sold and distributed to many nations.

Robert Tomson.

A notable discourse of Master Iohn Chilton, touching the people, *manners, Mynes, Cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of the* west Indias, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his trauails, continued in those partes, the space of 17. or 18. yeeres.

IN the yeere of our Lord, 1561. in the moneth of July, I Iohn Chilton, went out of of this Citie of London into Spaine, where I remained for the space of 7. yeeres, and from thence I sailed into Noua Hispania, and so trauelled there, and by the south sea, vnto Peru, the space of 17. or 18. yeeres: & after ꝑ time expired, I returned into Spaine, and so in the yeere, 1586. in the moneth of July, I arriued at the foresaide Citie of London, where perusing the notes which I had taken in the time of my trauell in those yeeres, I haue set downe,

wone, as followeth.

In the yeere 1568. in the moneth of March, being desirous to see the world, I embarked my selfe in the Baye of Cales in Andaluzia, in a ship bound for the Iles of Canaries, where she tooke in her lading, and set sooth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of June, the same yeere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Ile of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Noua Hispania, and came into the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, which is a litle Iland, standing in the sea, about 2. miles from the land, where the king maintaineth about 50. souldiers, and captaines, that keepe the Forts, and about 150. Negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carrying of stones for building, and other vses, and to helpe to make fast the ships that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bul warkes at each ende of a wall, that standeth likewise in the said Iland, where the ships vse to ride, made fast to ꝑ said wal, with their cables so neere, that a man may leape a shoare. From this port I iourneied by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, standing by a riuers side, where all the factors of the Spanish merchants dwell, which receaue the goods of such ships as come thither, and also lade the same with such treasure, and merchandize, as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about 400. who onely remaine there, during the time that the Spanish fleete dischargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the ende of Iuguil, to the beginning of Aprill following. And then for the vnwholesomnes of the place, they depart thence, 16. miles further vp within the Countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthful soile. There is neuer any woman deliuered of child in this port, for so soone as they perceiue themselues conceiued with child, they get them into the Countrey, to auoid the perill of the infected aire, although they vse every morning to driue thoroughe the towne aboue 2000. head of cattell, to take away the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa 7. leagues, I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houses builded of straw, called by the name of Ventz, the Inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accustome to harbour such trauellers, as are occasioned to iourney that way vp into the land. It standeth in a great wood of Pine, & Cedar trees, the soile being very cold, by reason of store of snow, which lieth on the mountaines there, al the yeere long. There are in that place, an infinit number of Deere, of bignes like vnto great mules, hauing also hornes of great length. From Perota, 9. leagues, I came to the fontes of Ozumba, which fontes are springs of water, issuing out of certaine rockes, into the middest of the high waies, where likewise are certaine rainges, and troughes, for the vses before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place, I came to the Citie of the Angels, so called by that name, of the Spaniards, which inhabite there, to the number of 1000. besides a great number of Indians. This Citie standeth in very plaine fieldes, hauing neere adioyning to it, many sumptuous Cities, as namely the Citie of Tlaxcalla, a Citie of two hundreth thousand Indians, Tributaries to the King, although he exacteth no other tribute of them, then a handfull of wheate a peece, which amounteth to 13. thousand Fanneges, yeerely, as hath appeared by the Kings bookes of accompt. And the reason why he contenteth himselfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, because they were the occasion that he tooke the Citie of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the same time, when the Spaniards came into the Countrey. The Gouernour of this Citie, is a Spaniard, called among them, the Alcalde Maior, who administreth chiefest causes of iustice, both vnto the Christians, and Indians, referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkennes, and such like, to the iudgement, and discretion of such of the Indians, as are chosen every yeere to rule amongst them, called by the name of Alcaldes. These Indians from 14. yeeres olde vpwards, pay vnto the King for their yeerely tribute, one ounce of siluer, and an hennege of Maiz, which is valued among them commonly, at 12. Roials of plate. The widowes among them, pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this Citie, and of the rest, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantels of linnen cloth, made of cotton woll, painted throughout with works of diuers and fine colours. It is distant from the Citie of the Angels, 4. leagues to the northward, and 14. from Mexico. There is another Citie a league from it, called Cholula, consisting of more then 60. thousand Indians, tributaries, and there dwelleth not aboue 12. Spaniards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Acassingo, of aboue 50000. Indians, and about 8. or 12. Spaniards, which standeth at the foote of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the East side. There are beside these, three other great Cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous Citie, Waxazingo, and Tichamachalcho: all these in times past, belonged to the kingdom of Tlaxcal, and from these Cities, they bring all their Cutchanello into Spaine. The distance from the Citie of the Angels, to the Citie of Mexico, is 20. leagues. This Citie Mexico, is the Citie of greatest fame in all the Indias, hauing goodly, and costly houses in it, builded all of lime and stone, and seuen streetes in length, and seuen in breadth, with riuers running thoroughe euery second streete, by which they bring their prouision in Canoas. It is situated at the foote of certaine hils, which containe in compasse

Vulcan is a hill that continually burneth with fire.

Cutchanello.

passe by estimation, aboue 20. leagues, compassing the said Citie on the one side, and a lake which is 14. leagues about on the other side. Upon which lake, there are built many notable and sumptuous Cities, as the City of Tesouco, where the Spaniards built 6. frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where also Fernando Cortes made his abode 5. or 6. monethes, in curing of the sicknes of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwel in this Citie, about 60000. Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this Citie the said Fernando built the fineſt Church that euer was built in the Indias, the name whereof is S. Peters. After I had continued 6. yeeres in this Citie, being desirous to see further the Countreis, I imploied that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the prouinces of the California, in the which was discouered a certaine Countrey, by a Byskaine, whose name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his Countrey, New Biskaye, where I sold my merchandize for exchange of siluer, for there were there certaine rich Mynes discouered by the aforesaid Biskaine. Going from Mexico, I directed my voyage toward the southwest, to certaine Mynes, called Tamascal Tepec, and so trauelled forwarde, the space of 20. daies, through desert places vnhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which ioyneth to the prouince of New Biskaye. In all these places the Indians for the most part goe naked, and are wild people. Their common armour is bowes, and arrowes, they vse to eate vp such Christians as they come by. At my returne to Mexico, I came along by the coast of the South sea, through the prouince of Sacatula, from thence into the prouince of Coloa, where I imploied the siluer that I had, in a certaine graine, growing like an Almond, called amongst the Indians, Cacao, which in Noua Hispania is current for money, to buy things of small value, as fruits, &c. for that they haue no small money there, and in which also they pay the King his tribute. They grinde this graine to a powder, and mingle it with water, and so is made both bread, and drinke vnto them, which is a prouision of great profite, and good strength. From hence departing, I came to another prouince, named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Nauidad, which is 66. leagues from Mexico, in which port arriue alwaies in the moneth of Aprill, all the ships that came out of the South sea, from China, and the Philippinæ, and there they laie their merchandize a shoare. The most part wherof, is mantels made of cotton wool, waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much gold. The next summer following, being in the yeere 1570. (which was the first yeere that the Popes Buls were brought into the Indias) I vndertooke another voyage to wards the prouince of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whether I carried diuers merchandize of Spaine, all by land, on Mules backes. The way thitherward from Mexico, is to the Citie of the Angels, and from thence to another Citie of Christians, 80. leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50. Spaniards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this prouince, pay their tribute in mantels of cotton woll, and Cochonello, whereof there groweth aboundance throughout this Countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South sea, called Aquatulca, in the which there dwelleth not aboue 3. or 4. Spaniards, with certaine Negroes, which the King maintaineth there: in which place, Sir Francis Drake arriued, in the yeere, 1579. in the moneth of Aprill, where I lost with his being there, aboue 1000. duckets, which he tooke away, with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico, from one Francisco Gomes Rangifa, factor there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the south sea: for from this port they vse to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, & to ỹ kingdom of Hunduras. From Guaxaca, I came to a towne named Nixapa, which standeth vpon certaine very high hils, in the prouince of Sapotecas, wherin inhabite about the number of 20. Spaniards, by the king of Spaines commandement to keepe that Countrey in peace, for ỹ the Indians are very rebellious: & for this purpose, he bestoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that prouince. From hence I went to a Citie, called Tecoantepec, which is the farthest towne to the Eastward in al Noua Hispania, which sometimes did belonge to the Marques De Valle, and because it is a very fit port, standing in the south sea, the king of Spaine, vpon a rebelion made by the said Marques against him, tooke it from him, and doth now possesse it as his owne. Here in ỹ yeere 1572. I saw a peece of Ordinance of brasse, called a Demy culuerin, which came out of a ship, called the Iesus of Lubecke, which Captaine Hawkins left in S. Iohn de Vllua, being in fight with the Spaniards, in the yeere, 1568. which peece they afterwardes caried 100. leagues by land, ouer mighty mountains to the said city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leauing Tecoantepec, I went still along by the South sea, about 150. leagues in the desolate prouince of Soconusco, in which prouince there groweth Cacao, which the Christians carry from thence into Noua Hispania, for that it will not growe in any colde Countrey. The Indians of this Countrey, paye the King their tribute, in Cacao, giuing him 400. Cargas, and euery Carga is 24000. Almonds, which Carga is worth in Mexico 30. peeces of reials of plate. They are men

New Biskay.

The hauen where the ships of China & the Philippines arriue.

Aquatulca.

men of great riches, and withall very prowd, and in all this prouince throughout, there dwell not 20. christians. I trauailed through another prouince called Suchetepec: & thence to ỳ prouince of Guasacapan: in both which prouinces are very fewe people, the biggest towne therin hauing not aboue 200. Indians, the chiefest marchandize there is Cacao, and hence I went to the City of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdom. In this citie do inhabite about 80. Spanyards, & here the king hath his gouernors, & Counsell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for Iustice. This City standeth from the coast of the South sea, 14. leagues within the land, and is very riche by reason of the gold that they fetch out of the coast of Veragua. From this Citie to the Eastward 60. leagues, lyeth the prouince Sonsonate, where I sold the marchandize I carryed out of noua Hispania. The chiefest Citie of this prouince is called S. Saluador, which lyeth 7. leagues from the coast of the South sea, and hath a port lying by the Sea coast called Acaxutla, where the ships arriue with the marchãdize they bring from noua Hispania: & from thẽce lade backe againe the Cacao there dwell here to the number of 60. Spanyards. From Sonsonate I trauailed to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua. In which Port the king buildeth all the shipping that trauel out of the Indies to the Moluccaes. I went forward from thence to Costaricca, where the Indians both men and women goe all naked, & the lande lyeth between Panama, and the kingdom of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there liue as warriers, I durst not passe by land, so that here in a towne called S. Saluador, I bestowed that which I carryed, in annele (which is a kinde of thing to dye blew withall) which I carryed with mee to the Port of Caullos, lying in the kindome of Hunduras, which Port is a mighty huge riuer, and at the comming in of the one side of it, there lyeth a Towne of little force without ordinance, or any other strength, hauing in it houses of strawe: at which Towne the Spanyards vse yeerely in the moneth of August, to vnlade 4. ships, which come out of Spaine laden with riche Marchandize and receiue in againe here their lading of a kind of Marchandize called Annele and Cutchanelito (al, though it be not of such value as that of noua Hispania) and siluer of the mines of Toma angua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salsa perilla, the best in all the Indies, al which Marchandize they returne and depart from thence alwaies in the moneth of Aprill following, taking their course by the Iland of Iamaica, in which Iland there dwell on the West side of it certaine Spanyardes of no great number. From this place they goe to the cape of S. Anthonie, which is the vttermost part of the Westward of the Iland of Cuba, and from thence to Hauana lying hard by, which is the chiefest Port that the king of Spaine hath in all the Countries of the Indies, and of greatest importance: for all the ships, both from Peru, Hunduras, Portoricco, S. Domingo, Iamaica, & all other places in his Indies, arriue there at their returne to Spaine, for that in this Port they take in victuals, and water, and the most part of their lading: here they meete from all the foresaid places alwaies in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this Port it is so narrow, that there can scarle come in two ships together, although it be aboue 6. fadome deepe in the narrowest place of it. In the Northside of the comming in there standeth a towne, in which there watcheth euery day a man, to descrie the Soiles of ships, which he can see on the Sea, and as many as he discouereth so many banners he setteth vpon the Tower that the people of the towne (which standeth within the Port about a mile from the Towne) may vnderstand thereof. Under this tower there lyeth a sandy shore, where men may easely go a land, and by the Tower there runneth a hill along by the waters side, which easely with small store of ordinance suddueth the towne and Port. The Port within is so large that there may easely ride a People of ships, without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabite with in the towne of Hauana about 300. Spanyardes, and about 60. Souldiers, which the King maintaineth there for the keeping of a certaine Castell, which he hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about 12. peeces of small ordinance, and is compassed rounde with a small ditch, where though at their pleasure, they may let in the sea. About 11. leagues from Hauana, there lyeth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling, about 100. Indians, and from this place, 60. leagues, there lyeth another towne named Bahama, scituate on the Northside of the Iland. The chiefest citie of ỳ Iland of Cuba, (which is aboue 200. leagues in length) is also called Cuba, where dwelleth a Bishop, and about 200. Spanyardes, which towne standeth on the Southside of the Iland, about 6 leagues from Hauana. All ỳ trade of this Iland is cattel which they kil only for the hyds ỳ are brought thẽce into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards maintaine there many Negroes to kil their cattel, & foster a great number of hogges, which being killed, and cut into small pieces, they dry in the sunne, and so make it prouision for the ships, which come for Spaine. Hauing remained in this Ilãd 11. moneths, I tooke shipping in a Frigat, & went ouer to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which standeth vpon ỳ Southsea.

The discription of Hauana at large.

The small force of Hauana.

The commodities of Cuba.

From Nombre de Dios to Panama, it is 17. leagues distant. From which towne there runneth a riuer which is called the riuer of Chagre, which runneth within 5. leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruces, through which riuer they carry their goods, & disimbarke it at the sayd Cruces, and from thence it is conueyed on Mules backes to Panama by lande: where they againe imbarke it in certaine small ships in the Southsea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these ships, I went to Potosi, and from thence by lande to Cusco, and from thence to Paita. Heare I remained the space of seuen moneths, & then returned into the kingdome of Guatimall, and arriued in the prouince of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I trauelled by lande to a prouince called Nicamula (which lyeth towarde the North sea in certaine high mountaines) for that I could not passe thorough the kingdome of Guatimal at that time for waters, wherewith all the lowe Countries of the Prouince of Suconusco, lying by the South sea is drowned, with the raine that falleth aboue in the mountaines enduring alwaies from Aprill to September: which season for that cause they call their winter. From this prouince, I came into another called de Vera Paz, in which the chiefest Citie is also called after that name, where there dwelleth a Bishop, and about fourtie Spaniards. Among the mountaines of this Countrie toward the North Sea, there is a Prouince called La candona, where are Indian men of warre which the king cannot subdue, for that they haue Townes and Fortes in a great lake of water aboue in the saide mountaines, the most part of them go naked, and some weare mantels of Cotten wooll. Distant from this about eighty leagues, I came into another Prouince called the Prouince of Chiapa, wherein the chiefest Citie is called Sacatlan, where there dwelleth a Bishop, and about a hundred Spaniards. In this Countrie there is great store of Cotton wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Christians buye and carie into Noua Hispania. The people of this Prouince pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Fethers. Fourteene leagues from this Citie, there is another called Chiapa, where are the finest Gennets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300. leagues from it. From this Citie I trauayled still through hilles and mountaines, till I came to the ende of this Prouince, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth the hill of wind: for that they say, it is the highest hill that euer was discouered: for from the toppe of it may be discouered both the North, and the South Seas, and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues. They which trauaile ouer it, lie alwayes at the foote of it ouernight, and begin their iourney about midnight, to trauell to the toppe of it before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwardes, that it is impossible for any man to goe vp: from the foote of this hill, to Tecoantepec, the first Towne of Noua Hispania, are about fifteene leagues, and so from hence I iourneyed to Mexico. By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yeere 1572.) in the companie of another Spaniard, which was my companion in this iourney, we went together toward the Prouince of Panuco, which lieth vpon the coast of the North Seas, and within three dayes iourney we entred a Citie called Mestitlan, where there dwelt twelue Spaniards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirtie thousand. This Citie standeth vpon certaine high mountaines, which are very thicke planted with Townes very holesome, and fruitfull, hauing plentifull fountaines of water running through them. The hie ropes of these hilles are all set with fruites, and trees of diuers kindes, & most pleasant: in euery Towne as we passed through, the Indians presented vs with victuals. Within twentie leagues of this place, there is another Citie called Clanchinoltitpec, belonging to a Gentleman, where there inhabite about fourtie thousand Indians: and there are among them eight or nine Fryers of the order of Saint Augustine, who haue there a Monasterie. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a Citie called Guaxutla, where there is another Monasterie of Fryers of the same order: there dwell in this Towne about twelue Spaniards. From this place forwards beginneth a Prouince called Guastecan, which is al plaine grounds without any hils. The first Towne we came vnto is called Tanguialabe, in which there dwell many Indians high of stature, hauing all their bodies painted with blewe, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tyed as women vse to doe with their hairelaces. When they goe out of their doores, they carrie with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those Countries they take neither golde, nor siluer for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and vse it as a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breede in their lippes, and in their gummes. After nine dayes trauell from this place, we came to a Towne called Tampica, which is a port Towne vpon the Sea, wherein there dwell I thinke fourtie Christians, of which number whilest we abode there, the Indians killed fourteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they haue in this place: it standeth vpon the entrie of the riuer of Panuco, which is a mightie great riuer, and were it not for a sand that lieth

Ecatepec a hill nine leagues high.

Salt a principall marchandize.

&

at the mouth of it, shippes of 500. tunne might goe vp into it aboue three score leagues. From hence we went to Panuco 14. leagues from Tampeca, which in times past had bene a goodly Citie, where the king of Spaine had his gouernour: but by reason that the Indians there destroyed the Christians, it lieth in a manner waste, conteyning in it not aboue 10. Christians with a Nunne: In this towne I fell sicke where I lay 41. dayes, hauing no other sustenance, then fruite and water, which water I sent for aboue 6. leagues of within the countrie. Here I remained til my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, retayning in my company onely a slaue, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the last day in Easter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake state, by reason of the vnholsomnes of the place. Notwithstanding my weakenes, I being set on a horse, & an Indian behind me to hold me, we went forward in our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we passed ouer the riuer in a Canoa, and being on the other side, I went my selfe before alone, and by reason there met many wayes, traled by the wilde beastes, I lost my way, and so trauciled through a great wood about two leagues, and at length fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of strawe, who seeing me, came out to the number of 20. of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and spake vnto me in their language which I vnderstoode not: and so I made signes vnto them to helpe me from my horse, which they did by commandement of their lord which was there with them, and lighted downe, they carried me vnder one of their cottages, and laid me vpon a mat on the ground: and perceiuing that I could not vnderstand them, they brought vnto me a little Indian wench, of Mexico, of 15. or 16. yeeres of age, whom they commaunded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I came among them: for (sayth she) doest thou not know Christian, how that these people will kill and eate thee? to whom I answered, let them doe with me what they will, here nowe I am: she replied, saying, thou mayest thanke God thou art leane, for they feare thou hast the porks, other wise they would eate thee. So I presented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottel, which he esteemed aboue any treasure, for for wine they will sell their wiues, & children. After wards the wench asked me what I would haue, and whether I would eate any thing: I answered that I desired a litle water to drinke, for that the countrie is very hotte, and she brought me a great Uentee glasse guilded full of water, and marueiling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it: she told me that the Casique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne distant 30. leagues from this place on the hilles whereas dwelt certaine Christians, and certaine Fryers, of the order of S. Augustine, which this Casique with his people on a night slewe, & burning the Fryers Monasterie, among other things reserued this glasse, and from thence also brought me. Hauing now bene conuersant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aske me if I would goe my way: I answered her, þ I desired nothing els: so þ Casique caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way, going before me with their bowes & arrowes naked, the space of three leagues, till they brought me into a hie way: & then making a signe vnto me, they signified þ in short time I should come to a towne where Christians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de las villas, standing in plaine fields walled about with a mud wall, þ number of þ Christians þ dwelt therein, were not aboue 4. or 5. & twentie, vnto which þ king of Spaine giueth Indians, & townes to keepe þ countries subiect vnto him. Here the Christians haue their mightie mules, which they carry for all the parts of þ Indies, & into Peru, for that all their marchandize are caried by this meanes by land. In this towne afore said I found my cõpanie which I had lost before, who made no other accoũt of me but that I had bene slaine, & the Christians there likewise marueiled to heare þ I came frõ those kinde of Indians alme, which was a thing neuer seene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Christian, & to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their neckes, & so are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained 18. dayes, til I recouered my health, & in the meane space there came one Don Francisco de Pago, Don Henrico Manriques viceroy of Mexico. from the Uiceroy Don Henrico Manriques had sent for captaine generall, to open & discouer a certaine way frõ þ sea side to þ mines of Sacatecas, which was frõ this place 160. leagues, for to transport their marchãdize by þ way, leauing þ way by Mexico, which is 7. or 8. moneths trauel. So this captaine tooke me, & my companie with the rest of his souldiers to the number of 40. which he had brought wt him, & 500. Indians which we tooke out of þ two townes in this prouince called Tanchipa, & Tamadelipa, al good archers & naked men, & went thence to þ riuer de las Palmas of great bignes, parting þ kingdome of noua Hispania, & Florida, & going still along Rio de las Palmas. by this riuer the space of 3. daies seeking passage to passe ouer, & finding none, we were at length Of raste. inforced to cut timber to make a Balsa, which when we had made we sate on it, & the Indians swimming in þ water, & thrusting it before them to þ other side: within 30. daies after trauapling through woods, hils & mountaines, we came to þ mines of Sacatecas, which are þ richest mines

in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most siluer: In which mines there dwelt aboue 300. Christians, and there our Captaine gaue vs leaue to depart. So we came to the valley of S. Michael towards Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo nouo, & from that place to the prouince of Mechuacan, after which name the chiefest Citie of that place is called, where there dwels a Bishop, and aboue 100. Spanyards in it. It aboundeth with all kinde of Spanish fruites, and hath woods full of nutt trees, and wilde vines: theare are many mines of copper, and great store of cattel: It lyeth 60. leagues from Mexico, whither we came within 4. daies after: the Indias of this Countrey are very mighty and bygge men. Afterwards I returned another way to the prouince of Sonsonate by Vera cruz, and so to Rio Aluarado, and from thence to the prouince of Campego, which lyeth on the Southside of the bay of Mexico: The chief towne of this prouince is called Merida, in which is a Bishop and almost C. Spanyardes. The Indians of this prouince pay all their tribute in mantles of cotten wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this prouince for a ship of a C. tunne to ryde in, but onely in the riuer of Tabasco, by which riuer this Citie of Merida standeth. The chiefest marchandize which they lade there in smal Frigats is a certaine wood called Campege, (wherewith they vse to dye) as also hydes and annyle. By this there lyeth the prouince Iucatan neere the Hundura by the North sea coast, where there is also another Bishop, and a towne likewise named Iuacatans where there dwell a fewe Spanyardes. They haue no force at all in all this coast to defende themselues withall, saue onely that the Land is low, and there is no Port to receiue any shipping, vnlesse they be Frigats, which carry from thence to the Port of S. John de Vllua waxe, Cacao, houy, & also mantels of cotten wooll, whereof they make there great store, and of which kinde of Marchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the same also they pay their tribute to the King. The king hath tribute brought him yeerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene ix. and x. Millions of gold, and siluer: for he receiueth of euery Indian which is subiect vnto him, excepting those which doe belong to the Incommenderos (which are the children of those Spanyards, who first conquered the land) to whom the king gaue, and graunted the gouernment of the Cities and townes subdued for three liues, twelue royals of plate, and a hannege of Mayis (which is a wheat of the Countrey, 6. of them making a quarter of English measure) and of euery widow woman he hath vi. royals and like a hannege of Mayis, and so if any Infidell haue xx. children in his house he payeth for euery one of them being aboue xv. yeres old after that rate: this wheat being duely brought to the Gouernour of euery prouince and Citie, is solde in Mexico by the Kinges gouernours there euery yeere: so that the money receiued for it, is put into the kings Treasurie there, and so is yeerely carped from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and siluer, he receiueth the fift part of it, which hee calleth his Quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes set on it, for otherwise it may not be brought out of the lande into Spaine, vnder paine of death. The marke of siluer which is 8. ounces, when it commeth out of the mines not hauing the Kinges Seale vpon it, is worth forty three royalles of plate, and so it is currant, and when they will bring it for Spayne, they carry it to the Kinges Treasure house, where his Seale is set vpon it, and so it is raysed in value thereby to threescore and foure royals of plate, and so the king hath for his custome of euery marke of plate twenty and one royals. From the yeere of 70. which was the yeere, that the Popes Buls came into the Indies, as is afore mencioned, he hath receiued both of Indians which are tributaries vnto him, and also of all others belonging to the Incommenderos of euery one being aboue 12. yeeres of age, 4. royals of euery bull. Also they carry other pardons with them into the Indies for such as bee dead, although a 100. yeeres before the Spanyards came into the countreys which pardons the Fryers in their preachings perswaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giuing 4. royals of plate for a Masse, they would deliuer their soules out of purgatory. Of the Christians likewise dwelling there he hath 14. royals for euery Bull, and there be certaine Buls brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serue for pardoning all such faults wherein they haue trespassed either against the king by keeping backe his customes, or one against another by any other iniury, for euery hundred crownes whereof his conscience doth accuse him that hee hath deceiued the king or any other, he must giue 10. for a Bull and so after that rate for euery C which he hath any way stollen, and so is pardoned the fault. The reuenue of his Buls after this maner yeeldeth vnto his Treasurie yeerely aboue three Millions of gold as I haue bene credibly informed: although of late both the Spanyardes, and Indians do refuse to take the Buls, for that they perceiue he doth make a yeerely custome of it: onely the Indians take one pardon for all his household, whereas in former time euery Indian vsed to take one for euery person in his house, and teareth the same into small peeces, and giueth to euery one of his household a little

Copper mines

The greatnes of the king of Spaines reuenue out of the west Indies.

The Quinto.

peece,

peece, saying thus, they needs nowe no more, seeing in that which they bought the peere before, they had aboue 10000. peeres pardon. These pieces they sticke vp in the wall of the houses where they lie. Both the Christians and Indians are weary with these infinite taxes and customes, which of late he hath imposed vpon them, more then in the yeeres before. So as the people of both sortes did rebell twise in the time that I was among them, and would haue set vp an other King of them selues: For which cause the King hath commaunded vpon paine of death, that they should not plant either wine or oyle there, but should alwayes stand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more growe there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twentie, it is so fertile a countrey. And the King to keepe the countrey alwayes in subiection, and to his owne vse, hath straightly prouided by Law, vpon paine of death, and losse of goods, that none of these countries should traffike with any other nation, although the people themselues doe much nowe desire to trade with any other then with them, and would doubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill ensuing thereupon.

Rebellions in Noua Hispania, by too great exactions.

About Mexico, and other places in Noua Hispania, there groweth a certaine plant called Nege, which yeeldeth Wine, vineger, Hony, and black Sugar, and of the leaues of it dried, they make hempe, ropes, shooes which they vse, and tyles for their houses: and at the ende of euery leafe, there groweth a sharpe point like an awle, wherewith they vse to bore or pearce through any thing.

Thus to make an ende, I haue here set downe the summe of all the chiefest things that I haue obserued, and noted in my 17. yeeres trauaile in those partes.

The first voyage, attempted and set foorth by the expert, and valiant Captaine M. Francis Drake himselfe, with a ship called the Dragon,

and another ship, and a Pinnesse, to Nombre de Dios, and Dariene, about the yeere 1572. Written, and recorded by one Lopez a Spaniard, in this maner folowing: which Spaniard, with the discourse about him, was taken at the Riuer of Plate by the Ships set forth by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586.

THere was a certaine English man named Francis Drake, who hauing intelligence howe the Towne of Nombre de Dios in Noua Hispania, had but small store of people remaining there, came on a night, & entred the Porte with foure Pinnesses, and landed about 150. men, and leauing 70. men with a trumpet, in a Forte which was there, with the other 80. he entred the Towne, without doing any harme, till hee came to the market place, and there discharged his caliuers, and sounded a trumpet very loude, and the other which he had left in the Forte answered him after the same maner, with the discharging their caliuers, and sounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any such matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their sleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter should be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that vprore was which happened so suddenly in the Towne. But fourteene or fifteene of them ioyning together with their harquebusses, went to the market place to knowe what they were that were in the Towne, and in a corner of the market place they did discouer the English men, and seeing them to be but fewe, discharged their caliuers at those English men: their fortune was such that they killed the Trumpetter, and shot one of the principall men thorow the leg, who seeing himselfe hurt, retyred to the Forte, where the rest of their company was left: they which were in the Forte sounded their trumpet, and seeing that they in the Towne did not answere them, and hearing the caliuers, thought that all they in the Towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses: The English Captaine comming to the Forte, and not finding his men which he left there, hee and his were in so great feare, that leauing their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hose, swamme, and waded all to their Pinnesses, and so went with their shippes againe out of the Porte.

Thus this English Captaine called Francis Drake departed from Nombre de Dios, and slewe onely one man in the Towne which was looking out of a windowe to see what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter slaine.

But hee being discontented with the repulse which he had receiued there, came to the sound of Dariene, & hauing conference with certaine Negroes which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negroes did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with golde and siluer from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie of these Negroes went

The valiant exploite of M. Francis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

thereupon on land, and staied in the way where the treasure should come with 100. shot, and so tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their driuers mistrusting nothing, and he caried away the golde only, for they were not able to carrie the siluer though the mountaines,

Sr. Francis Drake burnt the house of Crosses.

And two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, where hee killed sixe or seuen marchants, but found no golde nor siluer but much marchandize: so he fired the house, where was burnt to boue 200000. Duckets in marchandize, and so went to his shippe againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a shipboorde, there came downe to the sands 300. shot of the Spaniards in the sight of his shippes, of purpose to seeke him, but hee cared litle for them being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

The voyage of Iohn Oxnam of Plymmouth, to the West India, *and ouer the Straight of Dariene into the South* Sea. Anno 1575. Written by the foresayd Lopez in the same discourse.

THere was another English man, who hearing of the spoyle that Francis Drake had done vpon the coast of Noua Hispania, and of his good aduenture and safe returne home, was thereby prouoked to vndertake the like enterprise, with a ship of 140. tunnes, and 70. men, and came thither, and had also conference with the foure sayde Negroes: and hearing that the golde and siluer which came vpon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was nowe conducted with souldiers, he determined to doe that which neuer any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negroes. This man couered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and so not leauing any man in his shippe, hee tooke two small pieces of ordinance, and his caliuers, and good store of victuals, & so went with the Negroes about twelue leagues into the maine land, to a Riuer that goeth to the South sea, and there hee cut wood and made a Pinnesse, which was 45. foote by the keele, and hauing made this Pinnesse, hee went into the South sea, carying sixe Negroes with him to be his guides, & so went to the Iland of Pearles, which is 25. leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without shewing himselfe to any man, to see if he might get any ship that came from Peru: At last, there came a small Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke, and found in her 60. thousand waight of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himselfe with this prise, hee staied long without sending away his prise or any of the men, and in the ende of sixe dayes after, he tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke 100. thousande waight of siluer in barres, with the which hee thought to haue gone, and entred the Riuer, but first hee went into the Ilands to see if he could finde any Pearles: Where he found a fewe, and so returned to his Pinnesse againe, and so sayling to the Riuer from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the sayd Riuer, he sent away the two prises that he tooke, and with his Pinnesse he went vp the Riuer. The Negroes that dwelt in the Iland of Pearls, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Gouernour within two dayes sent foure Barks with 100. men, twentie fiue men in euery one, and Negroes to rowe with the Captaine, Iohn de Ortega, which went to the Iland of Pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the English men were gone, and following of them, hee met by the way the ships which the English men had taken, of whome hee learned, that the English men were gone vp the Riuer, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the Riuer, the Captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions in the Riuer to goe vp in, and being determined to goe vp the greatest of the three Riuers, he sawe comming downe a lesser Riuer many feathers of hennes, which the English men had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, he went vp that Riuer where he sawe the feathers, and after that he had bene in that Riuer foure dayes, he discried the English mens Pinnesse vpon the sands, and comming to her, there were no more then sixe English men, whereof they killed one, and the other fiue escaped away, and in the Pinnisse hee found nothing but victuals: But this Captaine of Panama not herewith satisfied determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leauing twentie men in his Pinnesses, he with 80. shot went vp the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a house made of boughs, where they found all the English mens goods, and the gold and siluer also, and carying it backe to their Pinnesses, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the English men any further.

The Iland of Pearles 25. leagues from Panama.

But

But at the ende of three dayes, the English Captaine came to the Riuer with all his men, and about 200. Negroes, and set vpon the Spaniards with great furie: But the Spaniards hauing the aduantage of trees which they stoode behinde, did easily preuaile, and killed eleuen English men, and fiue Negroes, & tooke other seuen English men aliue, but of the Spaniards, two were slaine and fiue sore hurt. A skirmish betweene the English men, and the Spaniards.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the English men which they tooke, why they went not away in fifteene dayes libertie which they had. They answered, that their Captaine had commaunded them to carry all that golde and siluer which they had, to the place where they had left their shippe, and they had promised him to carry it, although they made three or foure iourneys of it, for he promised to giue them part of it besides their wages, but the mariners would haue it by and by, and so their Captaine being angry because they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in so much that one of the companie would haue killed the Captaine, so that the Captaine would not haue them to carry the treasure, but sayd hee would seeke Negroes to carry it, and so he went, and sought for Negroes, and bringing those Negroes to carry it, he met with the fiue English men that he had left in his Pinnesse which ran from the Spaniards, and the rest also which ran from the house, & they tolde him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendship with all his men, he promised them halfe of all the treasure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negroes promised to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and thereupon they came to seeke the Spaniards, and now that some of his companie were killed and taken, he thought it best to returne to his ship, & so to passe backe for England. The Spanish Captaine hearing this, hauing buried the dead bodies, & hauing gotten all things into his Barks, and taking the English men and their Pinnes with him, he returned to Panama: so the voyage of that English man did not prosper with him, as hee thought it would haue done.

Nowe when the foure Barks were come to Panama, they sent aduise also to Nombre de Dios, and they of Nombre de Dios, sent also from them other foure Barks (which, as the Spaniards say) found the English ship where she was hid, and brought her to Nombre de Dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru, not thinking it good to suffer fiftie English men to remaine in the countrey, sent a seruant of his called Diego de Frees, with 150. shot into the mountaines to seeke them out, who found them making of certaine canoas to go into the North sea, and there to take some Barke or other: some of them were sicke, and were taken, and the rest fled with the Negroes, who in the ende betrayed them to the Spaniards, so that they were brought to Panama. The English betraped to the Spaniards.

And the Iustice of Panama asked the English Captaine whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lorde for his attempt. And he answered he had none, whereupon he and all his company were condemned to dye, and so were all executed, sauing the Captaine, the Master, the Pilote, and fiue boyes which were carried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet liuing. The death of John Oxnam.

The King of Spaine hauing intelligence of these matters, sent 300. men of warre against those Negroes which had afflicted those English men, which before were slaues vnto the Spaniards, and, as before is sayd, fled from their masters into those mountaines, and so ioyned themselues to the English men, to the end they might the better reuenge themselues on the Spaniards.

At the first comming of these 300. souldiers, they tooke many of the Negroes, and executed great iustice vpon them: But after a season, the Negroes grewe wise and wary, and preuented the Spaniards, so that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that Countrey marueiled much at this one thing, to see that since the conquering of this land, there hath bene many French men, that haue come to those Countries, but neuer saw English men there but onely those two of whom I haue spoken. And although there haue many French men bene on the coast, yet neuer durst they put foote vpon land, onely those two English men aduentured it, and did such exploits, as are before remembred.

All these things comming to the hearing of the King of Spaine, he prouided two Gallies wel appointed to keepe those coasts: and the first yeere, they tooke sixe or seuen French ships. And after that this was knowen, there were no more English men or French men of warre that durst aduenture to approch the coast, vntill this present yeere 1586. that the aforesayd Francis Drake, with a strong Fleete of 24. shippes arriued there, and made spoyle of S. Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Augustine, things that are knowen to all the world. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine liue, he will in time prouide sufficient remedy, to keepe his Countries, and subiects from the inuasion of other nations. The English mens comming to the Indies, caused the King of Spaine to build Gallies to keepe the Seas.

A discourse

A discourse written by Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, to prooue a *Passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies.*

The Table of the matters conteined in euery Chapter of this discourse.

Capitulo 1.

TO prooue by authoritie a passage to be on the Northside of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India.

Capitulo 2.

To prooue by reason a passage to be on the North side of America, to go to Cataia, Molluccæ, &c.

Capitulo 3.

To prooue by experience of sundry mens trauailes the opening of this Northwest passage, whereby good hope remaineth of the rest.

Capitulo 4.

To prooue by circumstance, that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled throughout.

Capitulo 5.

To prooue that such Indians as haue bene driuen vpon the coasts of Germanie came not thether by the Southeast, and Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America.

Capitulo 6.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorowe passage nauigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

To prooue that these Indians came by the Northwest, which inducth a certaintie of this passage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What seuerall reasons, were alleaged before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lordes of her Highnesse priuie Counsel, by M. Ienkinson a Gentleman of great trauaile and experience, to prooue this passage by the Northeast, with my seuerall answeres then alleaged to the same.

Capitulo 9.

Howe that this passage by the Northwest, is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeast, if there were any such.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discouered.

To prooue by authoritie a Passage to be on the North side of America, *to goe to Cathaia, and the East India.*

Chapter 1.

WHen I gaue my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia, and Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to be an Iland enuironed round about with the Sea, hauing on the Southside of it, the frete, or straight of Magellan, on the West side Mare de sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East partes of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are. On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North side the Sea that seuereth it from Groneland, thorowe which Northren Seas, the Passage lyeth, which I take nowe in hand to discouer.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Iland, then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike, and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straightes of Gibralter, nauigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis, did as well enioy ꝑ gouernance of all Affrike, & the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to prooue Platoes opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in auncient time, by them of Europe, to be of the more credite: Marinæus Siculus, in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there hath bene found by the Spaniards, in the Golde Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money, ingraued with the Image of Augustus Cæsar: which pieces were sent to the Pope, for a testimonie of the matter, by Iohn Rufus, Archbyshop of Consentinum.

Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philosopher,

Philosopher, Crantor the Grecian, Proclus, also Philo the famous Iewe, (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato) to be ouerflowen, and swallowed vp with water, by reason of a mighty earthquake, and streaming down of the heauenly Fludgates. Proclus pag. 24.

The like whereof happened vnto some part of Italie, when by the forcibleness of the Sea, called Superum, it cut of Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iustine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chaunced the like in Zeland a part of Flanders. Iustine Lib. 4.

And also the cities of Pyrrha, and Antissa, about Meotis palus: and also, the citie Burys, in the Corynthian bosome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene swallowed vp with the sea, and are not at this day to bee discerned: By which accident, America grewto bee vnknowen of long time, vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately discouered againe, by Americus Vespucius, in the yere of our Lord, 1497. which some say to haue bene first discouered, by Christophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno. 1492. Plinie.

The same calamitie happened vnto this Isle of Atlantis 600. and odde yeres before Plato his time, which some of the people of the southeast partes of the world accompted as 9000. yeres: for the manner then was to reckon the moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yere, which is our vsuall moneth, depending à Luminari minore.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Islande be found or iudged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then those Westerne Islands, which beare now the name of America: countervailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.

Then, if when no part of the said Athlantis was oppressed by water, & earthquake, the coasts round about the same were nauigable: a farre greater hope nowe remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was, since that time, swallowed vp with water, which could not vtterly take away the old deepes and chanels, but rather, be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many newe: why then shoulde we nowe doubt of our Northwest passage & nauigation from England to India? &c. seeing that Athlantis nowe called America, was euer knowen to bean Island, and in those dayes nauigable round about, which by accesse of moze water coulde not be diminished. A minore a maius.

Also Aristotle in this booke de Mundo, and the learned Germaine, Simon Gryneus in his annotations vpon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby as manifestly doeth appeare, Asia, Africk, and Europe, being all the countries then knowen) to be but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the Sea Atlantine: which likewise approueth America to bee an Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia, or rest.

Also many Auncient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean sea (which lieth East of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that Sea also on the West coastes of Spayne and Afrik, Mare Atlanticum: the distance betweene the two coastes, is almost halfe the compasse of the earth. Strabo lib. 15.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus, of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the Sea adioyning to Afrik, or yet the Sea adioyning to Afrik had name Oceanus Atlanticus, of the same mountaine: but that those Seas and the mountaine Atlas, were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other, had their names for a memoriall of the mightie prince Atlas, sometime King thereof, who was Iapher yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was deuided betweene the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet. Valerius Anselmus in Catago annorum et principium, fol. 6. Gen. 9. 10.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest, will be founde fauourable to this our enterprise, and am the rather imboldened to beleeue the same, for that I finde it not only confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Philosophers: but also by all the best moderne Geographers, as (Gemma Frisius, Munsterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gastaldus, Guyccardinus, Michael Tramesinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Barnardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauasor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Ortelius) who doth coast out in his generall Mappe (set out Anno 1569. all the countreys and capes, on the Northwestside of America, from Hochelega to C. De Paramantia: describing likewise the sea coastes of Cataia and Grondland, towards any part of America, making both Grondland and America, Islands dissloyned by a great sea, from any part of Asia.

All which learned men and paineful trauellers haue affirmed, with one consent and voice, that America was an Island: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with smal danger passe to Cataia, the Moluccæ, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portingale doeth, or may doe, from the neerest parte of any of their countreis

treis within Europe.

We ought by reasons right to haue a reuerent opinion of worthy men.

What mooued these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what end so many and sundry trauellers, of both ages, haue allowed the same: But I coniecture that they would neuer haue so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to haue lead them thereunto.

Now Iorde Burleigh & high Treasurer of England.

A Nauigation of one Ochther made in King Alfreds time.

Now least you should make smal accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, rekoning their authoritie amongst fables of no importance: I haue for the better assurance of those proofes, set downe some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue, and translated into English by M. Nowel seruant to Maister Secretarie Cecill, wherein there is described a Nauigation, which one Ochther made, in the time of King Alfred, King of Westsaxe Anno. 871. the wordes of which discourse were these: He sailed right North, hauing alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the mayne sea, continuing his course, vntill he perceiued that the coast bowed directly towardes the East, or else the Sea opened into the lande he could not tel how far, where he was compelled to stay vntil hee had a westerne winde, or somewhat vpon the North and sayled thence directly East, alongst the coast, so farre as he was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill he had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not how far into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually ful South, so far as he could trauel in the space of fiue dayes, where he discouered a mightie riuer, which opened far into the lande, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.

A perfect description of our Muscouia voyage.

By Sir Hugh Wyllouhby, knight, Chauncellor and Borough.

Whereby it appeareth, that he went the very same way, that we now do yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Muscouia, which way no man in our age knew, for certaintie to be sea, vntil it was since discouered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt: but thought before that time that Groneland had ioyned to Normoria Byarmia, & therefore was accompted a new discouerie, being nothing so in deede, as by this discourse of Ochthers it appeareth.

Neuerthelesse if any man should haue taken this voiage in hand, by the incouragment of this onely author, he shoulde haue bene thought but simple: considering that this Nauigation was written so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obsure author, and yet wee in in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences, his former reports to be true.

Howe much more then, ought we to beleeue this passage to Cataia to be, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainly set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables, and discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denyed, but left as a matter doubtfull.

To proue by reason, a passage to be on the Northside *of* America: *to goe to* Cataia, *&c.*

CHAP 2.

Experimented by our english fishers.

First, all seas are mainetained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the ende, any Riuer, Baye or Hauen is, the shallower it waxeth, (although by some Accidental barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you saile West, from Island, towards the place, where this fretis thought to be, the more deeper are the seas: which giueth vs good hope, of continuance of the same sea, with Mare del Sur, by some frete that lyeth betweene America, Gronelande, and Cataia.

2 Also, if that America were not an Islande, but a part of the continent adioyning to Asia, either the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, and Quinzay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would before this time, haue made some roade into it: hoping to haue found some like commodities to their owne:

Neede makes the old wife to trotte.

3 Or els the Scythians, and Tartarians (which often times heretofore, haue sought far & nere, for new seats, driuen thereunto, through the necessitie of their colde, and miserable countreys) would in all this time, haue found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene neuer so straite, or difficult: the countrie being so temperate, pleasant and fruitful, in comparison of their own. But there was neuer any such people found there, by any of the Spaniards, Portingals, or Frenchmen, who first discouered the Inland of that Countrie: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen, must then of necessitie, haue seene some one Ciuil man in America, considering how ful of ciuil people Asia is: But they neuer sawe so much as one token, or signe, that euer any man of the knowen part of the world, had beene there.

4 Furthermore,

4 Furthermore, it is to be thought, that if by reaſon of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia, or Tartarie coulde enter the countrie of America, or they of America, haue entred Aſia, if it were ſo ioyned: yet ſome one ſauage, or wandring beaſt would in ſo many yeeres, haue paſſed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beaſts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of thoſe proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Aſia. Which thing proueth America, not only to be one Iſland, and in no part adioyning to Aſia. But alſo that the people of thoſe Countreys, haue not had any traffyke with eache other.

5 Moreouer at the leaſt ſome one of thoſe paineful trauellers, which of purpoſe haue paſſed the Confines of both countreis, with intent only to diſcouer, would, as it is moſt likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Iſthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or elſe haue declared ſome cauſe to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus venetus, who lyued, and dwelt a long time, in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the Sea coaſtes of Mangia, ouer againſt it, where he was imbarked, and performed a great Nauigation along thoſe Seas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciſcus vaſques de Coronado, who trauelled the North parte of America by lande, euer found entry from thence by land, to Cataia, or any part of Aſia.

7 Alſo it appeareth to be an Iſland, inſomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly, from the Eaſt to the Weſt, following the Diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, and carieth with it all inferiour bodies moueable, aſwel celeſtial, as elementall: which motion of the waters, is moſt euidently ſeene in the Sea, which lyeth on the South ſide of Afrik, where the currant that runneth from the Eaſt to the Weſt, is ſo ſtrong (by reaſon of ſuch motion) that their Portingals in the voyages, Eaſtward to Callecute, in paſſing by Cap. De buona ſperança, are enforced to make diuers courſes, the currant there being ſo ſwift, as it ſtriketh from thence, all along Weſtward, vpon the fret of Magellan, being diſtant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth: and not hauing free paſſage and entrance, thorow that fret towardes the Weſt, by reaſon of the narrowne of the ſaid ſtraite of Magellan, it ruuneth to ſalue this wrong (Nature not yelding to accidentall reſtraints) all along the Eaſterne coaſts of America, Northwardes, ſo farre as Cap. Fredo, being the farthest knowen place of the ſame continent, towards the North: which is about, 4800. leagues, reconing therewithal the trending of the land.

The Sea hath three motions.
1 Motum ab oriente in occidentem.
2 Motum fluxus et refluxus.
3 Motum circularem.
Ad cæli motum elementa omnia (excepta terra) mouentur.

8 So that this Currant, being continually mainteined with ſuch force, as Iaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who met with the ſame being at Baccalaos, as he ſailed alongſt the coaſtes of America, then, either it muſt of neceſſitie, haue way to paſſe from Cap Fredo, thorowe this frete, Weſtward towardes Cataia, being knowen to come ſo farre, onely to ſalue his former wrongs, by the authoritie before named: or els it muſt needes ſtrike ouer, vpon the coaſt of Iſland, Lappia, Finmarke, and Norway, (which are Eaſt from the ſaid place, about 360. Leagues) with greater force, then it did from Cap. de buona Sperança, vpon the fret of Magellan or from the frete of Magellan to Cap. Fredo, vpon which coaſtes, Iaques Cartier mette with the ſame, conſidering the shortneſſe of the Cut, from the ſaide C. Fredro, to Iſland, Lappia, &c. And ſo the cauſe Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coaſts, though the narrowe ſeas, which it doth not, but is diſgeſted about the North of Labrador, by ſome thorough paſſage there, thorow this fret.

Poſita cauſa, ponitur effectus.

The like courſe of the water, in ſome reſpect, happeneth in the Mediterrane Sea (as affirmeth Conterenus) whereas the currant, which commeth from Tanais, & the Euxinus, running along all the coaſts of Greece, Italie, France and Spaine, and not finding ſufficient way out thorough Gibralter, by meanes of the ſtraitneſſe of the fret, it runneth backe againe, alongſt the coaſts of Barbarie, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

Conterenus.

It may (peraduenture) bee thought that this courſe of the ſea, doth ſometime ſurceaſe, and thereby impugne this principle, becauſe it is not diſcerned all along the coaſt of America, in ſuch ſorte as Iaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I anſwere this: that albeit, in euery part of the Coaſt of America, or els where, this Currant is not ſenſibly perceiued, yet, it hath euermore ſuch like motion, either the vppermoſt, or nethermoſt part of the ſea: as it may bee moued true, if ye ſinke a ſayle by a couple of ropes, neere the grounde, faſtening to the nethermoſt corners, two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driuing whereof you ſhall plainely perceiue, the courſe of the water, and Currant, running with ſuch like courſe in the bottome.

An Obiection anſwered.
The Sea doth euermore performe this circular motion, either in Superficie, or concaua ſuperficie aquæ.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinarie motion of the ſea, in the Ocean: howe farre ſoeuer you be off the land.

9 Alſo there commeth another Currant from out the Northeaſt from the Sythian Sea (as

M. Ienkinſon

M. Ienkinson a man of rare vertue, great trauaile and experience, told me) which runneth Westward towardes Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these Currants, must haue way thorow this our frete, or else incounter together and runne contrary courses, in one line, but no such conflictes of streames, or contrary courses are found about any part of Labrador, or Terra noua, as witnesse our yeerely fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there digested, as aforesaid, and founde by the experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mare del Sur.

10 Furthermore, the Currant in the great Ocean, coulde not haue beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world, vnto this day, had there not bene some thorow passage by the frete aforesaide, and so by circular motion, bee brought againe to maintaine it selfe: For the Tides, and courses of the Sea are maintained by their interchangeable motions: as fresh riuers are by springes, by ebbing and flowing, by rarifaction and condensation.

The flowing is occasioned by reason that the heate of the moone dopleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetuall currant, can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reacceesse of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by such Circular motion as aforesaid. And the certaine falling therof by this fret into Mare del Sur, is proued by the testimonie & experience, of Barnarde del la Torre, who was sent from P. del la Natiuidad to the Molluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commaundement of Anthonie Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hispania, which Barnarde, sayled 750. Leagues, on the Northside of the Æquator, and there met with a currant, which came from Northeast the which proue him backe againe to Tidore.

An experience to proue the falling of this Currant, into Mare del sur.

Wherefore, this currant being proued to come from C. de buona Speranca, to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straite, is by the necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iacques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike ouer vpon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Barnard de la Torre, in Mare del Sur, on the backeside of America, therefore this currant (hauing none other passage) must of necessity, fal out thorow this our fret into Mare del Sur, and so trending by the Molluccæ, China, and C. De buona speranza, maintaineth it selfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we haue now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shalbe sufficiently removed. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded vpon experience, assureth vs of this passage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I haue added in this Chapter following, some further proofe hereof, by the experience of such as haue passed some part of this discouerie: and in the next adioyning to that the authoritie of those, which haue sayled wholy, thorow euery part thereof.

To proue by experience of sundrie mens trauels, the opening *of some part of this Northwest passage: whereby good hope* remaineth of the rest.

CHAP. 3

PAulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeeres in Cataia, affirmed that he sailed 1500 miles, vpon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towardes the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went: but also as farre as he could discerne.

2 Also Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passing from Mexico by Ceuola, through the countrey of Quiuir, to Sierra Neuada, found there a great Sea, where were certaine Shippes laden with Merchandise, the mariners wearing on their heads the pictures of certaine birds, called Alcatrarzi, part wherof were made of golde, and part of siluer: who signified by signes, that they were thirtie dayes comming thither: which likewise proueth America by experience to bee diuorced from Cataia, on that part, by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues therof: for that, so farre as is discouered, there hath not bene founde there any one Shippe of that countrey.

Baros lib. 9. Of his first Decas. cap. 1.

3 In like maner, Iohan. Baros, testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where hee himselfe

ſide had bene) affirme that the Sea coaſt, trendeth from thence Northeaſt, to 50. degrees of Septentrionall latitude, being the fartheſt part that way, which the Portingals had then knowledge of: And that the ſaide Coſmographers knewe no cauſe to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

By whoſe experiences, America is proued to be ſeparate from thoſe partes of Aſia, directly againſt the ſame. And not contented with the iudgements of theſe learned men onely, I haue ſearched what might be further ſaid for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciſcus Lopes de Gomara affirmeth, America to be an Iland, and likewiſe Grondland: and that Grondland is diſtant from Lappia 40. leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreouer, Aluarus Nunnius a Spaniard, and learned Coſmographer, and Iacobus Carter, who made two voyages into thoſe partes, and ſayled 500. myles vpon the Northeaſt coaſtes of America.

6 Likewiſe Hieronimus Fracaſtorius, a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North partes of the ſame land.

7 Alſo Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard ſay at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, howe that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they preſuppoſed to be the paſſage to Cataia.

Writers in the diſcourſes of Naugation.

Furthermore, Sebaſtian Cabota, by his perſonal experience and trauell hath ſet foorth, and deſcribed this paſſage in his Charts, which are yet to be ſeene in the Queenes Maieſties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was ſent to make this diſcouerie by king Henrie the ſeuenth, and entred the ſame freſt: affirming, that he ſayled very farre Weſtward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northſide of Terra de Labrador, the eleuenth of June, vntill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67. & a halfe degrees, and finding the Seas ſtill open, ſaid, that he might, and would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Maſter and Mariners had not bene.

Howe as theſe mens experience hath proued ſome part of this paſſage: ſo the chapter following ſhall put you in full aſſurance of the reſt, by their experiences which haue paſſed thoughout euery part thereof.

To prooue by circumſtance that the Northweſt paſſage *hath bene ſailed throughout.*

Cap. 4.

Quinque ſenſus.
1 Viſus.
2 Auditus.
3 Olfactus.
4 Guſtus.
5 Tactus.
Singularia ſenſu, vniuerſalia verò mente percipiuntur.

THe diuerſitie betweene bruite beaſtes and men, or betweene the wiſe and the ſimple is, that the one iudgeth by ſenſe onely, and gathereth no ſcientie of any thing that he hath not ſeene, feale, heard, taſted, or ſmelled: And the other not ſo onely, but alſo findeth the certaintie of things by reaſon, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added proofes of both ſortes, that the one and the other might thereby be ſatiſfied.

1 Firſt, as Gemma Friſius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this paſſage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

2 Alſo Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57. yeeres before Chriſt) that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempeſt, vpon the coaſt of Germanie which were preſented by the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, then Proconſull of France.

3 And Plinie vpon the ſame faith, that it is no maruell though there be Sea by the North, where there is ſuch abundance of moiſture: which argueth, that he doubted not of a nauigable paſſage that way, though which thoſe Indians came. Lib. 2. cap. 66.

4 And for the better proofe that the ſame authoritie of Cornelius Nepos, is not by me wreſted, to proue my opinion of the Northweſt paſſage: you ſhall finde the ſame affirmed more plainely in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who diſcreeth howe many wayes the Indian Sea ſtretcheth it ſelfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewiſe driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coaſtes of Germanie, by great tempeſt, as they were ſayling in trade of merchandize. Pag. 590.

5 Alſo whiles Frederic Barbaroſſa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160. there came certaine other Indians vpon the coaſt of Germanie. Auouched by Franciſcus Lopes de Gomara in his hiſtorie of India, lib. 1. cap. 10.

6 Likewiſe Ochon, in the ſtorie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, there were alſo certaine Indians caſt by force of weather, vpon the coaſt of the

said countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly haue come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Affrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

To proue that these Indians aforenamed, came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Affrike, or America.

Cap. 5.

FIrst, they could not come from the Southeast by Cape de buona Speranza, because the roughnesse of the Seas there is such (occasioned by the currants and great winds in that part) that the greatest Armadoes the king of Portingal hath, cannot without great difficultie passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could liue in those outragious seas without ship wracke (being a vessell but of very small burden) and haue conducted themselues to the place aforesayd, beyng men vnexpert in the Arte of nauigation.

2 Also, it appeareth plainly that they were not able to come from alongst the coast of Affrike aforesaid, to those partes of Europe, because the windes doe (for the most part) blow there Easterlie off from the shore, and the currant running that way in like sort, should haue driuen them Westward vpon some part of America, for such windes and tides could neuer haue led them from thence to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforesaid, keeping the seas alwayes, without skilfull mariners to haue conducted them such like courses as were necessarie to performe such a voiage.

3 Presuppoling also, if they had bene driuen to the West (as they must haue bene, comming that way) then they should haue perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not hauing any place (once leauing the coast of Affrike) vntill they came to America, nor from America, vntill they arriued vpon some part of Europe, or the Islands adioining to it to haue refreshed themselues.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might haue recouered Germanie, by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt haue striken vpon some other part of Europe before their arriuall there, as the Iles of Madera, Portingall, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would haue departed vndiscouered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in those dayes any such ship or men, but onely vpon the coasts of Germanie, where they haue bin sundry times and in sundrie ages cast a land: neither is it like that they would haue committed themselues againe to sea, if they had so arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

Why the Indians could not come by the Southwest.

5 And by the Southwest it is vnpossible, because the currant aforesaid which commeth from the East, striketh with such force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mare de Zur, that hardly any ship (but not possible a Canoa, with such vnskilfull mariners) can come into our Westerne Ocean through that fret, from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.

That the Indians could not be natiues either of Affrica, or of America.

6 And further, to proue that these people so arriuing vpon the coast of Germanie, were Indians, and not inhabiters of any part either of Affrica or America, it is manifest, because the natiues both of Affrica and America, neither had, or haue at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then such as do beare neither maste nor saile, (except onely vpon the coasts of Barbarie and the Turkes ships) but do carie themselues from place to place neere the shore, by the oare onely.

To proue that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow Nauigable passage that way.

Cap. 6.

IT is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas (as aforesayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelfie towards the ende, as we find, it doeth by experience, in Mare Glaciale, towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be nauigable towards the East, sufficient to saile thereby round about the world.

2 Also

2 Alſo, it ſtandeth ſcarcely with reaſon, that the Indians dwelling vnder Torrida Zona, could indure the iniurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrionall latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which elevation, the paſſage by the Northeaſt, cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South partes of it ſheweth) ſeeing that ſome of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whoſe Sommer is to them an extreme Winter) haue bene ſtroken to death, with the cold damps of the aire, about 72 degrees, by an accidentall miſhap, and yet the aire in ſuch like Elevation is alwayes cold, and too cold for ſuch as the Indians are.

Quicquid naturali loco priuatur, quam citiſſimè corrumpitur.

Qualis cauſa, talis effectus.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the groſſe thicke aire ſo neere the Pole, will ſo ſtiffen and ſtarre the ſailes and ſhip tackling, that no mariner can either hoiſe or ſtrike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this paſſage is preſuppoſed to bee, hath taught vs) without the vſe whereof no voiage can be performed.

4 Alſo, the aire is ſo darkened with continuall miſtes and fogs ſo neere the Pole, that no man can well ſee, either to guide his ſhip, or direct his courſe.

5 Alſo the compaſſe at ſuch elevation doeth very ſuddenly varie, which things muſt of force haue bene their deſtructions, although they had bene men of much more ſkill then the Indians are.

6 Moreouer, all Bayes, Gulfes and Riuers doe receiue their increaſe vpon the flood, ſenſiblie to be diſcerned on the one ſide of the ſhore or the other, as many wayes as they be open to any main Sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Perſicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thameſis, and all other knowen hauens or riuers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine ſea, doe likewiſe receiue their encreaſe vpon the flood the ſame way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the Weſt (as M. Jenkinſon affirmed vnto me) and therefore it followeth that this Northeaſt ſea, receiuing increaſe but onely from the Weſt, cannot poſſiblie open to the maine Ocean by the Eaſt.

Similium ſimilis ratio.

7 Moreouer, the farther you paſſe into any ſea towards the end of it, on that part which is ſhut vp from the maine Sea (as in all thoſe abone mentioned) the leſſe and leſſe the tides riſe and fall. The like whereof alſo happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which proueth but ſmall continuance of that Sea toward the Eaſt.

8 Alſo, the further ye goe toward the Eaſt in Mare Glaciale, the leſſe ſalt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the ſalt Sea towards the Eaſt, as it is to the Weſt onely, ſeeing (Euery thing naturally ingendereth his like) and then muſt it bee like ſalt throughout, as all the ſeas are, in ſuch like climate and elevation.

Quicquid corrumpitur à contrario corrumpitur.

And therefore it ſeemeth that this Northeaſt ſea is maintained by the riuer Ob, and ſuch like freſhets as Mare Ponticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermoſt parts thereof by the riuer Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais, &c.

Omne ſimile gignit ſui ſimile.

9 Furthermore, if there were any ſuch Sea at that elevation, ſo like it ſhould be alwayes froſen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) becauſe the extreme coldneſſe of the aire in the vppermoſt part, and the extreme coldneſſe of the earth in the bottome, the ſea there being but of ſmall depth, whereby the one accidentall coldneſſe doeth meet with the other, and the Sunne not hauing his reflection ſo neere the Pole, but at very blunt angles, it can neuer bee diſſolued after it is froſen, notwithſtanding the great length of their day: for that the ſunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of ſufficient force in that elevation, to preuaile againſt this ice, yet muſt it be broken before it can be diſſolued, which cannot bee but though the long continuance of the ſunne aboue their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be ſo farre ſpent, and ſo great darkenes and cold enſue, that no man could be able to endure ſo cold, darke, and diſcomfortable a nauigation, if it were poſſible for him then, and there to liue.

11 Further, the Ice being once broken, it muſt of force ſo driue with the windes and tides, that no ſhippe can ſaile in thoſe ſeas, ſeeing our Fathers of Iſland, and the New found land, are ſubiect to danger though the great Iſlands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the ſailers great danger) farre to the South of that preſuppoſed paſſage.

12 And it cannot be that this Northeaſt paſſage ſhould bee any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it ſhould cut of Ciremiſſi, and Turbi, Tartarij, with Vzeſucani, Chiſani, and others from the Continent of Aſia, which are knowen to be adioining to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the ſame Continent.

And if there were any thorow paſſage by the Northeaſt, yet were it to ſmall vſe and purpoſe for our traffique, becauſe no ſhippe of great burden can Nauigate in ſo ſhallow a Sea:

and ships of small burde are very vnfit and vnpossible, especially towards the blustering North, to performe such a voiage.

To proove that the Indians aforenamed, came onely by the *Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage* by experience.

Cap. 7.

IT is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is vnlikely that they should come either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage hauing bene already so many wayes prooued, by disprooving of the others, &c. I shall the lesse need in this place, to vse many wordes otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, hauing these many reasons to lead me thereunto.

1 First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, veering alwayes betweene two heats, with which kinde of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vse of a bowe line, or quarter winde, without the which no shippe can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, hauing so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

True, both ex ventis obliquè flantibus, & also in ventis ex diametro spirantibus.

2 And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest, because the coast whereon they were driuen, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do vtterly want, and therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

3 For if they had come by Cape de buona Sperança, then must they (as afore said) haue fallen vpon the South partes of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coasts of Affrike, Spaine, Portingall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then vpon the coasts of Ceremissi, Tartarij, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon these coasts (as afore said) they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without shipwracke vpon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken vpon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discouerie, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Hauens of those parts of the world, which in most of their places are plentifull.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitaunts of the most part of those countries, by which they must haue come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue deuoured them, slaine them, or (at the least wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainly appeareth that those Indians (which as you haue heard in sundrie ages were driuen by tempest vpon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreouer, the passage is certainely prooued by a Nauigation that a Portingall made, who passed through this fret, giuing name to a Promontorie farre within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioyning vnto Polisacus fluuius.

8 Also one Scolmus a Dane, entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Salua Terra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias, into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northwest passage from vs to Cataia, constantly to be beleeued in America nauigable. And further said in the presence of Sir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andro Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came frō Mare del Sur into Germanie through this Northwest passage, and shewed Salua Terra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voiage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portingall (as hee returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certaintie) such a passage Northwest from England, and that he meant to publish the same: which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage knowen to any nation: For that (sayde the king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spayne and me. This Frier (as Salua Terra reported) was the greatest Discouerer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Salua Terra, being perswaded of this passage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompanie mee in this Discouerie, which of like he would not haue done if he had stood in doubt thereof.

The words of the king of Portingall, to Andrea Vrdaneta a Frier, touching the concealing of this Northwest passage from England to Cataia.

And now as these moderne experiences cannot be impugned, so, least it might be obiected that these things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote so many yeeres past) might serue little to proue this passage by the North of America, because both America and India were to them then vtterly vnknowen: to remoue this doubt, let this suffise: That Aristocle, (who was 300. yeeres before Christ) named Mare Indicum. Also Berosus (who lined 330. yeeres before Christ) hath these wordes, Ganges in India. Also in the first chapter of Hester hee hath these wordes, In the dayes of Assuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Assuerus lined 580. yeeres before Christ. Also Quintus Curtius (where hee speaketh of the Conquests of Alexander) mencioneth India. Also, Arianus Philostratus, and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the most part of India vnder his gouernment. All which assureth vs, that both India and Indians were knowen in those dayes.

An obiection.

Aristocle lib. de mundo, cap. 2. Berosus lib. 3.

These things considered, we may (in my opinion) not onely assure our selues of this passage by the Northwest, but also that it is nauigable both to come and goe, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebastian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren aboue named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithstanding all which, there be some that heue a better hope of this passage to Cataia by the Northeast then by the West, whose reasons with my seuerall answeres ensue in the chapter following.

Certaine reasons alleaged for the prooving of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lordes of the Counsell, by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, with my seuerall answeres then vsed to the same.

Cap. 8.

BEcause you may vnderstand as well those things alleaged against mee, as what doth serue for my purpose, I haue here added the reasons of M. Anthonie Ienkinson a worthie gentleman, and a great traueller, who conceiued a better hope of the passage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

The first said that hee thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest, according to mine opinio: but assured he was, that there might be found a Nauigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endeuoured to proue three wayes.

The Northwest passage assured vnto.

The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the Morce, that he sailed very farre towards the Southeast, finding no ende of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

The first reason.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vse of the Sea Carde, Compasse or Starre, which hee confessed true: and therefore they could not (said I) certainly know the Southeast from the Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place vnknowen from the sight of the land.

The answer & resolution.

Or if he sailed any thing neere the shore, yet hee (being ignorant) might bee deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fisherman though simplicitie, thought that there was nothing that way but Sea, because hee sawe no land: which proofe (vnder correction) giueth small assurance of a Nauigable Sea by the Northeast, to goe rounde about the world. For that hee iudged by the eye onely, seeing we [illegible] this our cleare aye doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

Visus nonnunquam fallitur in duo obiecta.

The second reason of allegation.

His second reason is, that there was an Unicornes horne found vpon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (sayd he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some streit in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Unicorne in any part of Asia, sauing in India and Cataia, which reason (in my simple iudgement) foreeth as litle.

The answer of resolution.

First, it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Unicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

Also the tides running too & fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called Asinus Indicus (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an Unicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plentie in all the North parts thereunto adioining, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as Iacobus Zeiglerus writeth in his historie of Scondia.

And as Albertus saieth, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Unicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Unicornes horne, yea, or no.

The third and last reason of assertion.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or currant, through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse (as a Colmax told him) that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be caried out of sight towards the West.

The answer of resolution.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Mæotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus, and along the coast of Græcia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenus, and diuers others that haue had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that I say, but is maintained by freshets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

In like maner is this currant in Mare Glaciale increased and maintained by the Dwina, the riuer Ob, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to proue a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my seuerall answeres thereunto: so will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or dispaire of either at your pleasure.

How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.

Cap. 9.

FIrst, by the Northeast (if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous speedie and luckie passage) you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to bee benighted almost the one half of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue so long comfortlesse, void of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or vnderstanding may iudge.

2 Also Mangia, Quinzai, and the Molluccæ, are neerer vnto vs by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then two fiue parts, which is almost by the halfe.

3 Also we may haue by the West a yeerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being at such eleuation as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without diuers wintrings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as wee can well saile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Moscouia, and returne in the nauigable season of the yeere, and from S. Nicholas to Cerimissi Tartarij, which standeth at 80. degrees of the Septentrional latitude, it is at the least 400. leagues, which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the ende of your voiage by the Northeast.

5 And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conueniently, vntil you come to 60. degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeast, you must saile 24. leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495. leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest saile thither with all Easterlie windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must haue by the Northeast sundrie windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shall bee inforced to double, which

which windes are not all waies to be had, when they are looked for: whereby your iourney ſhould be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured ſo neere the Pole. As we are taught by ſir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7 Moreouer, it is very doubtfull, whether we ſhould long inioy that trade by the Northeaſt, if there were any ſuch paſſage that way, the commodities thereof once knowne to the Muſcouite, what priuiledge ſoeuer he hath granted, ſeeing pollice with the maze of exceſſiue gaine, to the inriching (ſo greatly) of himſelfe and all his dominions, would perſuade him to preſume the ſame, hauing ſo great opportunitie, to vtter the commodities of thoſe countries by the Narue.

But by the Northweſt, we may ſafely trade without danger, or annoyance of any prince liuing, Chriſtian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Alſo the Queenes Maieſties dominions are neerer the Northweſt paſſage then any other great princes that might paſſe that way, and both in their going and returne, they muſt of neceſſitie ſuccour themſelues and their ſhippes vpon ſome part of the ſame, if any tempeſtuous weather ſhould happen.

Further, no princes nauie of the world, is able to incounter the Queenes Maieſties nauie, as it is at this preſent: and yet it ſhould be greatly increaſed by the traffike inſuing vpon this diſcouery, for it is the long voyages that increaſe and maintaine great ſhipping.

Now it ſeemeth neceſſarie, to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all theſe things were, as we haue heeretofore preſuppoſed, and thought them to be: which next adioyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would enſue, this paſſage once *diſcouered.*

Chap. 10.

FIrſt, it were the onely way for our princes, to poſſeſſe the wealth of all the Eaſt parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conqueſt of India, and other the Eaſt partes of the world, alleged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, woonderfull inriching to our prince, and vnſpeakable commodities to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For though the ſhortneſſe of the voyage, we ſhould be able to ſell all maner of merchandize, bought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portingall or Spanyard doth or may doe. And further, ſhare with the Portingall in the Eaſt, and the Spanyard in the Weſt, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mare del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend vs.

3 Alſo we ſayle to diuers maruellous rich countreys, both ciuill and others, out of both their iuriſdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, cloth of golde, ſilkes, all maner of ſpices, grocery wares, and other kindes of merchandize of an ineſtimable price, which both the Spanyard and Portingall, though the length of their iournies, can not well attaine vnto.

4 Alſo we might inhabite ſome part of thoſe countreys, and ſettle there ſuch needie people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and though want heere at home, are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are daily conſumed with the gallowes.

5 Moreouer, we might from all the aforeſaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our ſtaple ſome conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or ſome other part, where as it ſhall ſeeme beſt for the ſhortning of the voyage.

6 Beſide vttering of our countrie commodities, which the Indians, &c. much eſteeme: as appeareth in Heſter, where the people is expelled of the great king of India, Aſſuerus, who matched the coloured cloches, wherewith his houſes and tents were apparelled, with golde and ſiluer, as part of his greateſt treaſure: not mentioning either velucts, ſilkes, cloth of golde, cloth of ſiluer, or ſuch like, being in thoſe countreys moſt plentifull: whereby it plainely appeareth in what great eſtimation they would haue the cloches of this our countrey, ſo that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had: and that without depending either vpon France, Spayne, Flanders, Portingall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Alſo

7 Also, heere we shall increase, both our shippes and mariners, without burthening of the state.

8 And also haue occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie crafts, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to haue our country combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this our discouery, without iniury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their vsed trades, whereby they might take any iust occasion of offence.

Thus haue I briefly shewed you some part of the grounds of mine opinion, trusting that you will no longer iudge me fantastike in this matter: seeing I haue conceiued no hope of this voyage, but am perswaded thereunto by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed, both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discouery, hath beene diuers times heeretofore by others, both offered, attempted and performed.

It hath beene offered by Stephan Gomes vnto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord God 1527, as Alphonso Vlua testifieth in the story of Carolus life: who would haue set him forth in it (as the story mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reason of his long warres had not caused him to surcease the same.

This discouery offered.

And the king of Portingall, fearing lest the Emperour would haue persewered in this his enterprise, gaue him, to leaue the matter vnattempted, the summe of 350000 crownes: and it is to be intended that the king of Portingall would not haue giuen to the Emperour such summes of money for egges in moonesshine.

This discouery attempted.

It hath beene attempted by Corterialis the Portingall, Scolmus the Dane, and by Sebastian Cabota in the time of king Henry the seuenth.

This discouery performed.

And it hath beene performed by the three brethren, the Indians aforesaid, and by Vrdaneta the frier of Mexico.

Also diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath sent two or three times to haue discouered the same: The discouerers, spending & consuming their victualles, in searching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the ile is broken to the after comers.

So that the right way may now easily be found out in short time: and that with little expence and lesse expences.

The labour of this discouerie shortned by other mens trauell.

For America is discouered so farre towards the North, as Cape Fredo, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioyning, is knowen to stand but at 72 degrees. So that we haue but 10 degrees to saile North and South, to put the world out of doubt heereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portingall would not haue sat out all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselues, all that trade they now vse, and feare to deale in this discouerie, least the Queenes Maiestie, hauing so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to her selfe, and thereby the Spanyardes and Portingalles, with their great charges, should beate the bushe, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreseeing, haue commanded, that no pilot of theirs, vpon paine of death, shoulde seeke to discouer to the Northwest, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow passage that way by the Northwest.

Why the kings of Spaine and Portingall would not persewer in this discouery.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remayneth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likelihoodes which Columbus alleged before Ferdinando the king of Castilia, to proue that there were such Ilands in the West Ocean, as were after by him and others discouered, to the great commoditie of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northwest passage to be most worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the West Ilands set forth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the same) from 942 yeeres before Christ, vntill that day.

Moreouer, Columbus himselfe had neither seene American or any other of the Ilands about it, neither vnderstood he of them, by the report of any other that had seene them, but onely comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spanyards doe write of a Biscaine, which should haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depriue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a stranger borne.

And

And if it were true of the Biscane, yet did hee but roue at the matter, or (at the least) gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit, my selfe haue not seene this passage, or any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers most credible men, which haue both seene and passed through some and euery part of this discouerie, besides sundry reasons for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, & indifferently weighed together, with the woonderfull commodities which this discouerie may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needes conclude with learned Baptista Ramusius, and diuers other learned men, who said, that this discouerie hath beene reserued for some noble prince or woorthie man, thereby to make himselfe rich, and the world happie: desiring you to accept in good part this briefe and simple discourse, written in haste, which if I may perceiue that it shall not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large discourse, which I haue written onely of this discouery.

And further, because it sufficeth not, onely to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the same, I will at leasure make you partaker of another simple discourse of nauigation, wherein I haue not a little trauelled, to make my selfe as sufficient to bring these things to effect, as I haue beene readie to offer my selfe therein.

And therein I haue deuised to amend the errors of vsuall sea cards, whose common fault is, to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bignesse.

And haue also deuised therin a Sphericall instrument, with a compasse of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to pricke the sea card together, with certaine infallible rules for the shortning of any discouery, to know at the first entring of any fret, whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre soeuer the sea stretcheth it selfe into the land.

Desiring you heerafter euer to mislike with me, for the taking in hand of any laudable and honest enterprise: for if through pleasure or idlenesse we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this minde, That he is not woorthie to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countrey seruice, and his owne honour: seeing death is ineuitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere sperno. Pereas qui vmbras timet.

Certaine other reasons, or arguments to prooue a passage by *the Northwest, learnedly written by M. Richard* Willes Gentleman.

FOure famous wayes there be spoken of to those fruitfull and wealthie Islands, which we do vsually call Mollucaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly trauelled for riches therein growing. These Ilandes, although they stand East from the Meridian, distant almost halfe the length of the world, in extreame heate, vnder the Equinoctiall line, possessed of Infidelles and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully sought in respect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerously brought home vnto vs. Our neighbours I call the Portingalles in comparison of the Molucchians for neerenesse vnto vs, for like situation Westward as we haue, for theyr vsuall trade with vs, for that the farre Southeasterlinges doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portingall, not greatlie acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Theyr voyage is very well vnderstood of all men, and the Southeasterne way rounde about Affrike by the cape of Good hope, more spoken of, better knowen and trauelled, then that it may seeme needfull to discourse thereof any further. 1. By the Southeast.

The seconde way lyeth Southwest, betweene the West Indie or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow straight where Magellanus first of all men that euer we doe reade of, passed these latter yeeres, leauing thereunto therefore his name. This way no doubt the Spanyards woulde commodiously take, for that it lyeth neere vnto theyr dominions there, could the Easterne currant and leuant windes as easily suffer them to returne, as speedily therewith they may be carryed thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impossibility of striuing against 2. By the Southwest.

against the force both of winde and streame, this passage is little or nothing vsed, although it be very well knowne.

3. By the Northeast. The third way by the Northeast, beyond all Europe and Asia, that worthy and renowned knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie sought to his perill, enforced there to end his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way consisteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reason, or approoued by experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythish Cape set by Ortelius vnder the 80 degree North, by the vnlikely sailing in that Northerne sea alwaies clad with ise & snow, or at the least continually pestred therewith, if happely it be at any time dissolued: besides bayes and shelfes, the water waxing more shallow towards the East, that we say nothing of the foule mists and darke fogs in the colde clime, of the little power of the Sunne to cleare the ayre, of the vncomfortable nights, so neere the Pole, fiue moneths long.

Ortel. Asia. 3.

4. By the Northwest. A fourth way to go into these aforesaid happy Ilands Moluccæ, Syr Humfrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight, discourseth of at large in his new passage to Cathayo. The enterprise of it selfe being vertuous, the fact must doubtlesse deserue high praise, and whensoeuer it shall be finished, the fruits therof can not be small: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, and fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the passage doubtfull, the voyage not thoughly knowne, and therfore gainsaid by many, after this maner.

Obj. 1. First, who can assure vs of any passage rather by the Northwest then by the Northeast? doe not both wayes lye in equall distance from the North Pole? stande not the North Capes of either continent vnder like eleuation? Is not the Ocean Sea beyonde America farther distant from our Meridian by thirtie or fortie degrees West, then the extreame poynctes of Cathayo Eastwarde, if Ortelius generall Carde of the worlde be true. In the Northeast that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie perished for colde: and can you then promise a passenger any better happe by the Northwest? who hath gone for triall sake, at any time, this way out of Europe to Cathayo.

In Theatro.

Obj. 2. If you seeke the aduise herein of such as make profession in Cosmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldest children, will answere by their mappes with a negatiue, concluding most of the sea within the land, and making an end of the world Northward, neere the 63 degree. The same opinion, when learning chiefly flourished, was receiued in the Romans time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: Et te colet vltima Thule, said Virgil, being of opinion, that Island was the extreame part of the world habitable toward the North. Ioseph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germane, for knowledge men able to be compared with the best Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Sphearcs of the whole world, the other in some of his great globes, haue continued the West Indies land, euen to the North Pole, and consequently, cut off all passage by sea that way.

The same doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his sea carde, nouertheles doubting of so great continuance of the former continent, haue opened a gulfe betwixt the West Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but such a one, that either is not to be trauelled for the causes in the first obiection alleged, or cleane shut vp from vs in Europe by Groenland: the South end whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Nortway.

Obj. 3. Thirdly, the greatest fauourers of this voyage, can not deny but that if any such passage be, it lyeth subiect vnto ise and snow for the most part of the yere, whereas it standeth in the edge of the frostie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and dissolued the ise, euery one well knoweth that there can be no sailing: the ise once broken through the continuall abode the Sunne maketh a verie shalow season in those parts: how shall it be possible for so weake a vessell as a shippe is, to holde out amid whole Ilands, as it were of ise continually beating on euery side, and at the mouth of that gulfe, falling downe furiously from the North safely to passe, when whole mountaines of ise and snow shall be tumbled downe vpon her.

Obj. 4. Well, graunt the West Indies not to continue continent vnto the Pole, grant there be a passage betweene these two lands, let the gulfe lye neerer vs then commonly in cardes we finde it set, namely, betweene the 61 and 64 degrees North, as Gemma Frisius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and so left by our countrey man Sebastian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Wedford hath at Theinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that we haue free passage to Cathayo. For examples sake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bow Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moscouia: you may likewise in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Constantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no passage

paſſage by Sea through Moſcouia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Againe, in the aforeſaid Mediterranean ſea, we ſaile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and ſpices from the Moluccaes by the red ſea and Arabian goulph to Sues, ſcarſly three dayes iourney from the aforeſayd hauen: yet haue we no way by ſea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Iſthmos or little ſtraight of land betweene the two ſeas. In like maner although the Northerne paſſage be free at 61 degrees latitude, and the Weſt Ocean beyond America, vſually called Mar del Zur, knowen to be open at 40 degrees eleuation, for the Iſland Giapan, yea three hundred leagus Northerly aboue Giapan: yet may there be laide to hinder the ſhorow paſſage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforeſayde it falleth out, Aſia and America there being ioyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion ſeeme altogether friuolous vnto any one that diligently peruſeth our Coſmographers doinges. Ioſephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemiſpheres of the worlde, but alſo in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner, be of the ſame opinion, as by their mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceiue: as though the Weſt Indies were part of Aſia. Which ſentence well agreeth with that olde concluſion in the Schooles: Quidquid præter Africam & Europam eſt, Aſia eſt. Whatſoeuer land doeth neither appertaine vnto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Aſia.

Furthermore it were to ſmall purpoſe to make ſo long, ſo painefull, ſo doubtfull a voyage by ſuche a newe found way, if in Cathayo you ſhoulde neither be ſuffered to laude for ſilkes and ſiluer, nor able to fetche the Molucca ſpices and pearle for price in thoſe Seas. Or a lawe denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabiters vnder a great penaltie to let in any ſtranger into thoſe countreys, ſhall you reade in the report of Galeotto Perera there impriſoned with other Portingalles: as alſo in the Giaponiſh letters, howe for that cauſe the worthie traueller Xauierus bargened with a Barbarian merchant for a great ſumme of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in Cathayo. The great and daungerous piracie vſed in thoſe Seas, no man can be ignorant of, that liſteth to reade the Giaponiſh and Eaſt Indian hiſtorie. ed.5.

Finally, all this great labour would be loſt, all theſe charges ſpent in vaine, if in the end our trauellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring ſafely home into their owne native countrey, that wealth and riches, they in forren regions with aduenture of goods, and danger of their liues, haue ſought for. By the Northeaſt there is no way, the Southeaſt paſſage the Portingalles doe holde, as the Lords of thoſe Seas. At the Southweſt Magellanus experience hath partly taught vs, and partly we are perſuaded by reaſon, how the Eaſterne currant ſtriketh ſo furiouſly on that ſtraight, and falleth with ſuch force into that narrow goulph, that hardly any ſhip can returne that way into our Weſt Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which, if it be true, as truely it is, then we may ſay that the aforeſaid Eaſterne currant or leuant courſe of waters continually following after the heauenly motions, looſeth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other currant from out the Northeaſt, in the paſſage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of neceſſitie carried: hauing none other way to maintaine it ſelfe in circular motion, and conſequently the force and fury thereof to be no leſſe in the ſtraight of Anian, where it ſtriketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any ſuch ſtraight of Sea there be) then in Magellans ſtreet, both ſtraights being of like breedth: as in Beloginus Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his card for nauigation in that region we do finde preciſely ſet downe. ed.6.

Neuertheleſſe to approoue that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northweſt, from out of Europe, we haue experience, namely of three brethren that went that iourney, as Gemma Friſius recordeth, and left a name vnto that ſtraight, whereby nowe it is called Fretum trium Fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portingall that paſſed this ſtraight, of whome Maiſter Furbiſher ſpeaketh, that was impriſoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbone, to verifie the olde Spaniſh prouerbe, I ſuffer for doing well. Likewiſe An. Vrdaneta a fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Carde, for he was a great diſcourrer, made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, hath beene ſeene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Now if the obſeruation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we haue in all faculties, as the beſt Philoſophers that euer were do affirme: truely the voyage of theſe aforeſaid trauellers that haue gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northweſt, do moſt euidently conclude that way to be nauigable, and that paſſage free. So much the more we are to thinke, for that the Gic. i. de orat. Ariſt. pri. Metaph.

firſt

firſt principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome ſaith, is the hiſtory of trauell, that is, reportes made by trauellers ſkilfull in Geometrie and Aſtronomie, of all ſuch things in their iourney as to Geographie do belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now anſwere to thoſe argu-

Lib. 1. Geog. cap. 2.

ments that ſeemed to make againſt this former concluſion.

Sol. 1. The firſt obiection is of no force, that generall table of the world ſet foorth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly ſkilleth not, being vnſkilfully drawen for that point: as manifeſtly it may appeare vnto any one that conferreth the ſame with Gemma Friſius his vniuerſall mappe, with his rounde quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebaſtian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily preferred in this caſe before all Mercator and Ortelius other doinges: for that Cabota was not onely a ſkilfull Sea man, but a long trauailer, and ſuch a one as entred perſonally that ſtraight, ſent by king Henry the ſeuenth to make this aforeſaid diſcouery, as in his owne diſcourſe of nauigation you may reade in his carde drawen with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northweſterne ſtraight lyeth neere the 318 Meridian, betweene ſixtie one and ſixtie foure degrees in the elevation, continuing the ſame breadth about tenne degrees Weſt, where it openeth Southerly more and more, vntill it come vnder the tropike of Cancer, and ſo runneth into Mar del Zur, at the leaſt eighteene degrees more in breadth there then it was where it firſt began: otherwiſe I coulde as well imagine this paſſage to be more vnlikely then the voyage to Moſcouia, and more impoſſible then it for the farre elevation and continuance thereof in the froſtie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very poſſible and moſt likely in comparſion thereof, for that it neither coaſteth ſo farre North as the Moſcouian paſſage doeth, neither is this ſtraight ſo long as that, before it bowe downe Southerly towardes the Sunne againe.

The ſecond argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was aboue ſixtene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all paſſages Northward from the elevation of ſixtie three degrees, he knew no Ocean ſea beyond Aſia, yet haue the Portingals trended the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and trauelled to Giapan an Iſland in the Eaſt Ocean, betweene Aſia and America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the ſixt diſcouered the Moſcouian paſſage further Norththen Thule, and ſhewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland and Norway: the like our Northweſterne trauellers haue done, declaring by their nauigation that way, the ignorance of all Coſmographers that either doe ioyne Groenland with America, or continue the Weſt Indies with that frothy region vnder the North pole. As for Virgil he ſang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other Poet did of the hot Zone:

Ouid. 1. Met. Quarum quæ media eſt, non eſt habitabilis æſtu. Imagining, as moſt men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone, to be altogether vnhabited for heat, though preſently we know many famous and wonderfy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Iſland of S. Thomas neere Aethiopia, & the wealthie Iſlands for the which chiefly all theſe voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited euen vnder the equinoctiall line.

Sol. 3. To anſwere the third obiection, beſides Cabota and all other trauellers nauigations, the onely credit of M. Frobiſher may ſuffice, who lately though all theſe Iſlands of ice, and mountaines of ſnowe, paſſed that way, euen beyonde the gulfe that tumbleth downe from the North, and in ſome places though he drew one inch thicke ice, as he returning in Auguſt did, came home ſafely againe.

Sol. 4. The fourth argument is altogether friuolous and vaine, for neither is there any iſthmos or ſtraight of lande betweene America and Aſia, ne can theſe two landes ioyntly be one continent. The firſt part of my anſwere is manifeſtly allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent Geographer Strabo followeth, preiudging him in this faculitie the price. The author of that booke likewiſe of the world to Alexander, attributed vnto Ariſtotle, is of the ſame opinion that Homer and Strabo bee of, in two or three places. Dioniſius in his Periegeſis hath this verſe Ὠκεανὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐλαυνόμενος περίεργον. So doeth the Ocean Sea runne round about the world: ſpeaking onely of Europe, Afrike, and Aſia, as then Aſia was trauelled and knowen. With theſe Doctours may ioyne Pomponius Mela. capit. 2. lib. 1. Plinius lib. 2. capit. 67. and Pius 2. cap. 2. in his deſcription of Aſia. All the which writers doe no leſſe confirme the whole Eaſterne ſide of Aſia to be compaſſed about with the Sea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timæo, vnder the name Atlantis, the Weſt Indies to be an Iſland, as in a ſpeciall diſcourſe thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable vnto the ſentence of Proclus, Marſilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an Iſland. Homer, Strabo, Ariſtotle, Dioniſius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Aſia, Afrike, and Europe, to be

Lib. Geog.

Mela.

enuirones

cumfoned with the Ocean. I may therefore boldly ſay, (though later intelligences thereof had we none at all) that Aſia and the Weſt Indies be not tied together by any Iſthmos or ſtraight of lande, contrary to the opinion of ſome newe Coſmographers, by whome doubtfully this matter hath bene brought in controuerſie. And thus much for the firſt part of my anſwere vnto the fourth obiection.

The ſecond part, namely that America and Aſia cannot be one continent, may thus be proued, *of that it muſt needes ſtrike to the northeaſt or northweſt.* The moſt Riuers take downe that way their courſe, where the earth is moſt holowe and deepe, writeth Ariſtotle: and the Sea, (ſaith hee in the ſame place,) as it goeth further, ſo is it founde deeper. Into what gulfe doe the Moſcouian riuers Onega, Duina, Ob, powre out their ſtreames? Northward out of Moſcouia into the ſea. Which way doeth that ſea ſtrike? The South is maine lande, the Eaſterne coaſt waxeth more and more ſhalowe: from the North, either naturally, becauſe that part of the earth is higher Ariſtot. 2. Met. cap. 1. or of neceſſitie, for that the forcible influence of ſome Northerne ſtarres cauſeth the earth there to ſhake off the Sea, as ſome Philoſophers doe thinke: or finally for the great ſtore of waters engendred in that froſtie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber. in 2. Meteo. cap. 6. From the North I ſay, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeaſterne currant muſt at the length abruptly bowe toward the South on the Weſt ſide of Finmarke and Norway: or elſe ſtrike downe Southweſt aboue Groneland, or betwixt Groneland and Iſeland, into the Northweſt ſtraight wee ſpeake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the ſituation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobiſher, experience teacheth vs. And M. Frobiſher the further hee trauailed in the former paſſage, as hee tolde me, the deeper alwayes he found ſea. Lay you now the ſumme hereof together. The riuers runne where the chanels are moſt hollowe, the ſea in taking his courſe waxeth deeper, the ſea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeaſterne currant ſtriketh downe into the ſtraight we ſpeake of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and ſnowe, falling downe furiouſly out from the land vnder the North pole. Where ſtore of water is, there is it a thing impoſſible to want ſea, where ſea not onely doeth not want, but waxeth deeper, there can be diſcouered no land. Finally, whence I pray you came the contrary tide, that M. Frobiſher mette withal after that hee had ſailed no ſmall way in that paſſage, if there be any Iſthmos or ſtraight of land betwixt the aforeſaid Northweſterne, gulfe and Mar del Zur, to ioyne Aſia and America together? That concluſion frequented in ſcholes Quidquid præter, &c. was ment of the partes of the world then knowen, and ſo is it of right to be vnderſtoode.

Lib. 1. Meteo. cap. 13.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 67.

The firſt obiection requireth for anſwere, wiſedome and policie in the trauailer, to winne the Barbarians fauour by ſome good meanes: and ſo to arme and ſtrengthen himſelfe, that when he ſhall haue the repulſe in one coaſt, he may ſafely trauaile to an other, commodiouſly taking his conuenient times, and diſcreetely making choiſe of them with whome hee will thoughly deale. To force a violent entrie, would for vs Engliſhmen be very hard, conſidering the ſtrength and valour of ſo great a Nation, farre diſtant from vs, and the attempt thereof might bee moſt perilous vnto the doers, vnleſſe their part were very good. Sol. 5.

Touching their lawes againſt ſtrangers, you ſhall reade neuertheleſſe in the ſame relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is wont to graunt free acceſſe vnto all forreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandiſe, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, vntil ſuch time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coaſt to be a circumciſed Saracene: wherefore ſome of them were put to the ſword, the reſt were ſcattered abroad: at Fuquien, a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be ſeene. As for the Giapans they bee moſt deſirous to bee acquainted with ſtrangers. The Portingals though they were ſtrangely handled there at the firſt, yet in the ende they founde great fauour at the Prince his handes, inſomuch that the Loutea or preſident that miſuſed them, was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth thoſe ſeas, the Portingals, the Saracenes, and Moores trauaile continually vp and downe that reache from Giapan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and ſhall an Engliſhman, better appointed then any of them al (that I ſay no more of our name) feare to ſaile in that Ocean? What ſeat at all doe want piracie? what Nauigation is there voyde of perill?

To the laſt argument. Our trauailers needs not to ſeeke their returne by the Northeaſt, neither ſhall they be conſtrained, except they liſt, either to attempt Magellane ſtraight at the Southweſt, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeaſt: they may returne by the Northweſt, that ſame way they doe goe foorth, as experience hath ſhewed. Sol. 6.

The reaſon alleadged for proofe of the contrary, may be diſproued after this maner. And firſt,

it may be called in controuersie, whether any currant continually be forced by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no: for learned men doe diuersly handle that question. The naturall course of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth most lowe and deepe: in respect whereof, it was erst saide, the seas do strike from the Northren landes Southerly. Violently the seas are tossed and troubled diuers wayes with the windes, encreased and diminished by the course of the Moone, hoised vp & downe through the sundry operations of the Sunne and the starres: finally, some be of opinion, that the seas bee caried in part violently about the world, after the daily motion of the highest moueable heauen, in like maner as the elements of aire and fire, with the rest of the heauenly spheres are, from the East vnto the West. And this they doe call their Easterne currant, or leuant streame. Some such currant may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neerenesse thereof vnto the centre of the Sunne, and blustring Easterne windes violently driuing the seas Westwarde: howbeit in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, and the windes more diuers, blowing as much from the North, the West and South, as from the East, this rule doeth not effectually withholde vs from trauailing Eastward, neither be wee kept euer backe by the afore said Leuant windes and streame. But in Magellans streight wee are violently driuen backe Westward: Ergo, though the Northwesterne straight or Anian frette shall wee not be able to returne Eastwarde: it followeth not. The first, for that the Northwesterne straight hath more sea roome at the least by one hundreth English miles, then Magellans fret hath, the onely want whereof causeth all narrowe passages generally to be most violent. So would I say in Anian gulfe, if it were so narrowe as Don Diego and Zalterius haue painted it out, any returne that way to bee full of difficulties, in respect of such streightenesse thereof, not for the neerenesse of the Sunne, or Easterne windes, violently forcing that way any leuant streame: But in that place there is more sea roome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabota, and Gemma Frisius, and that which Tramezine imprinted, be true.

Luc. lib. 1. Phasal.

What the Easterne currant is.

And hitherto reason see I none at all, but that I may as well giue credite vnto their doings, as to any of the rest. It must be Peregrinationis historia, that is, true reportes of skilful trauailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in such controuersies of Geographie must put vs out of doubt. Ortelius in his vniuersall tables, in his particuler Mappes of the West Indies, of all Asia, of the Northren kingdomes, of the East Indies, Mercator in some of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his vniuersall table of the Globe diuised, in his sea Carde, and particuler tables of the East Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Fernando Bertely, and others, doe so much differ both from Gemma Frisius and Cabota, among themselues, and in diuers places from themselues, concerning the diuers situation and sundry limits of America, that one may not so rashly, as truely surmise, these men either to be ignorant in those points touching the afore saide region, or that the Mappes they haue giuen out vnto the world, were collected onely by them, and neuer of their owne drawing.

Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.

The first voyage of M. Martine Frobisher, to the Northwest *for the search of the straight or passage to China, written by* Christopher Hall, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

Iune.

VPon Munday the 13. of May the Barke Gabriel was launched at Redriffe, and vpon the 27. day following she valed from Redriffe to Ratcliffe.

Iune.

The 7. of Iune being Thursday, the two barkes, viz. the Gabriel, the Michael, and our pinnesse set saile at Ratcliffe, and bare downe to Detford, and there we ancred: the cause was, that our pinnesse burst her boulspryt, and foremast aboard of a shippe that rode at Detford, else wee ment to haue past that day by the Court then at Greenewiche.

M. Matthew Kinderslye was Captaine of the Michael.

The 8. day being Friday, about 12. of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and set saile all three of vs, and bare downe by the Court, where we shotte off our ordinance, and made the best shewe we could: her Maiestie beholding the same commended it, and bade vs farewell with shaking her hand at vs out of the windowe. Afterward she sent a Gentleman a boorde of vs, who declared that her Maiestie had good liking of our doings, and thanked vs for it, and also willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leaue of her.

The same day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of vs, and declared to the

companie, that her Maieſtie had appointed him to giue them charge to be obedient, and diligent in their Captaine, and gouernours in all things, and wished vs happie ſucceſſe.

The ninth day about noone the winde being Weſterly, hauing our ancres aboorde ready to ſet ſaile to depart, wee wanted ſome of our companie, and therefore ſtaied, and moored them againe.

Sunday the 10. of June, wee ſet ſaile from Blackewall at a South weſt, and by Weſt ſunne, the winde being at North Northweſt, and ſailed to Grauеſend, and ancred there at a Weſt northweſt ſunne, the winde being as before.

The 12. day being ouer against Grauеſend, by the caſtle or blockehouſe we obſerued the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compaſſe is 11. degrees and a halfe. This day we departed from Grauеſend, at a Weſt South weſt ſunne, the winde at North and by Eaſt a faire gale, and ſailed to the Weſt part of Tilberie hope, & ſo turned downe the Hope, and at a Weſt ſunne the winde came to the Eaſt Southeaſt, and wee ancred in 7. fathome being lowe water.

The 13. day wee ſet ſaile at a Northeaſt ſunne, the winde at Weſt South weſt, and ſailed downe the Sweane and ouer the Spits, and at a South ſouthweſt ſunne, the winde came to the Eaſt Northeaſt, then we turned downe to the Naze and ſo ouer the Naze, & in the traling ground, and ſo came to ancre.

The 14. day we waied at 3. of the clocke afternoone, the winde at Southeaſt, and ſailed downe to Orfordneſſe, and there ancred being little winde, and the flood in hand.

The 15. we waied at 2. a clocke in the morning being little winde at North northweſt, and ſailed down to Alborough, and thwart of Alborough the winde came to the Northnortheaſt, we turned downe to Solde, and there ancred at 9. a clocke in 5. fathoms, and rode all the flood, and at a high water being a ſtiffe gale at North Northeaſt wee waied and put roome with Harwiche at a Northweſt ſunne, being 9. a clocke at night.

The 16. day wee waied and ſet ſaile at 3. of the clocke afternoone the winde at South ſouthеaſt, & ſailed to Alborough. And at that preſent the winde came to the Northnorthweſt, and North a ſtiffe gale. We put roome with Orfordneſſe, and there rode all the night.

The 17. day we waied at Orfordneſſe at a Southeaſt, & by Eaſt ſunne, the winde at Northeaſt, and by North, a good gale, and put roome with Harwich, and ancred there at a South, and by Eaſt ſunne, and did obſerue the latitude of the place which was 51. deg. 54. min.

The 18. day we waied at Harwich, at a Northeaſt ſunne, the winde at Weſt ſouthweſt, and ſailed out of Harwich Hauſe. *Their departure from Harwich the 18. of June.*

The 19. day wee ſet ſaile from Yarmouth roade at a Southweſt ſunne, the winde at Eaſt Southeaſt, and ſailed betwixt the Cockle and the maine in three fathome, and a halfe three quarters flood. From 7. to 10. a clocke at night the winde at South Southeaſt, the ſhippe ſailed Northweſt three leagues.

From tenne a clocke at night to 2. of the clocke in the morning the winde at South ſouthеaſt, a faire gale, the ſhippe ſailed Northweſt 4. leagues.

The 20. day in the morning from 2. of the clocke to ſixe a clocke, the winde at South Southeaſt a faire gale, the ſhippe ſailed Northweſt foure leagues. From 6. a clocke to tenne of the clocke in the forenoone, the winde at South Southeaſt a faire gale, the ſhippe ſailed Northweſt eight glaſſes, foure leagues. From tenne a clocke to two a clocke foure leagues more. And from two to eight ſixe leagues: from eight to midnight we ſailed North Northweſt fiue leagues, we ſounded hauing 30. fathome, and fine ſande with blackes among and one ſhell. From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning, the ſhippe ſailed with all ſailes 6. leagues, and that watch out we ſounded hauing 37. fathomes, and fine gray ſand.

From 4. a clocke in the morning to 8. in the forenoone, being the 21. day, the winde at South Southeaſt, a faire gale, the ſhippe ſailed North Northweſt 8. glaſſes, 5. leagues, then Northnorthweſt 6. leagues, the maine yard a croſſe: we ſounded hauing 40. fathome, and fine ſand. And at that preſent we obſerued the latitude, which was 54. degr. 41. min.

The 22. day from 4. a clocke in the morning till 4. a clocke the next morning we ſailed with a faire Southeaſt winde, 38. leagues. This day from 4. to 8. of the clocke the winde as before the ſhippe ſailed, North Northweſt ſixe leagues, ſounded 50. fathome, and fine ſand. From 8. a clocke till 12. a clocke at noone, the winde at South little winde with fogge, the ſhip ſailed North Northweſt 3. leagues. It ſounded hauing 54. fathome, and fine ſand like ooze. *The 23. day.*

From 12. to foure of the clocke, the winde at South Southweſt little winde, the ſhippe ſailed North 1. league with great fogge. At the end of the watch ſounded, hauing 55. fathome & fine ſand.

From 4.to 8.a clocke the winde at West Northwest, litle winde with fogge, the ship went North 2. leagues. Sounded hauing 50. fathome, and browne sande. From 8.to midnight, the winde at Northwest litle wind & fog, the ship went Northnorthest 3. leagues. Frō midnight to 4.a clock in the morning ꝑ wind at Northwest, & by North, smooth waters, ꝑ ship went Northeast 3. leagues.

The 24. day from 4.to 8.a clocke in the forenoone, the wind at North northwest, faire weather, the sea smoothe, the ship went West, 3. leagues and a halfe, and at the end of this watche sounded, hauing 60. fathome, and ozie sand, & litle white shels. From 8.to 12.a clocke at noone, the winde at Northwest and by North, a faire gale, the sea smooth, the ship went West 3. leagues and a halfe: sounded hauing 53. fathome, and streame ground with litle shels. From 12.to 4.in the afternoone the winde at North northwest, the ship went Northnortheast 4. leagues.

Fare Island. At 2. of the clocke after noone I had sight of Faire yle, being from vs 6. leagues North, and by East, and when I brought it Northwest and by North, it did rise at the Southermost ende with a litle hommocke, and swampe in the midses.

From 4.a clocke at afternoone to 8.a clocke litle wind, ꝑ ship sailed Northnortheast 2. leagues, I sounded hauing 60. fathomes, & streamie ground with shels, 4. leagues from the land. From 8. a clocke to midnight calme, and without accompt. From midnight to 4.a clocke in the morning, the winde Northwest, and by North litle winde, the ship sailed Northnortheast 1. league.

Shotland. The 25. day from 4.to 8.a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at Northwest, and by North a fresh gale, I cast about to the West ward, the Southermost head of Shotland called Swinborne head Northnorthwest from me, and the land of Fare yle, West Southwest from me. I sailed directly to the Northhead of that said land sounding as I ranne in, hauing 60. 50. and 40. fathoms, and gray redde shels: and within halfe a mile of that Island, there are 36. fathoms, for I sailed to that Island to see whether there were any rode frede for a Northwest winde, and I founde by my sounding hard rockes, and soule ground, and deepe water within two cables length of the shoare, 28. fathome, and so did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foresaile, and mizen till it was a high water under the Island. The tide setteth there Northwest and Southeast: the floud setteth Southeast, and the ebb Northwest.

Fowlay Island. The 26. day I hauing the winde at South a faire gale, saying from Fare yle to Swinborne head, I did obserue the latitude, being the Island of Fowlay West Northwest frō me 6. leagues, and Swinborne head East Southeast from me, I found my eleuation to be 37. degr. and my declination 22. degr. 46. min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. At that present being neere to Swinborne head, hauing a leake which did trouble vs, as also to take in fresh water, I plyed

S. Tronions. roome with a sound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in seuen fathoms water, and faire sande. You haue cumming in the sounds mouth in the entring 17. 15. 12. 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathoms, and the sound lyeth in North Northwest, and there roade to a West sunne, and stopped our leake, and hauing refreshed our selues with water, at a North Northwest sunne, I set saile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southeast, and turned out till wee were cleare of the sound, and so sailed West to go cleare of the Island of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay, I sounded, hauing fiftie fathome, and streamie ground, and also I sounded Fowlay, being North from mee one league off that Island, hauing fiftie fathome at the South head, and streamie grounde, like broken otmell, and one shell being redde and white like mackerell.

Here they begin to faile Northwest. Latitude 59. deg. 59. min. The 27. day at a South sunne I did obserue the latitude, being the Islande of Fowlay, from mee two leagues East Northeast: I founde my selfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min. truely obserued, the winde at South Southwest: I sailed West, and by North.

From 12.to foure a clocke afternoone, the winde at South, a faire gale the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I sounded hauing 60. fathome, with litle stones and shels, the Island from vs 8. leagues East.

From 4.to 8.a clocke the winde at South a good gale, the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues.

From 8.a clocke to midnight, the winde at South Southeast, a good gale, the ship sailed west, and by North 7. leagues, I sounded hauing 65. fathoms. In hailing vp the lead the line brake, and so we lost our lead.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning, the winde at Southeast a good gale, our maine sayle ferled our maine topsaile, foresaile, and spreetsaile abroad, the ship sailed West and by North 8. leagues.

The 28. day from 4. to eight a clocke, the winde at Southeast a good gale, the shippe sailed West and by North eight leagues: from eight to 12. a clocke, the winde at East Southeast a fresh gale, the shippe sailed West and by North eight leagues.

From

From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone, the winde at East Southeast, a fresh gale, the ship sailed East and by North 8. leagues.

From 4. to 8. a clocke at night, the winde at East Southeast a fresh gale, the ship sailed West 8. leagues. I did sound, and could not get ground at 70. fathome.

From 8. to midnight the winde at East Southeast a good gale, the ship sailed West 8. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning, the winde at East Northeast, a fresh gale the ship sailed West 8. leagues and a halfe.

From 4. to 8. a clocke the 29. day the winde at East Northeast a good gale, the shippe sailed West 8. leagues. 29.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone, the winde at East Northeast, the ship sailed West 8. leagues.

From 12. to 4. a clocke in the afternoone the winde at East Northeast a faire gale, the ship sailed West 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watche I did sounde, and could get no ground at 100. fathome.

From 4. to 8. a clocke at night, we sailed West 5. leagues.

From 8. to midnight 4. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 4. leagues West.

The 30. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, we sailed West 3. leagues. 30.

From 8. to 12. a clocke 3. leagues.

From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone West 5. leagues. And at the ende of this watch I sounded, having 100. fathome and no ground.

From 4. to 8. a clocke 6. leagues.

From 8. to midnight, we sailed West 8. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 8. leagues.

The first of July, from 4. to 8. a clocke, we sailed West 4. glasses 4. leagues, and at that present we had so much winde that we spooned afore the sea Southwest 2. leagues. July the first.

From 8. to 12. at noone West and by North 6. leagues.

From 12. to 4. a clocke 6. leagues.

From 4. to 8. foure miles.

From 8. to midnight we sailed with 2. coarses 4. leagues West.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 6. leagues.

The second day from 4. to 8. a clocke, 6. leagues and a halfe West. 2.

From 8. to 12. West 7. leagues. From 12. to 4. at afternoone West 7. leagues more. And at the ende of this watch I sounded having 100. fathome, and no ground.

From 4. to 8. at night 7. leagues. From 8. to midnight West, and by North 7. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning west and by North 6. leagues.

The 3. day we found our Compasse to bee varied one point to the Westwards: this day from 4. to 8. a clocke we sailed West, and by North 6. leagues. 3.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone West, and by North 4. leagues. At that present I found our Compasse to be varied 11. deg. and one 4. part to the Westwards which is one point. The Compasse varying Westwards one point.

From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone West and by North, one league.

From 4. to 8. West, and by North one league.

From 8. to midnight West, and by North 2. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning West, and by North 3. leagues.

The 4. day from 4. to 8. the winde at Northwest and by North 4. leagues. 4.

From 8. to 12. at noone West and by North 2. leagues. And at that present we sent off our pinnesse from the Gabriel to fish being calme.

From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone calme, and without accompt.

For 4. to 8. a clocke at night, West and by North 2. leagues.

From 8. to midnight West, and by North 7. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 9. leagues.

The 5. day from 4. to 8. a clocke West and by North 8. leagues. 5.

From 8. to 12. having raine and fogge, West and by North 6. leagues.

From 12. to 4. at afternoone West and by North 5. leagues. From 4. to 8. North Northwest 6. leagues. From 8. to midnight North and by West 4. leagues.

From midnight to 6. a clocke in the morning wee hulled by the winde, and went West and by North 5. leagues.

The 6. day from 8. to 12. at noone, West and by North 5. leagues. 6.

From 12. to 4. a clocke West and by North 5. leagues.

7. From 8. at night to 8. in the morning 4. leagues.
From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone, North Northwest 4. leagues.
From 4. to 8. at night North Northwest 4. leagues.
From 8. to midnight, North two leagues.
From midnight to 8. a clocke calme, and without accompt.

8. The 8. day from 8. to 12. at noone, 3. leagues West.
From 12. to 4. a clocke West, 6. leagues.
From 4. to 8. eight leagues.
From 8. to midnight wee tooke in all our sailes, and spooned afore the sea because of our pinnesse, and at that present came fogge and misle, and so we lost sight of her. Wee sailed West five leagues.
From midnight to 4. a clocke, West southwest 4. leagues, with very much winde.

9. From 4. to 8. in the forenoone, the sea being mightily growne, 4. leagues.
From 8. to 12. Southwest afore the sea 4. leagues.
From 12. to 4. a clocke, West Southwest 5. leagues.

10. From that time to 8. a clocke the next day I layd the ship a hul, her way was south 4. leagues.
From 8. to 4. a clocke calme, and without accompt.
From 4. to 8. five leagues. From 8. to midnight 7. leagues.
From midnight to 4. a clocke, North 8. leagues.

11. From 4. to 8. a clocke, West and by South 5. leagues. From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone West, and by South 4. leagues, & at the southeast sunne we had sight of the land of Friseland bering from vs West northwest 16. leagues, and rising like pinacles of steeples, and all couered with snow. I found my selfe in 61. degr. of latitude. We sailed to the shoare & could finde no ground at 150. fathome, we hoised out our boate, & the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the shoare to get on land, but the land lying full of yce they could not get on land, and so they came aboorde againe: Wee had much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reason of the fogge. Yet from Thursday 8. a clocke in the morning to Friday at noone we sailed Southwest 20. leagues.

The Iland of Friseland.

12. The 13. day, a Northeast wind cleared vs of the thicke misle, & we sailed southwest 5. leagues.

13. The 14. day the vehemencie of the winde brake our foreyarde, and bore ouer boord our mysen masle, so we put our spreet saile yard, with the spreetsaile coarse to our foremast, and spooned afore the sea Southwest 15. leagues, till it was Sunday.

14. This day from 4. in ỳ afternoone to 8. we sailed Southwest 2. leagues. From thence to Sunday morning 4. of the clocke, calme, and without accompt.

15. The 16. day from 4. to 8. the winde at South southwest, we sailed 6. leagues and a halfe. From 8. to 12. 5. leagues and a halfe, and from 12. to 4. 6. leagues. At the ende of this watch, the head of our maine mast, maine toppmast, with the topsaile brake, and fell into the sea altogether.

16. From 4. to 8. we ranne somewhat a drift, because we layd vp the ropes of our maine mast, and set our maine saile againe. From 8. to midnight, Northwest and by West 3. leagues.

17. The 17. day from 4. to 8. 3. leagues. From 8. to 12. two leagues, from 12. to 4. at afternoone 3. leagues, from 4. to 8. a cloche 3. leagues, in our old course I spooned to sounde but founde no ground. From 8. to midnight, West and by South 2. leagues, from midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 2. leagues.

Very deepe seas.

18. From 4. to 8. three leagues, from 8. to 12. at noone 3. leagues, and here at a Southeast sunne, I found the sunne to be elevated 33. deg. And at a Southsoutheast 40. deg. So I observed it till I founde it at the highest, and then it was elevated 52. degr. I judged the variation of the Compasse to be 2. points and a halfe to the Westward.

The variation of the needle, two points and a halfe to the West.

From 12. to 4. three leagues, from 4. to 8. three leagues, from 8. to midnight 2. leagues. From midnight to 4. a clocke one league, being little winde.

19. From 4. to 8. North, 4. leagues, from 8. to 12. 8. leagues, from 12. to 4. foure leagues, from 4. to 8. 4. leagues, and at the end of this watch we cast about to the Eastwards. From 8. to midnight 3. leagues, from midnight to 4. a clocke East and by North 3. leagues.

20. From 4. to 8. 3. leagues, from 8. to 12. 7. leagues, from 12. to 4. 4. leagues. From 4. to 8. three leagues, from 8. to midnight 4. leagues. From midnight to 4. a clocke 4. leagues. From 8. to 12. North northeast 4. leagues. From 12. to 4. 4. leagues, from 4. to 8. 4. leagues, from 8. to midnight foure leagues Northeast. From midnight to 4. a cloche, Northeast foure leagues, and at the ende of this watch we had sight of a great drift of yce, seeing a firme land, and we cast Westward to be cleare of it.

A great drift of yce.

22. From 4. to 8. southwest 3. leagues, from 8. to 12. 2. leagues, from 12. to 6. 3. leagues, from 6. at night

night to ſire the next morning, northeaſt fiue leagues.

From 6. to 12. weſt fiue leagues, from 12. to 4. northnorthweſt, 6. leagues: from 4. to 8. north northeaſt, 8. leagues: from 8. to midnight, 7. leagues: from midnight to 4. of the clocke, North northweſt, 7. leagues. 23

From 4. to 8, 7. leagues: from 8. to 12. 7. leagues more: from 12. to 4, 5. leagues: from 4. to 8, 5. leagues: from thence to midnight, 6. leagues: from midnight to 4. of the clocke in the morning, weſt, northweſt, 6. leagues. 24

From 4. to 8, 7. leagues: from 8. to 12. 7. leagues: from 12 to 4, 8. leagues: from 4. to 8, 8. leagues: from 8. to midnight, 4. leagues, weſt, northweſt, and with fogge: from midnight to 4. of the clocke, 4. leagues. 25

This day was litle wind, and we tried with both our courſes: we had ſight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, two minuts. We ran from 12. to 4, 4. miles. 26

The latitude of 62. deg. 2. min.

From 4. to 8, 4. miles: from 8. to 4. calme, and fogge: from thence to 4. of the clocke in the morning calme, and foggie alſo. 27

From 4. to 8, 4. leagues: from 8. to 12, 3. leagues: from 12. to 4. northweſt and by weſt, ſixe leagues, but very foggie: from thence to 8. of the clocke in the morning, litle wind: but at the clearing vp of the fogge, we had ſight of lande, which I ſuppoſed to be Labrador, with great ſtore of yce about the land: I ran in towards it, and ſounded, but could get no ground, at 100. fathom, and the yce being ſo thicke, I could not get to the ſhoare, and ſo lay off, and came cleare of the yce. 28

Sight of land ſuppoſed to haue been Labrador.

Vpon Sunday, we came within a mile of the ſhoare, and ſought a harborow: all the ſo wind was full of yce, and our boate rowing a ſhoare, could get no ground, at 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the ſhoare: then we ſailed Eaſt northeaſt along the ſhoare, for ſo the lande lieth, and the currant is there great, ſetting northeaſt, and ſouthweſt: and if we could haue gotten anker ground, we would haue ſeene with what force it had runne, but I iudge a ſhip may driue a league and a halfe, in one howre, with that tide.

This day, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had ſight of a head land, as we iudged, bearing from vs north, and by Eaſt, and we ſailed Northeaſt, and by North to that lande, and when wee came thither, wee could not gette to the lande for yce: for the yce ſtretched along the coaſte, ſo that we could not come to the land, by fiue leagues. 31

Wenſday the firſt of Auguſt, it calmed, and in the after noone, I cauſed my boate to be hoyſed out, being hard by a great Iſland of yce, and I and foure men rowed to that yce, and ſounded within two cables length of it, and had fifteene fathome, and litle ſtones, and after that ſounded againe within a Pinion ſhotte, and had ground, at an hundreth fathome, and faire ſand: we ſounded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had fiftie fathome rough grounde, and at that preſent being aboord, that great Iſland of yce fell one part from another, making a noyce as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke, I ſounded againe, and had 90. fathome, and ſmall blacke ſtones, and litle white ſtones, like pearles. The tide here did ſet to the ſhoare. Auguſt. 1 2

We ſailed this day ſouth ſoutheaſt of ward, and layd it a trie. 3

The next day was calme and thicke, with a great ſea. 4

The next day we ſailed South, and by Eaſt, two leagues, and at eight of the clocke in the foore noone we caſt about to the Eaſtwards. 5

The firſt day it cleered, and we ranne northweſt into the ſhoare, to get a harborough, and being towards night, we notwithſtanding kept at ſea. 6

The ſeuenth day we plied roome with the ſhoare, but being neere it, it waxed thicke, and we bare off againe. 7

The eight day we bended in towards the ſhoare againe. 8

The ninth day we ſounded, but could gette no grounde at 130. fathome: the weather was calme. 9

The tenth I tooke foure men, and my ſelfe, and rowed to ſhoare to an Iſland one league from the maine, and there the floode ſetteth Southweſt alongeſt the ſhoare, and it floweth as neere as I could iudge ſo two. I could not carry to yroone it, becauſe the ſhippe was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge: but when I came a ſhoare, it was a lowe water. I went to the toppe of the Iſland, and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and ſo without carrying, I came aboord. 10

The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degrees, and eight minutes, and this day cleere the ſtraight. 11

The 12. we ſet ſaile towardes an Iſland, called the Gabriels Iſland, which was 10. leagues 12

then

then from vs.

13 We ehied a ſo wnd, and bare with it, and came to a ſandie Baye, where we came to an anker, the lande bearing Eaſt ſoutheaſt of vs, and there we rode all night in 8. fathome water. It flowed there at a Southeaſt Moone. We called it Priors ſownd, being from the Gabriels Iſland, tenne leagues.

14 The 14. we waied, and ranne into another ſowonde, where we ankered in 8. fathome water, faire ſand, and blacke oaze, and there caulked our ſhip, being weake from the wales vpward, and tooke in freſh water.

15 The 15. day we waied, and ſailed to Priors Baye, being a mile from thence.

16 The 16. day was calme, and wee rode ſtill, without pce, but preſently within two howres it was frozen rownd about the ſhippe, a quarter of an inche thicke, and that daye very faire and calme.

17 The 17. day we waied, and came to Thomas Williams Iſland.

18 The 18. day, we ſailed noꝛth northweſt, and ankered againe in 23. fathome, and tough oaze, vnder Burchers Iſland, which is from the former Iſland, ten leagues.

19 The 19. day in the morning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I, tooke our boate, with eight men in her, to rowe vs a ſhoare, to ſee if there were there any people, oꝛ no, and going to the toppe of the Iſland, we had ſight of ſeuen boates, which came rowing from the Eaſt ſide, toward the Iſland: whereupon we returned aboord againe: at length we ſent our boate with fiue men in her, to ſee whither they rowed, and ſo with a white cloth brought one of their boates with their men along the ſhoare, rowing after our boate, till ſuch time as they ſawe our ſhippe, and then they rowed a ſhoare: then I went on ſhoare my ſelfe, and gaue euery of them a threaden point, and brought one of them aboord of me, where he did eate and drinke, and then carried him on ſhoare againe. Whereuppon all the reſt came aboord with their boates, being nineteene perſons, and they ſpake, but we vnderſtoode them not. They be like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, broad faces, and flatte noſes, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale ſkinnes, and ſo doe the women, not differing in the faſhion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe ſtreekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eies. Their boates are made all of Seale ſkins, with a keele of wood within the ſkinne: the proportion of them is like a Spaniſh ſhallop, ſaue only they be flat in the bottome, and ſharpe at both endes.

Sight of the Countrey people.

The deſcription of the people.

20 The twentieth day, wee waied, and went to the Eaſt ſide of this Iſland, and I and the Captaine, with foure men more went on ſhoare, and there wee ſawe their houſes, and the people eſpying vs, came rowing towardes our boate: whereuppon wee plied to our boate: and wee being in our boate, and they aſhoare, they called to vs, and wee rowed to them, and one of their companie came into our boate, and wee carried him aboord, and gaue him a Bell, and a knife: ſo the Captaine and I willed fiue of our men to ſet him a ſhoare at a rocke, and not among the companie, which they came from, but their wilfulnes was ſuch, that they would goe to them, and ſo were taken themſelues, and our boate loſt.

5. of our men taken by the people.

21 The next daye in the morning, wee ſtoode in neere the ſhoare, and ſhotte of a fauconet, and ſowonded our trumpet, but wee coulde heare nothing of our men: this ſowonde wee called the fiue mens ſowonde, and piped out of it, but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and oaze: and riding there all night, in the morning, the ſnowe laye a foote thicke vppon our hatches.

22 The two and twentieth daye in the morning, we waied, and went againe to the place where wee loſt our men, and our boate. Wee had ſight of fourteene boates, and ſome came neere to vs, but we coulde learne nothing of our men: among the reſt, we intiſed one in a boate to our ſhippes ſide, with a Bell, and in giuing him the Bell, wee tooke him, and his Boate, and ſo kept him, and ſo rowed downe to Thomas Williams Iſland, and there ankered all night.

26 The 26. day we waied, to come homeward, and by 12. of the clocke at noone, we were thwart of Trumpets Iſland.

27 The next day, we came thwart of Gabriels Iſland, and at 8. of the clocke at night, we had the Cape Labradore Weſt from vs, ten leagues.

28 The 28. day we went our courſe Southeaſt.

29 We ſailed Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, 22. leagues.

September.

1 The firſt day of September in the morning, we had ſight of the land of Friſeland, being eight leagues from vs, but we could not come neerer it, for the monſtrous ice that lay about it.

2 From this day, till the ſixth of this Moneth, wee ranne along Iſland, and had the South

part

part of it at eight of the clocke, Eaſt from vs ten leagues.

The ſeuenth day of this moneth, we had a very terrible ſtorme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowen into the ſea out of our waſte, but he caught holde of the foreſaile ſheate, and there held, till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ship. 7

The 25. day of this moneth, we had ſight of the Iſland of Orknye, which was then Eaſt from vs. 25

The firſt day of October, we had ſight of the Sheld, and ſo ſailed along the coaſt, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwiche. October. 1 The Sheld.

The language of the people of *Meta incognita*.

Argotteyt, a hand.
Cangnawe, a noſe.
Arered, an eye.
Keiotot, a tooth.
Mutchuret, the head.
Chewat, an eare.
Comagaye, a legge.
Atoniagay, a foote.
Callagay, a paire of breeches.
Attegay, a coate.
Polleuetagay, a knife.
Accaskay, a ſhippe.
Coblone, a thumbe.
Teckkere, the forefinger.
Ketteckle, the middle finger.
Mekellacane, the fourth finger.
Yackettone, the little finger.

The ſecond voyage of Maſter Martin Frobiſher, made to the *Weſt, and Northweſt Regions, in the yeere*, 1577. *With a deſ-*cription of the Countrey, and people: Written by Dioniſe Settle.

IN Whitſunday, being the ſixe and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1577. Captaine Frobiſher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Maieſties ſhippes, called The Aide, of nine ſcore tunne, or thereabouts: and two other litle Barkes likewiſe, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Maiſter Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: and the other, The Michael, whereof Maiſter Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admiralls was Captaine, accompanied with ſeuen ſcore Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and ſailers, well furniſhed with victuals, and other proviſion neceſſarie for one halfe yeere, on this his ſecond voiage, for the further diſcouering of the paſſage to Cathay, and other countries thereunto adiacent, by weſt and northweſt nauigations: which paſſage or way, is ſuppoſed to be on the north & northweſt parts of America: and the ſaide America to be an Iſland enuironed with the Sea, where though our Merchants might haue courſe and recourſe with their merchandize, from theſe our Northernmoſt parts of Europe, to thoſe Orientall coaſtes of Aſia, in much ſhorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commodite and profite that doe or ſhall traffike the ſame. Our ſaid Captaine and General of this preſent voyage and companie, hauing the yeere before, with two litle pinneſſes, to his great danger, and no ſmall commendations, giuen a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is alſo yeelt (when occaſion ſhall be miniſtred, to the benefite of his Prince, and native Countrey) to aduenture himſelfe further therein. As for this ſecond voyage, it ſeemeth ſufficient, that he hath better explored and ſearched the commodities of thoſe people, and Countreis, with ſufficient commodite vnto the aduenturers, which in his firſt voyage the yeere before, he had found out.

Upon which conſiderations, the day and yeere before expreſſed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwiche, where making an accompliſhment of things neceſſarie, the laſt of May we hoiſed vp ſailes, and with a merrie winde the 7. of June, we arriued at the Iſlands, called Orchades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. ſubiect and adiacent to Scotland, where we made proviſion The Iſlands Orchades, or Orkney.

of

of fresh water: in the doing whereof, our General licenced the Gentlemen and souldiers, for their recreation, to goe on shoare. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with shrikes and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perswasions we reclaimed them to their houses. It seemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or some other enemies, that moues them to such sudden feare. Their houses are very simply builded with Bibble stone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the middest thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their familie, eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and their cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of ciuilitie. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turffes and Cow dardes. They haue corne, bigge and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantitie of fishe, which they dyie in the winde, and Sunne. They dresse their meate very filthily, and eate it without salt. Their apparell is after the rudest sort of Scotland. Their money is all base. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fisher men of England, can better declare the disposicions of those people then I: wherefore I remit other their vsages to their reports, as peerely repairers thither, in their course to & from Island for fishe.

The Orkhadians vpon small occasion flee their home.

No wood in Orkney.

Fisher men of England haue daily traffike to Orkney.

We departed herehence, the 8. of June, and followed our course betweene West and Northwest, vntill the 4. of Julie: all which time, we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment, wee had when wee were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleasures to passe away the time: a thing of no small moment, to such as wander in vnknowen seas, and long nauigations, especially, when both the windes and raging surges, do passe their common and wonted course. This benefite endureth in those parts not 6. weekes, whilest the sunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the Pole is raised to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth the longer.

In June and Iuly no night in those west and northwest regions.

All along these seas, after we were fiue daies sailing from Orkney, we met floting in the sea, great Firre trees, which as we iudged, were with the furie of great floods rooted vp, and so driuen into the sea. Island hath almost no other wood nor fuell, but such as they take vp vpon their coasts. It seemeth, that these trees are driuen from some part of the New found lande, with the current that setteth from the West to the East.

The 4. of July, we came within the making of Friseland. From this shoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Islands of yce, of halfe a mile, some more, some lesse in compasse, shewing aboue the sea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we suppose, sate on ground, where, with our lead we could scarse sound the bottome, for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smels of sweete gums, & pleasant notes of musicall birds, which other Countreis in more temperate Zone do yeeld, we tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts, mixt with snow & haile, in the moneths of June & July, nothing inferior to our vntemperate winter: a sudden alteration, and specially in a place or Paralele, where the Pole is not eleuate about 61. degrees: at which height other Countreis more to the North, yea, vnto 70. degrees, shew themselues more temperate then this doth.

Yce, snow, and haile in June and July.

All along this coast yce lieth, as a continual bulwarke, & so defendeth the Countrey, that those which would land there, incur great danger. Our General 3. daies together, attempted with the ship boate to haue gone on shoare, which, for that without great danger he could not accomplish, he deferred it vntil a more conuenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountaines, couered with snow, except in such places, where, though the steepenes of the mountaines, of force it must needes fall. Foure daies coasting along this land, we found no signe of habitation. Little birds, which we iudged to haue lost the shoare, by reason of thicke fogges, which that Countrey is much subiect vnto, came flying to our ships, which causeth vs to suppose, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shoare maketh shewe of signification.

Friseland subiect to fogge.

From hence we departed the eight of Julie: and the 16. of the same, wee came with the making of land, which land our Generall, the yeere before, had named The Queenes foreland, being an Island, as we iudge, lying neere the supposed continent with America: and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other Island, called Halles Isle, after the name of the Master of the ship, neere adiacent to the firme land, supposed continent with Asia. Betweene the which two Islands there is a large entrance, or streight, called Frobishers streight, after the name of our Generall, the first finder thereof. This said streight, is supposed to haue passage into the sea of Sur, which I leaue vnknowen as yet.

Frobishers streight.

It seemeth, that either here, or not farre hence, the sea should haue more large entrance, then in other parts, within the frozen or vntemperate Zone: and that some contrary tide, either from the East or West, with maine force casteth out that great quantitie of yce, which commeth floting from this coast, euen vnto Friseland, causing that Countrey to seeme more vntemperate then o-

ther

thers, much more northerly then the same.

I cannot iudge, that any temperature vnder the Pole, being the time of the Sunnes Northern declination, halfe a yeere together, and one whole day, (considering, that the Sunnes elevation surmounteth not 23. degrees, and 30. minutes,) can haue power to dissolue such monstrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by some other force, as by swift currents and tides, with the helpe of the said day of halfe a yeere.

Islands of yce comparable to mountaines.

Before we came within the making of these lands, we tasted cold stormes, in so much that it seemed, we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooued vs from that opinion.

At our first comming, the streights seemed to be shut vp with a long mure of yce, which gaue no little cause of discomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whose diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing minde, for the commoditie of his Prince, and Countrey,) with two little Pinnesses prepared of purpose, passed twise thorough them to the East shoare, and the Islands thereunto adiacent: and the ship, with the two Barkes, lay off and on something further into the sea, from the danger of the yce.

Captain Frobisher his speciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.

Whilest he was searching the Countrey neere the shoare, some of the people of the Countrey shewed themselues, leaping and daunsing, with strange shrikes, and cries, which gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall desirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, caused knives, and other things, to be profered vnto them, which they would not take at our handes: but being laid on the ground, and the partie going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing some thing of theirs to counteruaile the same. At the length, two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Master, who did the like to them, commanding the companie to stay, and went vnto them: who, after certaine dumbe signes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly escaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not respecting the rest of our companie, which were ready for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt diuers of them: we tooke the one, and the other escaped.

The order of the people appearing on shoare.

Fierce and bold people. One taken.

Whilest our Generall was busied in searching the Countrey, and those Islands adiacent on the East shoare, the ship and barkes hauing great care, net to put farre into the sea from him, for that he had smal store of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the yce, which was so monstrous, that euen the least of a thousand had bene of force sufficient, to haue shiuered our ship and barkes into smal portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care vpon the infirmitie of man) had not prouided for this our extremitie a sufficient remedie, through the light of the night, whereby wee might well discerne to flee from such imminent dangers, which we auoided with 14. Bourdes in one watch the space of 4. howres. If we had not incurred this danger amongst these monstrous Islands of yce, we should haue lost our Generall and Master, and the most of our best sailers, which were on the shoare destitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Master Gunner, Master Iackman, and Andrew Dier, the Masters Mates, men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearsed, before we would, with our owne safetie, runne into the seas, to the destruction of our said Generall, and his companie.

Richard Core, Master Gunner. Master Iackman. Andrew Dier.

The day following, being the 19. of Iulie, our Captaine returned to the shippe, with good newes of great riches, which shewed it selfe in the bowels of those barren mountaines, wherwith we were all satisfied. A sudden mutation. The one part of vs being almost swallowed vp the night before, with cruell Neptunes force, and the rest on shoare, taking thought for their greedie paunches, how to find the way to New found land: at one moment we were all wrapt with ioy, forgetting both where we were, and what we had suffered. Behold the glorie of man, to night contemning riches, and rather looking for death then otherwise: and to morrowe deuising howe to satisfie his greedie appetite with golde.

New found land.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the streights, the northwest and West windes dispersed the yce into the sea, and made vs a large entrance into the streights, that without any impediment, on the 19. of Iulie, we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our General and Master, with great diligence, sought out and sounded the West shoare, and founde out a faire Harborough for the shippe and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Masters mate, Iackmans sound, and brought the ship, barkes, and all their companie to safe anker, except one man, which died by Gods visitation.

Iackmans sound.

At our first arriuall, after the ship rode at anker, our Generall, with such companie as could wel be spared from the shippes, in ma[illegible]ing order entred the lande, hauing speciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, we should all with one voice, kneeling vpon our knees, chiefly thanke

thanke God for our safe arriuall: secondly, beseech him, that it would please his diuine Maiestie, long to continue our Queene, for whome he, and all the rest of our companie, in this order tooke possession of the Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Christian studie and endeuour, those barbarous people trained vp in Paganrie, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of saluation in Christ our Redeemer. With other worbes very apt to signifie his willing mind, and affection towards his Prince, and Countrey: whereby all suspicion of an vndutifull subiect, may credibly be iudged to be vtterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the Gentlemen, and other, deserue worthily herein, their due praise and commendation.

Possession taken.

These things in this order accomplished, our Generall commanded all the companie to be obedient in things needefull for our owne safegard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Beast, his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessary affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Ensigne displaied, so farre as was thought needefull, and now and then heaped vp stones on high mountaines, and other places, in token of possession, as likewise to signifie vnto such as hereafter may chance to arriue there, that possession is taken in the behalfe of some other Prince, by those which first found out the countrey.

Yce needefull to be regarded of seafaring men.

Who so maketh nauigations to these Countreis, hath not onely extreame windes, and furious seas, to encounter withall, but also many monstrous and great Islands of yce: a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anker, to haue continual watch, with boates & men ready with halsers, to knit fast vnto such yce, which with the ebbe & flood were tossed to & fro in the harborough, & with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering ye ship.

Our Generall, certaine daies searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commoditie to answere his expectation, after hee had made triall thereof, hee departed thence with two little barkes, and men sufficient, to the East shoare, being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship with most of the Gentlemen, souldiers, and sailers, vntill such time as he, either thought good to send, or come for them.

Stones glister with sparckles like gold. A common prouerbe.

The stones of this supposed continent with America, be altogether sparkled, and glister in the Sunne like gold: so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Prouerbe: All is not golde that glistereth.

On this West shoare we found a dead fishe floating, which had in his nose a horne streight and torquet, of length two yardes lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceiue it hollowe, into which some of our sailers putting Spiders, they presently died. I sawe not the triall hereof, but it was reported vnto me of a trueth: by the vertue whereof, we supposed it to be the sea Unicorne.

The sea Unicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ship and barkes to anker in, and also such store of gold ore, as he thought himselfe satisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke aforesaid, was Captaine, accompanied with our Master, and his Mate: who coasting along the West shoare, not farre from whence the ship rode, they perceaued a faire harborough, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance therof they espied two tents of Seale skins, vnto which the Captaine, our said Master, and other companie resorted. At the sight of our men, the people fled into the mountaines: neuerthelesse, they went to their tents, where leauing certaine trifles of ours, as glasses, bels, kniues, & such like things, they departed, not taking any thing of theirs, except one dogge. They did in like manner leaue behind them, a letter, pen, incke, and paper, whereby our men, whome the Captaine lost the yeere before, and in that peoples custodie, might (if any of them were aliue) be aduertised of our pretence, and being there.

The people fled at the sight of our men.

On the same day, after consultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewise, that could be spared from the ship, vnder the conduct and leading of Master Philpot, (vnto whome, in our General his absence, and his Lieutenant Master Beast, all the rest were obedient) went a shoare, determining to see, if by faire meanes we could either allure them to familiaritie, or otherwise take some of them, & so attein to some knowledge of those men, whom our General lost ye yeere before.

Master Philpot. Master Beast.

At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooued their tents further into the said Baye or Sownd, where they might, if they were driuen from the land, flee with their boates into the sea. Wee parting our selues into two companies, and compassing a mountaine, came suddenly vpon them by land, who espying vs, without any tarying, fled to their boates, leauing the most part of their oares behind them for haste, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinnesses met them, and droue them to share: but, if they had had all their oares, so swift are they in rowing, it had bene lost time to haue chased them.

When

When they were landed, they fiercely assaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes: and perceiuing them selues thus hurt, they desperatly leape off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned them selues: which if they had not done, but had submitted them selues, or if by any meanes we could haue taken aliue (being their enemies as they iudged) we would both haue saued them, and also haue sought remedie to cure their wounds receiued at our hands. But they, altogether voyde of humanitie, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they should fal into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death, then otherwise to bee saued by vs: the rest, perceiuing their fellowes in this distresse, fled into the high mounteines. Two women, not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong childe, we tooke. The olde wretch, whom diuers of our Saylers supposed to be either a diuell, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were clouen footed, and for her ougly hewe and deformitie, we let her goe: the yong woman and the childe, we brought away. We named the place where they were slaine, Bloudie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorkes sound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barkes.

A fierce assault of a few.

Hauing this knowledge both of their fiercenesse and cruelty, and perceiuing that faire meanes, as yet, is not able to allure them to familiaritie, we disposed our selues, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents, and made a spoyle of the same: where we found an olde shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shooes of our men, whom we lost the yeere before: no other thing else vnto them belonging could we see our eyes.

Faire meanes not able to allure them to familiaritie.

Their riches are not gold, siluer or precious Drapery, but their said tents and boates, made of the skins of red Deare and Seale skins: also, dogges like vnto woolues, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondred at for their strangenesse, then for any other commodite needefull for our vse.

Boates of skinnes.

Thus returning to our ship the 3. of August, we departed from the west shoare, supposed firme with America, after we had anchored there 13. dayes: and so, the 4. thereof, we came to our Generall on the East shoare, and anchored in a faire Harborough named Anne Warrwickes sound, vnto which is annexed an Island both named after the Countesse of Warwicke, Anne Warrwicks sound and Ile.

Our departure from the west shoare.

In this Ile, our Generall thought good, for this voyage, to fraight both the ships and barkes, with such Stone or gold minerall, as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his first, & this his seconde Nauigation to these countries, with sufficient interest to the venturers, whereby they might both be satisfied for this time, and also in time to come (if it please God and our Prince) to expect a much more benefite, out of the bowels of those Septentrionall Paralels, which long time hath concealed it selfe, till at this present, through the wonderfull diligence, and great danger of our Generall and others, God is contented with the reuealing thereof. It riseth so abundantly, that from the beginning of August, to the 22. thereof (euery man following the diligence of our General) we raysed aboue ground 200. tunne, which wee iudged a reasonable fraight for the ship and two barkes, in the sayd Anne Warrwickes Ile.

In the meane time of our abode here, some of the countrie people, came to shewe themselues vnto vs, sundrie times on the maine shoare, neere adiacent to the said Ile. Our General, desirous to haue some newes of his men, whom he lost the yeere before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat, to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is persuaded to bring them. They, at the first shewe, made tokens, that three of his fiue men were aliue, and desired penne, yncke, and paper, and that within three or foure daies, they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring those of our men, which were liuing, with them.

The countrie people shewe themselues vnto vs.

They also made signes or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, & how he was caried on mens shoulders, & a man farre surmounting any of our company, in bignesse & stature.

With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, yncke, and paper was deliuered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being layd vpon the shoare, and the partie gone away, they tooke vp: which likewise they do, when they deliuer any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left, so much as they thinke will counteruaile the same, and not comming neare together. It seemeth they haue bene vsed to this trade or traffique, with some other people adioyning, or not farre distant from their Countrie.

Their vsage in traffique or exchange.

After 4. daies, some of them shewed themselues vpon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Iland, with the boate, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him, about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a companie of the craftie villains to lye

The people shewe them selues the tenth time.

lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, & ſo with few ſignes diſmiſſed them, & returned to his company.

The people ſhewe them ſelues againe on firme land.

An other time, as our ſaid General was coaſting the countrie, with two little Pinniſſes, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the craftie villains, with a white ſkin allured vs to them. Once againe, our Generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neare the ſhoare, whereon they were, we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behinde great ſtones, & thoſe three in ſight labouring by al meanes poſſible, that ſome would come on land: & perceiuing we made no hall by words nor friendly ſignes,

Their firſt meanes to allure vs to ſhoare.

which they vſed by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but three in ſight, they ſought further meanes to prouoke vs thereunto. One alone layd fleſh on the ſhoare, which we tooke vp with the Boate hooke, as neceſſary victuals for the reliefing of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet, they could not digeſt our meate: whereby they perceiued themſelues deceiued of their expectation, for all their craftie allurements. Yet once againe, to

Their ſecond meanes.

Their third and craftieſt allurement.

make (as it were) a full ſhewe of their craftie natures, and ſubtile ſleights, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken ſome of our men, one of them counterfeited himſelfe impotent and lame of his legges, who ſeemed to deſcend to the water ſide, with great difficultie: & to couer his craft the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in ſuch places, where hee ſeemed vnable to paſſe, he tooke him on his ſhoulders, ſet him by the water ſide, and departed from him, leauing him (as it ſhould ſeeme) all alone, who playing his counterfeite pageant very wel, thought thereby to prouoke ſome of vs to come on ſhoare, not fearing, but that one of vs might make our partie good with a lame man.

Compaſſion to cure a craftie lame man.

Our Generall, hauing compaſſion of his impotencie, thought good (if it were poſſible) to cure him therof: wherefore, he cauſed a ſouldiour to ſhoote at him with his Caleeuer, which graſed before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and gott him to his bowe and arrowes, and the reſt from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, ſlings, and darts. Our Generall cauſed ſome caleeuers to be ſhot off at them, wherby ſome being hurt, they might hereafter ſtand in more feare of vs.

This was all the aunſwere, for this time, we could haue of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their craftie dealing, at theſe three ſeuerall times, being thus manifeſt vnto vs, may plainely ſhewe, their diſpoſition in other things to be correſpondent. We iudged, that they vſed theſe ſtratagemmes, thereby to haue caught ſome of vs, for the deliuering of the man woman and childe whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much vnlike the Sunne burnt Countrie man, who laboureth daily in Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire ſomething long, and cut before, either with ſtone or knife, very diſorderly. Their women weare their haire long, and knit vp with two loupes, ſhewing forth on either ſide of their faces, and the reſt folded vpon a knot. Alſo, ſome of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wriſtes of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour, which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meate all rawe, both fleſhe, fiſhe, and foule, or ſomething perboyled with bloud and a little water, which they drinke. For lacke of water, they will eate yce, that is hard froſen, as pleaſantly as we will doe Sugar, Candie, or other Sugar.

If they, for neceſſities ſake, ſtand in neede of the premiſſes, ſuch graſſe as the countrie yeelderh they plucke vpp, and eate, not deintily, or ſallet wiſe to allure their ſtomaches to appetite: but for neceſſities ſake, without either ſalt, oyles, or waſhing, like brute beaſts deuouring the ſame. They neither vſe table, ſtoole, or table cloth for comelines: but when they are imbrued with bloud, knuckle deepe, and their kniues in like ſort, they vſe their tongues as apt inſtrumentes to licke them cleane: in doing whereof, they are aſſured to looſe none of their victuals.

Doggs like vnto wolues.

They frank or keepe certeine doggs, not much vnlike Wolues, which they yoke together, as we do oxen & horſes, to a ſled or traile: and ſo carrie their neceſſaries ouer the yce and ſnow, from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfect ſignes. And when thoſe doggs are not apt for the ſame vſe: or when with hunger they are conſtrained for lacke of other victuals, they eate them: ſo that they are as needful for them, in reſpect of their bigneſſe, as our oxen are for vs.

They eate doggs fleſh.

They apparell themſelues in the ſkinnes of ſuch beaſtes as they kill, ſewed together with the ſinewes of them. All the fowle which they kill, they ſkin, and make there of one kinde of garment or other, to defend them from the cold.

Hoodes and tailes to their apparel.

They make their apparel with hoodes and tailes, which taſtes they giue, when they thinke to gratifie any friendſhippe ſhewed vnto them: a great ſigne of friendſhippe with them. The men

haue

bone them not so spde as the women.

The men and women weare their hose close to their legges, from the waste to the knee, without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legges they weare hose of leather, with the furre side inward, two or three paire on at once, and especially the women. In those hose, they put their knives, needles, and other things needefull to beare about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw their said hose, and so in place of garters, they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dresse their skinnes very soft and souple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter, they weare the furre side inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none, but the said skinnes.

Those beastes, fishes, and fowles, which they kill, are their meate, drinke, apparel, houses, bedding, hose, shooes, thred, and sailes for their boates, with many other necessaries, whereof they stand in neede, and almost all their riches.

Their houses are tents, made of Seale skins, pitched vp with 4. Firre quarters, foure square, meeting at the toppe, and the skinnes sewed together with sinewes, and layd thereupon: they are so pitched vp, that the entrance into them, is alwaies South, or against the Sunne. Their houses of Seale skins and Firre.

They haue other sortes of houses, which we found, not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and Whale bones, and a skinne layd ouer them, to withstande the raine, or other weather: the entrance of them being not much vnlike an Ouens mouth, whereto I thinke, they resort for a time to fishe, hunt, and foule, and so leaue them vntill the next time they come thether againe.

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, dartes, and slinges. There bowes are of wood, of a yard long, sinewed on the back with strong sinewes, not glued too, but fast girded and tyed on. Their bowe stringes are likewise sinewes. Their arrowes are three peeces, nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with those two endes, and the wood in the middst, they passe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers, the penne end being cutt away, and the fethers layd vpon the arrow with the broad side to the wood: in somuch that they seeme, when they are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. They haue likewise three sortes of heades to those arrowes: one sort of stone or pyon, proportioned like to a heart: the second sort of bone, much like vnto a stopte head, with a hooke on the same: the third sort of bone likewise, made sharpe at both sides, and sharp pointed. They are not made very fast, but lightly tyed to, or else set in a nocke, that vpon small occasion, the arrowe leaueth these heads behinde them: and they are of small force, except they be very neere, when they shoote. Their weapons of defence. Three sortes of heades to their arrowes.

Their Darts are made of two sortes: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore ende, and likewise in the middst: their proportions are not much vnlike our coasting pyons, but longer: these they cast out of an instrument of wood, very readily. The other sort is greater then the first aforesayd, with a long bone made sharp on both sides, not much vnlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their most hurtfull weapon. Two sortes of dartes.

They haue two sortes of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the same: the greater sort are not much vnlike our wherries, wherein sixteene or twenty men may sitte: they haue for a sayle, dryed the guttes of such beastes as they kill, very fine and thinne, which they sewe together: the other boate is but for one man to sitte and rowe in, with one oare. Two sortes of Boats made of Leather.

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fowling are with these sayd weapons: but in what sort, or how they vse them, we haue no perfect knowledge as yet. They vse to fowle, fishe, and hunt.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses or apparel, are of such force to withstand the extremity of colde, that the countrie seemeth to be infected with all: neyther doe I see any signe likely to perswade me the same. It is to be supposed that their habitation is elsewhere.

Those houses, or rather dennes, which stand there, haue no signe of footway, or any thing else troden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation. And those tentes, which they bring with them, when they haue sufficiently hunted and fished, they remoue to other places: and when they haue sufficiently stored them of such victuals, as the country yeeldeth, or bringeth forth, they returne to their Winter stations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertilitie, which I perceiue to be in that countrie.

They haue some pyon, whereof they make arrowe heads, knives, and other little instruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and dartes withall, which are very vnapt to doe any thing withall, but with great labour. Their vse of pyon.

It seemeth, that they haue conuersation with some other people, of whom for exchaunge, they

should receiue the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giueth a sound.

Anthropophagi. What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idol they adore, we haue no perfect intelligence. I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans flesh, then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fish, which they finde dead (smell it neuer so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it, without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders, or hearers.

Signes of gold ritar. There is no maner of creeping beast hurtfull, except some Spiders (which, as many affirme, are signes of great store of Gold:) and also certeine stinging Gnattes, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite, shortly after swelleth, and itcheth very sore.

Signes of gold from other people. They make signes of certaine people, that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheades, and other places of their bodies.

Description of the Countries The Countries, on both sides the streights, lye very high with rough stonie mountaines, and great quantitie of snowe thereon. There is very little plaine grounde, and no grasse, except a little, which is much like vnto mosse that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turfes in. There is no wood at all. To be briefe, there is nothing liue, or profitable for the vse of man, which that Countrie with roote peelveth or bringeth forth: Howbeit, there is great quantity of Deere, whose skinnes are like vnto Asses, their heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our partes or Countrie: their feete likewise, are as great as our oxens, which we measured to be seuen or eight inches in breadth. There are also hares, wolues, fishing beares, and Sea foule of sundry sortes.

As the Countrie is barren and vnfertile, so are they rude & of no capacitie to culture the same, to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fowling, with rawe flesh and warme blood, to satisfie their greedie panches, which is their onely glorie.

A signe of Earthquakes or thunder. There is great likelyhood of Earthquakes, or thunder: for that there are huge & monsterous mounteines, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinarie meanes, that one is separated from another, which is discordant from al other Quarries.

No riuers, but such as the Summe worth cause to come of snowe. A probability, that there should be neither spring or riuers in the ground. There are no riuers, or running springes, but such, as though the heate of the Sunne, with such water as discendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of snowe doe lie, are ingendred.

It argueth also, that there should be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter, is so frosen within, that that water, which should haue recourse within the same, to maintaine Springs, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is seene other where. Such valleies, as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time, by the operation of the Sunne, descendeth from great abundance of snowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines, and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth, and so vanisheth away, without any runnell aboue the earth, by which occasion, or continual standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost pelteth to the force thereof, which in other places, foure or fiue fathoms within the ground for lacke of the said moysture, the earth: (euen in the very Summer time) is frosen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments, with great force, can vnknit them.

Also, where the water in those vallies can haue no such passage away, by ꝑ continuance of time, in such order as is before rehearsed, the yeerely descent from the mountaines, filleth them full, that at the lowest banke of the same, they fall into the next vallie, and so continue, as fishing ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frosen: as by skarres, that remaine thereof in Summer, may easily be perceiued: so that, the heate of Summer, is nothing comparable or of force, to dissolue the extremitie of colde, that commeth in Winter.

Springs nourish gold. Neuertheles, I am assured that below the force of the frost, within the earth, the waters haue recourse, and emptie themselues out of sight into the sea, which though the extremitie of the frost, are constrayned to doe the same: by which occasion, the earth within is kept the warmer, and springes haue their recourse, which is the onely nutriment of Golde and Minerals within the same.

There is much to be said of the commodities of these Countries, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let passe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

An end of conieecturing till further triall. Thus conjecturing, till time, with the earnest industrie of our Generall and others (who by all diligence remaine prest to explore the truth of that which is vnexplored, as he hath to his euerlasting praise founde out that which is like to perise an innumerable benefite to his Prince and countrie) offer further triall, I conclude.

The

The 23. of August, after we had satisfied our mindes with fraight sufficient for our vessels, though not our couetous desires, with such knowledge of the countrey, people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, the 24. thereof we departed therehence: the 17. of September we fell with the lands end of England, and so to Milford Hauen, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Porte or Hauen to conduct the shippe.

Shippes satisfied with burthen, but mens mindes not contented.

Our departure frō those countries.

We lost our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one, the 29. of August, the other, the 31. of the same moneth, by occasion of great tempest and fogge. Howbeit, God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other making his course by Scotland, to Yermouth. In this Voyage we lost two men, one in the way by Gods visitation, and the other homewarde cast ouer borde with a surge of the Sea.

How, & when, we lost our 2. Barks, which God neuertheless restored.

I Could declare vnto the Readers, the Latitude and Longitude of such places and regions, as we haue bene at, but not altogether so perfectly as our masters and others, with many circumstances of tempests and other accidents incident to Sea faring men, which seeme not altogether strange, but I let them passe to their reportes as men most apt to set foorth and declare the same. I haue also left the names of the Countries on both the shores vntouched, for lacke of vnderstanding the peoples language: as also for sundry respects, not needfull as yet to bee declared.

The conclusion.

Countries newe explored, where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accorde with a newe name giuen by the explorers, then an vncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our General named sundry Islands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harboroughs after the names of diuers Noble men, & other gentlemen his friends, as wel on the one shore, as also on the other.

The third and last voyage into Meta Incognita, made by *M. Martin Frobisher, in the yeere* 1578. *VVritten* by Thomas Ellis.

These are to let you knowe, that vpon the 25. of May, the Thomas Allen, being Viceadmirall, whose Captaine was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Master, M. Christopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmiral named the Hopewel, whose Captaine was M. Henrie Carewe, the M. Andrewe Dier, and certaine other shippes, came to Grauesend, where we ankred and abode the comming of certaine other of our Fleete, which were not yet come.

Master Yorke. Christopher Hall. The Hopewel. Captaine Carew. Andrew Dier.

The 27. of the same moneth, our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things prest in a readinesse, the winde fauouring, and tide seruing, we being of sailes in nomber eight, waied ankers, and hoysed our sailes toward Harwich, to meete with our Admirall, and the residue, which then and there abode our arriuall: where we safely arriued the 28. thereof, finding there our Admirall, whom we, with the discharge of certaine pieces, saluted (according to order and duetie) and were welcomed with the like courtesie: which being finished, we landed: where our Generall continued mustring his Souldiers and Miners, and setting things in order apperteining to the voyage, vntill the last of the sayd moneth of May, which day we hoysed our sailes, and committing our selues to the conducting of Almightie God, we set forward toward the West countrey, in such luckie wise, and good successe, that by the fift of June, we passed the Dursies, being the vtmost part of Ireland, to the Westward.

Harwich.

Dursies. Ireland.

And here it were not much amisse, nor farre from our purpose, if I should a litle discourse and speake of our aduentures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plymmouth, as also the meeting of certaine poore men, which were robbed and spoyled of all that they had, by Pirates and Rouers: amongst whom was a man of Bristowe, on whom our General vsed his liberalitie, and sent him away with letters into England.

Plymmouth.

Bristowe.

But because such things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the same) to that, from the which I haue digressed, and swarued, I meane our shippes now sailing on the surging Seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne winde, sometime hindered of our course againe by the Westerne blastes, vntill the 20. day of the foresayd moneth of June, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land, and was almost cleane couered with snowe, so that we might see nought but craggie rockes, and the tops of high and huge hilles, sometimes (and for the most part) all couered with foggie mistes. There might we also perceiue the great Isles of yce lying on the seas,

Frizeland.

like mountaines, some small, some big, of sundry kindes of shapes, and such a number of them, that we could not come neere the haze for them.

Thus sailing alongst the coast, at the last we sawe a place somewhat hoyde of yce, where our Generall, (accompanied with certaine other,) went a shoare, where they sawe certaine tentes made of beasts skins, and boats much like vnto theirs of Meta incognita. The tents were furnished with flesh, fish, skins, and other trifles: amongst the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did coniecture, that they had either Artificers amongst them, or els a traffike with some other nation. The men ranne away, so that we could haue no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (because he would haue them no more to flee, but rather encouraged to stay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement, that his men should take nothing away with them, sauing onely a couple of white Dogs, for which he left pins, poynes, knines, and other trifling things, and departed, without taking or hurting any thing, and so came a boyd, and hoysed sayles, and passed forwards.

The courtesie of our Generall.

But being scarse out of the sight thereof, there fell such a fogge and hidious mist, that we could not see one another: whereupon we stroke our drums, and sounded our trumpets, to the end we might keepe together: and so continued all that day and night, till the next day, that the mist brake vp: so that we might easily perceiue all the ships thus saying together all that day, vntill the next day, being the 22. of the same: on which day wee sawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we cast about to shun the danger thereof.

Master Kenderslie. Bartholomew Bull.

But one of our small Barkes, named the Michael, whose Captaine was Master Kinderslie, the Master Bartholomewe Bull, lost our companie, insomuch that we could not obteine the sight of her many dayes after, of whom I meane to speake further anon, when occasion shall be ministred, and opportunitie serue. Thus we continued on our course, vntill the second of July, on which day we fell with the Queenes foreland, where wee sawe so much yce, that we thought it vnpossible to get into the Straights: yet at the last we gaue the aduenture, and entred the yce.

The Michael. The Iudith. M. Fenton. Charles Jackman.

Being in amongst it, we sawe the Michael, of whome I spake before, accompanied with the Iudith, whose Captaine was Master Fenton, the Master Charles Iackman, bearing into the foreland yce, farre distant from vs, who in a storme that fell, that present night, (whereof I will at large, God willing, discourse hereafter) were seuered from vs, and being in, wandred vp and downe the Straights, amongst the yce, many dayes, in great perill, till at the last, (by the prouidence of God) they came safely to harbor in their wished Haze, in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, the 20. of July aforesayd, ten dayes before any of the other shippes: who going on shoare found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their prouision in great heapes of stones, being both of flesh, and fish, which they had killed: whereof we also found great store in other places after our arriuall. They found also diuers engins, as bowes, slings, and dartes. They found likewise certaine pieces of the Pinnesse which our Generall left there the yeere before, which Pinnesse he had soonke, minding to haue it againe the next yeere.

The Countesse of Warwicks sound.

Nowe, seeing I haue entreated so much of the Iudith, and the Michael: I will returne to the rest of the other shippes, and wil speake a little of the storme which fell, with the mishaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

Our entrance & passage, &c.

At the first entrie into the yce, in the mouth of the Straights, our passage was very narrowe, and difficill: but being once gotten in, we had a fayre open place without any yce, for the most part: being a league in compasse, the yce being round about vs, and inclosing vs, as it were within the pales of a parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our sayles, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waues beganne to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere vs, and comming on so fast vpon vs, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs so fast, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selues, and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent.

Barke Dionyse

At the last, the Barke Dionyse, being but a weake ship, and hoysed afore amongst the yce, being so leake that she no longer could carry aboue ꝑ water, sanke without sauing any of the goods which were within her: which sight so abashed the whole Fleete, that wee thought verily wee should haue tasted of the same sauce. But neuertheless, we seeing them in such danger, manned our boates, and saued all the men, in such wise, that not one perished, (God be thanked.)

Narrow shifts for safetie.

The storme still increased, and the yce inclosed vs, that wee were faine to take downe top and top masts: for the yce had so enuironed vs, that we could see neither land, nor sea, as farre as we could kenne: so that we were faine to cut our cables, to hang ouer boyde for fenders, some-

what

what to ease the shippes sides, from the great and dirrie strokes of the yce: some Capstan barres, some fending off with oares, some with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, some going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their shoulders from the ships. But the rigorousnesse of the tempest was such, and the force of the yce so great, that not onely they burst and spoyled the foresayd prouision: but likewise so rased the sides of the ships, that it was pitifull to beholde, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

Thus continued we all that dismal and lamentable night, plunged in this perplexitie, looking for instant death: but our God, (who neuer leaueth them destitute which faithfully call vpon him) although hee often punisheth, for amendments sake, in the morning caused the windes to cease: and the fogge, which all that night lay on the face of the water, to cleare: so that wee might perceiue, about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an easie breath of winde, which our God sent vs, we bent our selues. And furthermore, hee prouided better for vs then we deserued, or hoped for: for when we were in the foresayd cleare place, hee sent vs a fresh gale at West, or at West Southwest, which set vs cleare without all the yce. And further, he added more: for he sent vs so pleasant a day, as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment, consolation.

Gods prouidence.

Thus we ioyfull wightes, being at libertie, tooke in all our sailes, and lay a hull, praysing God for our deliuerance: and stayed to gather together our Fleete: which once being done, wee seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, sauing onely they of whom I spake before, and the ship which was lost, then at the last we hoised our sailes, and lay bulting off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the yce, that wee might get into the Straights.

And as we thus lay off and on, we came by a marueilous huge mountaine of yce, which surpassed all the rest that euer wee sawe: for wee iudged it to be neere foure score fathoms aboue water, and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that wee coulde perceiue, being there nine score fathoms deepe, and of compasse about halfe a mile.

A mountaine of yce appearing in sundry figures.

Also the fift of July, there fell a hidious fogge and mist, that continued till the nineteenth of the same: so that one shippe could not see another. Therefore we were faine to beare a small sayle, and to obserue the time: but there ran such a currant of Tide, that it set vs to the Northwest of the Queenes foreland, the backside of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge hauing no sight either of Sunne or Starre) we scarse knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of July, wee lost the companie of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Busse of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

A fog of long continuance.

The sixteenth day, one of our small Barks, named the Gabriel, was sent by our Generall to beare in with the land, to descrie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which seemed very humane and ciuill, and offered to traffike with our men, profering them foules, and skins, for kniues, and other trifles: whose courtesie caused vs to thinke, that they had small conuersation with the other of the Straights.

The Gabriel.

The people offer to traffike with vs.

Then we bare backe againe, to goe with the Queenes foreland: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Islands, whereon we went on shoare, and found where the people had bene: but we sawe none of them. This day we were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the first. For through the darkenes and obscuritie of the foggie mist, we were almost runne on rockes and Islands, before we sawe them: But God (euen miraculously) prouided for vs, opening the fogges, that we might see clearely, both where, and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape: or els, without faile, wee had ruinously runne vpon the rockes.

When we knewe perfectly our instant case, we cast about, to get againe on Seaborde, which (God be thanked) by night we obteined, and praised God. The cleare continued scarse an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

Then the Reareadmirall, and the Beare got them selues cleare without danger of yce and rocks, strooke their sayles, and lay a hull, staying to haue the rest of the Fleete come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themselues from the danger of rockes and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time the Reareadmirall discharged certaine warning pieces to giue notice that she had escaped, and that the rest (by following of her) might set themselues free, which they did that day.

Warning pieces of safe passage discharged.

Then hauing gathered our selues together, we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our selues distant from the coast, till the 19. day of July: at which time the fogges brake vp and dispersed, so that wee might plainely and clearely beholde the pleasant ayre, which

which so long had bene taken from vs, by the obscuritie of the foggie mistes: and after that time, we were not much encombred therwith, vntill we had left the confines of the countrey.

A faire sound betweene the Queenes foreland & Jackmans sound.

Then we espying a fayre sound, supposed it to go into the Straights, betweene the Queenes foreland, & Jackmans sound, which proued, as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe the Gabriel, to discouer it, who passed through with much difficultie: for there ran such an extreme currant of a tide, with so horrible a gulfe, that with a fresh gale of winde they were scarse able to stemme it: yet at the length with great trauaile they passed it, and came to the Straights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Busse of Bridgewater: who all together aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to see if they could obteine their wished Porte. But they were so encombred, that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the last they escaping, the Thomas Allin, and the Gabriel bare in with the Westerne shore, where they found harbour, and there moored their shippes, vntill the fourth of August, at which time they came to vs in the Countesse of Warwicks sound. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leake, which caused her to call againe to Sea boyd, and so was mended.

We sailed along still by the coast, vntil we came to the Queenes foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulfe aforesayd, which place or gulfe (as some of our Masters do credibly report) doeth flowe nine houres, and ebs but three. At that point were discouered certaine lands Southwarde, which neither time nor opportunitie would serue to search. Then being come to the mouth of the Straights, we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine tulting vp and downe euer since her departure alone, neuer finding any of her companie. We met then also the Francis of Foy, with whome againe we intended to venter and get in: but the yce was yet so thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get vs on Sea boyde.

An horrible snowe fell in July.

There fell also the same day, being the 26. of July, such an horrible snowe, that it lay a foote thicke vpon the hatches, which frose as fast as it fell.

We had also at other times, diuers cruell stormes, both of snowe and hayle, which manifestly declared the distemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that we were so many times repulsed and put backe from our purpose, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutualy consented to our valiant Generall once againe, to giue the onset.

The 28. day therefore of the same July we assayed, and with little trouble (God be praysed) we passed the dangers, by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, we hulled in the cleare, til the cheare full light of the day had chased away the noysome darkenes of the night: at which time we set forward towards our wished porte: by the 30. day we obteined our expected desire, where we found the Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no small ioy vnto the Generall, and great consolation to the beaute hearts of those wearied wights.

The time of our setting forward, &c.

The 30. day of July we brought our ships into the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and moored them, namely these ships, the Admirall, the Reareadmiral, the Francis of Foy, the Beare, Armenel, the Salomon, and the Busse of Bridgwater: which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a shore, vpon the Countesse Iland, where he set his Miners to worke vpon the Mine, giuing charge with expedition to dispatch with their lading.

Our Generall himselfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuers times made rodes into sundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as also to finde out and see the people of the Countrey. He found out one Mine, vpon an Iland by Beares sound, and named it the Countesse of Sussex Iland. One other was found in Winters Foynae, with diuers others, to which the ships were sent sunderly, to be laden. In the same rodes hee met with diuers of the people of the Countrey, at sundry times, as once at a place called Dauids sound: who shot at our men, and very desperately gaue them the onset, being not aboue three or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men aboue a dosen: but seeing themselues not able to preuaile, they tooke themselues to flight: whom our men pursued, but being not vsed to such craggy cliffes, they soone lost the sight of them, and so in vaine returned.

The Countesse of Sussex Iland.
Winters Foynae.
Dauids sound.

The policie of the people for safetie of their liues.

We also saw of them at Beares sound, both by Sea and land, in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and vs. And if any of our ships chanced to be in the sound, (as they came diuers times) because ꝑ harboy was not very good, the ship laded, & departed againe: then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene. But when as they perceiued the ships to be gone, they would not only shew themselues standing vpon high cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but also would come in their boates, very neere to vs, as it were to brag at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertisement, sent for the Captaine and Gentlemen of the shippes, to accompanie and attende vpon him, with the Captaine also

of

of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and the fleebote hauing loſt vs the 26. day, in the great ſnowe, put into an harbour in the Queenes foreland, where they found good oare, wherewith they laded themſelues, and came to ſeeke the Generall: ſo that nowe we had all our ſhippes, ſauing one Barke, which was loſt, and the Thomas of Ipſewiche, (who compelled by what furie I know not,) forſooke our companie, and returned home without lading.

Their ſpeedie flight at our Generalls arriuall.

Our Generall accompanied, with his Gentlemen, (of whome I ſpake) came altogether to the Counteſſe of Suſſex Iſland, neere to Beares ſound: where he manned out certaine Pinniſſes, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriuall, ſtodde away with all ſpeede, and in hall left certaine barres and other engines behind them, which we found: but the people wee could not finde.

The next morning our Generall perceiuing certaine of them in bote vpon the Sea, gaue chaſe to them, in a Pinniſſe vnder ſaile, with a freſh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he ſailed, the further off he was from them: which well ſhewed their cunning and actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approching, our Generall commanded to lade with all expedition, that wee might be againe on Sea boord with our ſhip: for whileſt we were in the countrie, we were in continuall danger of freeſing in: for often ſnow and haile often the water was ſo much froſen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could ſcarce rowe our boates or Pinniſſes, eſpecially in Diers ſound, which is a calme and ſtill water: which cauſed our Generall to make the more haſte, ſo that by the 30. day of Auguſt we were all laden, and made all things readie to depart.

Gentlemen ſhould haue inhabited the Countrie.

But before I proceede any further herein, to ſhewe what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a little to M. Captaine Fenton, and thoſe Gentlemen, which ſhould haue inhabited all the peere in thoſe countries, whoſe valiant mindes were much to bee commended, that neither feare of force, nor the cruel nipping ſtormes of the raging winter, neither the intemperature of ſo vnhealthfull a country, neither the ſauageneſſe of the people, neither the ſight and ſhewe of ſuch and ſo many ſtrange Metcores, neither the deſire to returne to their native ſoile, neither regarde of friendes neither care of poſſeſſions and inheritances: finally, not the loue of life (a thing of all other moſt ſweete) neither the terrour of dreadfull death it ſelfe, might ſeeme to be of ſufficient force, to withdraw their pronenſſe, or to reſtraine from that purpoſe, thereby to haue proſited their coũtrey: but that with moſt willing hearts, venturous minds, ſtout ſtomacks, and ſingular manhood they were content there to haue tarried for the time, among a barbarous and vnciuill people, Infidels and miſcreants to haue made their dwelling, not terrified with the manifold and imminent dangers which they were like to runne into: and ſeeing before their eyes ſo many caſualties, whereto their life was obiect, the leaſt whereof would haue made a milkſop Therſites aſtoniſhed and vtterly diſcomfited: being I ſay thus minded and purpoſed, they deſerue ſpeciall commendation: For doubtleſſe, they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withſtood their willingneſſe, and if that fortune had not ſo frowned vpon their intents.

Deſerued praiſe & commendation.

For the Barke Dionyſe, which was loſt, had in her much of their houſe, which was prepared and ſhould haue ben builded for them, with many other implements. Alſo the Thomas of Ipſewich, which had moſt of their proviſion in her, came not into the Streights at all: neither did we ſee her, ſince the day we were ſeparated in the great ſnow, (of which I ſpeake before.) For theſe cauſes, hauing not their houſe, nor yet proviſion, they were diſapointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ſhips, and ſo came away with vs.

An houſe erected and garniſhed with diuers trinkets.

But before we tooke ſhipping, we builded a litle houſe in the Counteſſe of Warwicks Iſland, and garniſhed it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glaſſes, Rombes, Babes on horſebacke and on foote, with innumerable other ſuch fanſies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the people to ſome familiaritie againſt other yeres.

An outragious tempeſt.

Thus hauing finiſhed all things we departed the countrie, (as I ſaide before:) but becauſe the Buſſe had not lading enough in her, ſhe put into Beares ſound to take in a litle more. In the meane while, the Amirall, and the reſt, without the Sea, ſtaied for her. And that night fell ſuch an outragious tempeſt, beating on our ſhips, with ſuch vehement rigor, that anchor and cable auailed nought: for we were driuen on rockes and Iſlandes of yce, inſomuch that (had not the great goodnes of God bene miraculouſly ſhewed to vs,) we had bene caſt away euery man. This danger was more doubtful and terrible, then any that preceeded or went before: for there was not any one ſhippe, (I thinke) that eſcaped without damage. Some loſt anchor and alſo gables, ſome botes, ſome Pinniſſes: ſome anchor, gables, botes, and Pinniſſes.

This boyſtrous ſtorme ſo ſeuered vs one from another, that one ſhippe knewe not what was become

become of another. The Admirall knew not where to finde the Viceadmirall or Reareadmirall, or any other ship of our Companie. Our Generall being on land in Bears sound, could not come to his shippe, but was compelled to goe a boorde the Gabriel, where hee continued all the way homeward: for the boysterous blastes continued so extreamely and so long a time, that it sent vs homewarde (which was Gods fauour towardes vs) will we, nill we, in such haste, as not any one of vs were able to keepe in companie of other, but were separated. And if by chaunce any one ship did ouertake other, by swiftnesse of saile, or mette (as they often did:) yet was the rigour of the winde so hidious, that they coulde not continue companie together the space of one whole night.

Our entring the coastes dangerous.

Thus our iourney outwarde was not so pleasaunt, but our comming thither entering the coastes and countrie, by narrow streightes, perilous yce, and swifte tides, our times of abode there in snowe, and stormes, and our departure from thence, the 3. of August, with daungerous blustering windes and tempests, which that night arose, was as uncomfortable: separating vs so, as we sailed, that not any of vs met together, vntil the 28. of September, which day we fell on the Englishe coastes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and passed the channell, vntill our arriual, in the riuer of Thames.

The report of Thomas Wiars, paßenger in the Emanuel, otherwise called the Busse of Bridgewater, wherein Iames Leeche was Master, one of the shippes in the last voyage of Master. Martin Frobisher, 1578. concerning the discouerie of a great Island in their way homeward the 12. of September.

THe Busse of Bridgewater, was left in Bears sounde at Mera incognita, the second day of September behinde the Fleete, in some distresse, though much winde ryding neere the Lee shoare, and forced there to ride it out vpon the hazard of her cables and ankers, which were all aground but two. The third of September being fayre weather, and the wind North northwest the set sayle, and departed thence and fell with Frisland, on the 8. day of September, at 6. of the clocke at night, and then they set off from the Southwest poynt of Frisland, the winde being at East, and East southeast, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and shifted often times that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at west northwest fayre weather, they steered southeast, and by south, and continued that course vntill the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about fiue leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northermost next, North Northeast, or Northeast. The master accompted that Frisland, the Southeast poynt of it, was from him at that instant, when hee first descryed this newe Iland, North west by North, 50. leagues. They account this Iland to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and Northwest. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part, or thereabout. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at 11. of the clocke, till the 13 day three of the clocke in the after noone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them, Northwest by North. There appeared two barborroughs vpon that coast: the greatest of them seuen leagues to the Northwardes of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was verie much yce neere the same lande, and also twentie or thirtie leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September, after noone. They plied their voyage homewards, and fell with the west part of Ireland about Galway, and had first sight of it on the 25. day of September.

The Iland in length 25. leagues.

This Iland is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part.

Notes

Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluit of the middle Temple Eſquire, *giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobiſher in his* Northweſt diſcouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, conſidering the ſame may ſtirre vp conſiderations of theſe and of ſuch other things, not vnmeete in ſuch newe voyages as may bee attempted hereafter.

THat the firſt Seate be choſen on the ſeaſide ſo as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Hauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your ſeate ſafe from the enemie: and ſo as the enemie ſhalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be diſperſed with all windes and tempeſts that ſhall ariſe. Thus ſeated you ſhall bee leaſt ſubiect to annoy of the enemie, ſo may you by your Nauie within, paſſe out to all partes of the world, and ſo may the ſhippes of England haue acceſſe to you to ſupply al wants, ſo may your commodities be caried away alſo. This ſeate is to bee choſen in temperate Climat, in ſweete ayre, where you may poſſeſſe alwayes ſweete water, wood, ſeacoles, or turfe, with fiſh, fleſh, grayne, fruites, herbes and rootes, or ſo many of thoſe, as may ſuffice very neceſſitie for the life of ſuch as ſhall plant there. And for the poſſeſſing of mines of golde, of ſiluer, copper, quickſiluer, or of any ſuch pyecious thing, the wantes of thoſe needeful things may be ſupplied from ſome other place by ſea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of,
Slate ſtone to tile withall or ſuch clay as maketh tyle,
Stone to wal withall, if Bryche may not bee made,
Timber for buylding eaſely to be conueied to the place,
Reede to couer houſes or ſuch like, if tile or ſlate be not,

} are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil ſort be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to liue without trafficke, or by trafficke and by trade of marchandiſe. If they ſhall liue without ſea trafficke, at the firſt they become naked by want of linen and woollen, and very miſerable by infinite wants that will otherwiſe enſue, and ſo will they be forced of themſelues to depart, or elſe eaſely they will be conſumed by the Spaniards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and ſo the interpryce becomes reprochfull to our nation, and a let to many other good purpoſes that may be taken in hande.

And by trade of marchandiſe they can not liue, except the ſea or the lande there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to haue moſt ſpeciall regard of that poynt, and ſo to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and ſeate, may drawe to you acceſſe of Nauigation for the ſame, or that by your owne Nauigation you may carie the ſame out, and fetch home the ſupply of the wants of the ſeate.

Such nauigation ſo to bee employed, ſhall beſides the ſupply of wants, bee able to encounter with forreyne force.

And for that in the ample vent of ſuch things as are brought to you out of England by ſea, ſtandeth a matter of great conſequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curteſie and much forbearing of reuenge to the inland people be vſed, ſo ſhall you haue firme amitie with your neyghbours, ſo ſhall you haue their inland commodities to maintaine trafficke, and ſo ſhall you wexe rich and ſtrong in force. Diuers and ſeuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of ſome portable or Nauigable ryuer, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of ſuch a one is moſt requiſite: And ſo is it of effect for the diſperſing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indeuoured with the Inland people then familiaritie. For ſo may you beſt diſcouer all the naturall commodities of their countrey, and alſo all their wants, all their ſtrengths, all their weakeneſſe, and with whome they are in warre, and with whome confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greateſt conſequence.

And

And in your planting the consideration of the climate and of the soyle be matters that are to be respected. For if it bee so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flats, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of portingal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skil, and so you haue wonne one noble commodity for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate bee such as may yeelde you the Grape as good as that at Burdeux, as that in Portingale, or as that about Siuil in Spaine, or that in the Ilands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a workman to put in execution to make wines, and to dresse Resigns of the sunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in which you finde the Oliue tree to growe: Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doth require oyle, and weying howe deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you find the wilde Oliue there it may be grafted.

Or if you can find ỳ berrie of Cochenille with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the west Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue hides of beasts fit for sole Leather, &c. It wilbe a marchandize right good & the sauages there yet can not tanne Leather after our kind, yet excellently after their own maner.

Or if the soyle shal yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenges, Lemonds, potatos, &c. there may arise some trade & trafficke, by figs, almõds, sugar, marmelade, sucket &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, chests may be made, if they be of some kinde of trees, pitch and tarre may be made, if they bee of some other then they may yeeld Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and trafficke, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because trafficke is a thing so material, I wish ỳ great obseruation be taken what euery soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soeuer, & what it may be made to yeeld by indeuour, & to send vs notice home, ỳ therupõ we may deuise what meanes may be thought of to raise trades.

Now admit that we might not be suffered by the sauages to enioy any whole countrie or any more then the scope of a citie, yet if we might enioy trafficke & be assured of the same, we might be much inriched, our Naule might be increased, and a place of safetie might there bee founde, if change of religion or ciuil wars should happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enioy any large territorie of apt soyle, we might so vse the matter, as we should not depend vpon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resigns, orenges, lemons, Spanish skins. &c. Nor vpon Fraunce for woad, bayesalt, and gascoyne wines, nor on Estland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, masts, &c. So we should not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly inrich our doubtful friends, as we do, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now we doe but should by our owne industries and the benefits of the soile there cheaply purchase oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, masts, boords, fish, gold, siluer, copper, tallow hides & many commodities: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you haue plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common vses at home there.

If you can keepe a safe hauen, although you haue not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue trafficke by sea vpon one shore or other, vpon that firme in time to come if not present.

If you find great plentie of timber on the shore side or vpon any portable riuer, you were best to cut downe of the same the first winter, to be seasoned for ships, barks, boates and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any riuer or brooke vpon the which a sawing mil may be placed, it would doe great seruice, and therefore consideration would be had of such place.

And if such port & chosen place of setling were in possession & after fortified by art, although by the land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not enioy any trafficke with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victel themselues of fishe to serue very necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and so haue vent of their marchandize of England & also haue victel, or by meanes hereupon to be vsed to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a naule at the setling place, they should finde out along the coast of the land to haue trafficke, and at diuers Ilands also. And so this first seat might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernour. And if the place first chosen should not so wel please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might be an easie remoue

remoue, and that might be rased, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoid an ill neighbor.

If the soiles adioyning to such conuenient hauen and setling places be found marshie and boggie, then men skilfull in dryning are to be carryed thither. For arte may worke woonderfull effects therein, and make the soile rich for many vses.

To plant vpon an Island in the mouth of some notable riuer, or vpon the point of the land entring into the riuer, if no such Island be, were to great end. For if such riuer were nauigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertill soiles, and traffike on the one or on the other side of the riuer, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other pettie king contending there for dominion.

Such riuers found, both barges & boats may be made for the safe passage of such as shall pierce the same. These to be couered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the sauage from the rower.

Since euery soile of the world by arte may be made to yeeld thinges to feed and to cloth man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soile without and within, and we shall deuise if neede require to amend the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we shall in fiue drifats furnish you with such kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as shall the very next summer following yeeld you some fruit, and the yeere next following, as much as shall suffice a towne as big as Calice, and that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shall be able to increase you within lesse then seuen yeeres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of diuers parishes, which at the first setling may stand you in great stead, if the soile haue not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld present reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefore I make mention of these, thus specially, to the end you may haue it specially in minde.

A letter written to M. Richard Stapers by Iohn Whithall *from Brasill, in Santos the 26 of Iune.* 1578

Worshipfull sir, and welbeloued friend M. Staper, I haue me most heartely recommended vnto you, wishing your health euen as mine owne.

These few words may be to let you vnderstand, that, whereas I wrote vnto you not many dayes past, by the way of Lisbone, how that I determined to be with you very shortly, it is in this countrey offered me to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: so that I am about three dayes ago consorted with an Italian gentleman to marrie with his daughter within these foure dayes. This my friend and father in law Signior Ioffo Dore is borne in the citie of Genua in Italie: his kindred is well knowen amongst the Italians in London: also he hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which he hath thought better bestowed vpon me then on any Portingall in all the country, and doth giue with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doth make euery yeere a thousand roues of sugar. This my marriage will be woorth to me two thousand duckets, little more or lesse. Also Signior Ioffo Dore my father in law doth intend to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with sixtie or seuentie slaues, and thereof to make me factor for vs both. I giue my liuing Lord thanks for placing me in such honor and plentifulnesse of all things.

Also certaine dayes past I talked with the prouedor and the captaine, and they haue certified me few dayes past, that they haue discouered certaine mines of siluer and golde, and looke euery day for maisters to come to open the said mines: which when they be opened will inrich this countrey very much. This place is called Saint Vincent, and is distant from you two thousand leagues, and in twenty foure degrees of latitude on the South side of the equinoctiall line, and right vnder the tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without sicknesse.

Mines of gold & siluer newly discouered at S. Vincent.

Moreouer, I haue talked with the captaine and prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to haue a shippe with goods to come from London hither, which haue promised me to giue me licence, saying that now I am free denizen of this countrey. To cause a shippe to come hither with such commodities as would serue this countrey, would come to great gaines, God sending in safetie the profit and gaines. In such wares and commodities as you may shippe hither from London is for euery one commoditie deliuered heere three for one, and then after the proceed may be imployed in white sugar at foure hundred reis the roue.

The vsage to S. Vincent woorth three for one.

Peru.

I meane also to haue a friend in London to send me a shippe of 60 or 70 tunnes, little more or lesse, with such commodities as I shall giue aduice for. This voyage is as good as any Peru voyage. If you and maister Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, because of our olde friendly friendshippe in time past. If you haue any stomache thereto, in the name of God doe you espie out a fine barke of seuenty or eightie tunnes, and send her hither with a Portingall pilot to this port of saint Vincent in Spaine, bordering vpon the borders of Peru.

Also I herewith write vnto you in what sorte and maner you shall furnish this voyage both in commodities and otherwise.

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a shippe of 70 or 80 tunnes to be sent.

First you must lade in the said shippe certaine Hampshire and Deuonshire karsies: for the which you must let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make sale of the said karsies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and sixe dozen of cordouan skinnes of these colours, to wit, orenge tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine blacke. I thinke you shall not finde such colours there. Therefore you must cause them that shall go vpon this voyage, to take saffron with them, to cause the same skinnes to be put into the said colours. Also I thinke you shall finde oyles there. Three hogsheads of sweet oyle for this voyage is very necessary, or a hundred and fifty iarres of oyle.

Also in London you may lade in the said shippe these parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

In primis, Foure pieces of hollands of middle sort.
Item, One piece of fine holland.
Foure hundred elles of osenbriges very fine.
Foure dozen of sizors of all sorts.
Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.
Twentie dozen of great knives which be made in Sardies, of a lowe price.
Foure dozen of a small sort.
Nine pieces of bayes of the lowest sort.
One very fine piece of bayes.
Foure hundred elles of Manchester cottons, most blacke, greene, some yellow.
Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffata, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypresse.
Sixe dozen of course shirts.
Three dozen of doublets of canuas.
Three dozen of doublets of stitched canuas.
One piece of fine Millan fustian barred.
Sixe dozen of locks for dooses and chests.
Sixe thousand of all maner of fish hooks.
Foure dozen reames of paper.
Two dozen of glasses of diuers sorts.
Two dozen of Venice glasses, the one halfe great, the other middle sort.
Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the lowest price that can be.
Three dozen of frize gownes.
Foure hundred pound of tinne of the vse of Portingall, most small dishes and trenchers.
Foure pound of silke of all colours.
Twentie pound of spices, cloues, cinamom, pepper, and saffron.
Two kintals of white sope.
Three pound of threed, white, blacke, and blew.
Three pound of fine white threed.
Item, halfe a dozen of Worcherne karsies of diuers colours.
Foure sorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and greene.
Sixe Worcherne dozens of diuers colours.
One fine blew cloth of eight pound.
One fine stamell of tenne or twelue pound.
One fine sheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.
One fine blacke karsie.
One fine stamell karsie.
Sixe yards of blacke velure.
Three barrels of nailes for chests.
Two barrels of nailes for shippes and barks.

Sixe

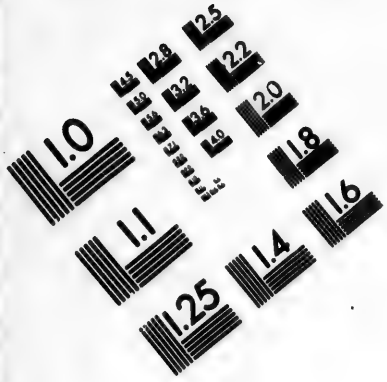
Sixe hancailes of accom.
Two dozen of veluet girdles without hangers.
Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with some greene.
Two dozen of leather girdles.
Sixe dozen of apes, hatchers, and small billes to cut wood.
Foure males of gittorne strings.
Foure hundred or five hundred elles of some linnen cloth that is of a lowe price to make shirts and sherts.
Foure tunne of pron.
These be such sort of wares as I would you should send. If you meane to deale or send any ship hither, haue you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I shall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in law with the captaine and Supercargo doe rule this countrey.
My father in law and I shall (God willing) make a good quantity of sugar euery yeere, which sugar we intend to shippe for London from hencefoorth, if we can get a truſtie and good friend as you to deale with vs in this matter. I pray you presently after the receit of this my letter to write me answere thereof, and send your letter to M. Holder to Liſtone, and he will conuey it to me out of hand.
Besides the premisses send sixe yardes of skarlet, parchment lace of diuers colours.
Sixe yards of crimoſin veluet.
Sixe yards of crimoſin satten.
Twelue yards of fine puke blacke.
Heere in this countrey in stead of John Whithall they haue called me John Leitoan: so that they haue vsed this name so long time, that at this present there is no remedie but it muſt remaine so. When you write vnto me let the superscription be vnto John Leitoan.
Thus I commit you with all yours to the Holy ghoſt for euer.
If you send this shippe, I would haue you giue order that she touch in no part of the coaſt of Guinie nor any other coaſt, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be dispatched in my name, to wit, John Leitoan.
Also a dozen of shirts for my wearing let be sent if you send the shippe.
Item, sixe or eight pieces of sapes for mantles for women, which is the moſt necessarie thing that can be sent. Note.

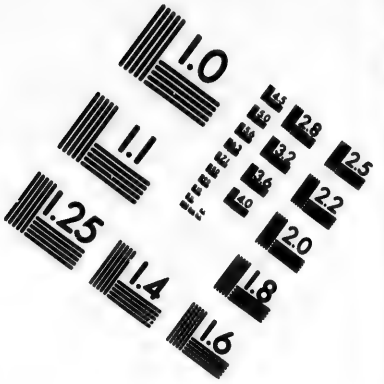
By your assured friend
John Whithall.

A copie of the letters of the Aduenturers for Brasill sent to Iohn *Whithall dwelling in Santos, by the Minion of London.*

Anno 1580 the 24 of October in London.

MAiſter Whithall, as vnacquainted we commend vs vnto you, &c. vnderſtanding by your friends, M. John Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, & your brother James Whithall of certaine letters that they haue receiued of yours frō Santos, which we haue seene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and desire them to send a good shippe to Santos, with such wares and commodities as you did write for, whereby you did not onely promiſe that they should haue good intertainment, but also should sell the said commodities to make exce of one ouerward at the leaſt in euery thing, and that for to relade their shippe backe, they should haue of the beſt, fineſt, and whiteſt sugers 32 pound of our weight for a ducket at the moſt. The premiſes considered, with the great credit that they and we do giue to your writing and promiſe, haue caused vs, whose names be heerunder written, to ioyne our selues in company together, and to be at great charges purpoſely to send this good shippe the Minion of London, not onely with such merchandizes as you wrote for, but also with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleasure you, or profit the countrey. And we craue of you, that we and our factours may haue so much credit of you, as we haue in you and of your letters, which is to beleeue vs that we haue taken this voyage vpon vs, with no other minde or purpoſe then to deale faithfully and truely in the trade by sea and land, so as you shall not only haue cause to reioyce, and deserue thanks for our comming, but also you will procure the magiſtrates there to be bound, as they vse in Galizia, that we may be preserued and defended





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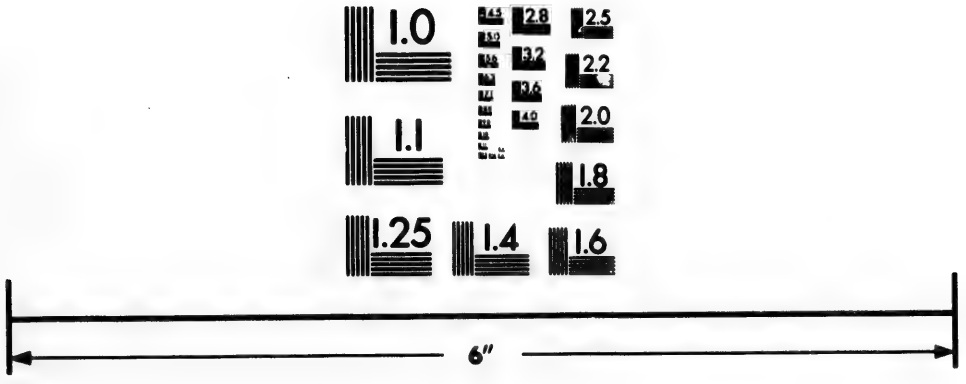

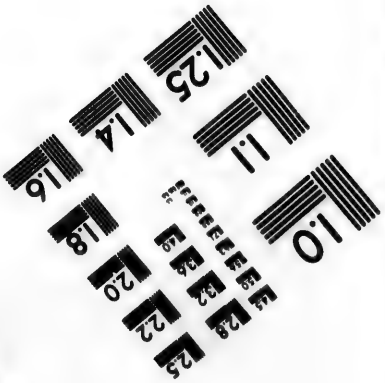

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from all repressals and imbargements of princes or subiects for any causes or matters whatsoeuer, wherby we may be incouraged by them, giuing vs this security of good intertainement, to continue the trade yeerely hencefoorth: and for our parts we promise vpon our credits and fidelities, to commit no outrage at the sea nor land, nor suffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather to defend and protect all other peaceable merchantes as we are with theyr shippes and goodes.

And to the end that you and others shall know that we meane as we say, we haue giuen order to our factours to giue you good hostages for your assurance of our good fidelities: and further we haue sent a testimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing vnder the seales of this honourable citie of London, which we will not discredit by our behauiours for all the treasure that you haue, and so we haue written to your magistrates of your port, and others in Spanish, the copy whereof we send you heerwith closed in English. And if the time should fall out so contrary to our expectations, that there should not be fine white sugar sufficient to lade our said shippe in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may go with the shippe in safetie to supply their want, and helpe them to a good sure pilot for that purpose, and write your letters to your friends where the best sugar is made in theyr fauors, and helpe our factours to haue a testimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and so departed in good and perfect amity, and shew them that the iust cause of our comming is to trade as merchants peaceably, and not as pirats to commit any offence to one or other.

Also we pray you if there be any store of waxe, or salt peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld vs as much profit as the white sugars at a ducket the roue, or any other commodity of like profit, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of law, be it eure of golde or siluer or whatsoeuer els.

We haue sent you copper cauldrons for your engenios with iron, and all other necessaries for your purpose, and artificers to set the same: and as we haue at your request beene at great charges in sending these men, so we pray you let vs haue lawfull fauor in like courtesie to fauor all our causes. And if any of our mariners or passengers should in any respect of displeasure against their company, or in hope of preferment of mariage or otherwise, would procure to tarry and dwell there, and leaue his charge & office, that then you will be a meane to the iustice that such fugitiues should be sent aboord the shippe as prisoners: for as you know, without our men we can not bring home our shippe.

We haue giuen order to our factours to vse your counsell and helpe in theyr affaires, and to gratifie you for the same as to your courtesie and faithfull friendshippe shall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes towards you, we haue sent you a field bed of walnut tree, with the canopy, valens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commodity els that may pleasure you or your friends, we haue giuen order that they shall haue the refusing of it before any other, giuing for it as it is woorth.

And thus to conclude, promising to performe all the foresayd things on our parts in euery condition, we commit you to God, who euer preserue you with all his blessings.

Your louing friends
Christopher Hodsdon.
Anthonie Garrard.
Thomas Bramlie.
John Bird.
William Elkin.

Certaine notes of the voyage to Brasill with the Minion of *London aforesaid, in the yeere 1580, written by* Thomas Grigges Purser of the said shippe.

Mr. Christoph. Hare was captaine in this voyage.

November.

THe third day of November in the yeere abouesaid we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing woorth the knowledge or regard of others happened vntill the 22 of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning & vse we obserued the setting of the sunne, which was West southwest, we then being vnder the line equinoctiall, where we found the aire very temperate, and the wind for the most part Southeast & East southeast.

December.

The same day we also obserued the rising of the moone, being one day after the full, which rose at East northeast.

The

The first land that we fell with vpon the coast of Brasill was the Island of S. Sebastian, where we arrived the 14 day of January, in the yeere 1581. January.

The 16 day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinnesse, went a shoare to Guaybea, where they met with John Whithall his father and mother in law, who hauing receiued letters from thence to be deliuered at Santos, came aboord, and then we weyed and set saile, and the 28 day we arrived at the Island of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos.

Our course from S. Sebastians was South west and by West, and betwixt the South west and by West, and West southwest.

This Island of Catelina seemeth at the first to be a part of the Island of Girybia. We ankered at nine fathome blacke ose ground.

Vpon the Island there grow we many Palmito trees, but no fresh water is there to be found.

The third day of February we arriued before the towne of Santos, and were there well receiued and intertained of the captaine, the kings officers, and all the people. February.

The fourth day we tooke into our shippe a biefe aliue, which serued for the victualling of the shippe, and the refreshing of our men, and to make vs the merrier at Shroue tide.

The eight day we deliuered to M. John Whithall a bedsted with the appurtenances, which were sent to him from our merchants of London.

The 18 day the captaine of Santos came aboord our ship, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French shippes of warre, that had bene at the riuer Genero, which there tooke three canoas, but were driuen from thence by theyr castles & forts, and were looked for heere at Santos. Whereupon the captaine requested vs to lend them some armor and artillery, and we lent them twenty caliuers, and two barrels of powder.

The 19 day our skiffe which we had sent to Alkatrarses, and had beene away five dayes, came againe, and brought good store of great and good fish, and tolde vs that there was good store of fish to be taken there by the hooke, and as much wood as we would haue of the Palmito tree.

The 20 day at night, Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell ouer our shippes sides, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our shippe rode at anker.

The 22 day two of the canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the riuer of Genero, returned to Santos, and reported that the foure French shippes were past to the Southwards as they thought for the straights of Magellan, and so into the South sea.

The 23 day the aforesaid Nicholas Gale, who fell ouerboord two dayes before, was founde againe, and taken vp three miles from our shippe, & our company went to his burial in the church at Santos.

This day the captaine and iustices of Santos wished vs to tarry in theyr road till the last of Aprill, for they had sent a barke of Santos to Bayea at the kings charges, to know whether we should haue trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arriued at Fernanbucke a shippe from Portingall, which brought newes that the Islands, Indies, & Portingall it selfe was molested and troubled by the Spaniards, and that the Portingalles had both Englishe & Frenchmen to Lisbone to defend them against Spaine.

The 25 day we sent two of our men, namely Thomas Michaell & Simon Thorne to Bayea in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The 22 day of Aprill our maister and Thomas Babington hauing some talke and conference with the Padrez of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the riuer Genero) tolde them that they were sorry for our banishment from the church, which was by the Ministrador written from Rio Genero, that forasmuch as this 20 yeres or more the English nation had denied the church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Ministrador commanded that none of vs should come to theyr church: the Padrez willed vs herein to haue patience, and to take it in good part, and promised to stand our friends in theyr word & writing, both to the Ministrador and to the bishop at Bayea, and further requested all our English company to haue no ill opinion of them. Aprill.

The 28 of Aprill we laded sugars into our shippe.

The 21 of May we tooke in fresh victualles from Santos. May.

The 10 day of June we gratified one Iosto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with some of our English victualles, and intertained him in good sort in our shippe, and this day we were promised to haue a pilot at Santos to carry vs to Bayea. June.

The 11 day we went to fish, to make prouision for our shippe & men, and from that time till the eighteenth day we set water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our shippe of the harmes and leakes which the wormes had made in her while we rode at the Island of S. Sebastians, and in the meane time wee departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Maister sent his Leakes in the Minion made by wormes.

skiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to haue brought Thomas Babington and William Euet, with the pilot, which we had tarryed for three dayes, and as the skiffe was going William Euet being by the riuers side, called to our pinnesse, & sent a letter to our maister, which Thomas Babington had written, wherein was no newes, but that the Ministrador was arriued at Santos from the riuer Genero, and would speake with our maister, but he willed that whatsoeuer Thomas Babington did write, no credit should be giuen to it. And further wished vs presently to depart for S. Sebastians, and there to dispatch our businesse, and then to send backe for Babington and himselfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would giue his attendance to come aboord.

‖ Whose name was Christopher Hare.

As we rid two leagues a sea boord the barre of Santos, we broke a cable in the open sea, which hapned the 15 day of this moneth.

We arriued at S. Sebastians the 15 day, and there shifted our balast, and had in stones, and hailed our shippe a ground to stoppe our leaks, and carryed our caske a shoare to be hooped for water, which in deed might better haue beene done in Santos, before the Ministrador came thither: yet we finished all things pertaining to our shippe, by the 22 of this moneth, at S. Sebastians.

Iulie. The first day of July Thomas Babington came aboord with William Euet, in our pinnesse, and the rest of our men that went for them: but there was no pilot brought according to promise, to carry vs to Bayea.

The things that we obserued and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were these.

All such wares and merchandizes as owe no custome in Brazill, they vse is, to set a price vpon the same, how it shalbe solde: which is done by the magistrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their king.

But for all such merchandizes as do owe custome there, the merchants are to sell them according as they may, to the greatest profit and aduantage that they can.

Concerning the prouince of Peru, we learned that one part of it by land and water is but twelue dayes iourney from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or fiue dayes iourney by water to the maine riuer of Plate.

From the head of the riuer of Plate, and from their chiefe townes there, they do trade & traffike by land into Peru by waggons, and horses or mules.

The said riuer of Plate is so full of sands and dangers, and the tyde so fierce sometimes, that no shipping dares to deale with it, small barks to their knowledge may go vp it, and not els.

The Portingalles here can not be suffered to vse their mines of treasure in these parts, vpon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king, and the Viceroy, who is as their king in place of authority.

About 20 leagues from Santos, there is a certaine kinde of wilde Sauages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendshippe with the Portingalles, and they haue continuall warres with certaine other Sauages that dwell about the borders of Peru, which is distant from Santos about 40 or 50 leagues. Those Sauages of Peru haue store of golde and siluer, but they know not the vse of it.

Looke what Sauages of their enemies they take, they sell them to the Portingals for knines, combes, axes or hatchets, and other trifles: they will sell one for a penny knife to a Portingall, and after two yeeres they are worth twenty or thirty duckets to a Portingall.

This people haue also continuall warres with the Spaniards: and this was tolde vs by one of those Sauages, which hath dwelt among the Portingalles these seuen yeeres, with his master called Senior Manoel Veloso. And this fellowe would willingly haue come with vs for England.

There are certaine rocks that lie off betwene Alcatrarses and S. Sebastians, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in fayre weather shew like the sailes of shippes.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Catelina also fiue leagues to the East and by South into the sea off the Iland.

At our comming vp to Santos we found foure fathome & a halfe water in the shallowest place, and the like we found within a league after we were parted from S. Catelina, little more or lesse, but after you haue runne in the depth of foure fathome & a halfe, about a mile or lesse, then you shall haue it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight and tenne fathome water.

Instructions

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth,

begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.

THe 15. day of November, in the yeere of our Lord, 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a fleete of fiue ships and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, Gentlemen and Sailers, departed Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the winde falling contrary, he was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke vs, as few men haue seene the like, and was in deed so vehement, that all our ships were like to haue gone to wracke, but it pleased God to preserue vs from that extremitie and to afflict vs only for that present with these two particulars: The masse of our Admiral which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marygold was driuen a shore, & some what bruised, for the repairing of which damages we returned againe to Plimmouth, and hauing recouered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the same moneth we fell with the Cape Canine, vpon the coast of Barbarie, and coasting along, the 27. day we found an Iland called Magador, lying one mile distant from the maine, betweene which Iland and the maine, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to riue in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger. The Ile of Magador on the coast of Barbarie.

On this Iland our Generall erected a pinnase, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitaunts of the countrey, shewing foorth their flags of truce, which being seene of our Generall, he sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our shippe, which by signes shewed our Generall, that the next day they would bring some prouision, as Sheepe, Capons and Hennes and such like, whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linnen cloth and shoes, and a taueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters side, and our Generall againe letting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer rashly a shore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any resistance, and so laping him on a horse, caried him away. So that a man cannot bee too circumspect and warie of himselfe among such miscreants.

Our pinnase being finished, we departed from this place the thirtieth and last day of December, and coasting along the shore, we did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gaue chase and tooke 3. of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Caruels and tooke them also.

The 17. day of January we arriued at Cape Blanko, where we found a ship riding at anker, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our Generall mustered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions. Januarie.

In this place we tooke of the Fishermen such necessaries as wee wanted, and they could yeld vs, and leauing here one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with vs one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunes or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, we departed this harbour the 22. of Januarie, carying along with vs one of the Portingall Caruels which was bound to the Ilands of Cape de Verde for sale, whereof good store is made in one of those Ilands.

The master or Pilot of that Caruell, did aduertise our Generall that vpon one of those Ilands called Mayo, there was great store of dried Cabaritas, which a few inhabitaunts there dwelling, did yeerely make readie for such of the kings ships as did there touch, being bound for his countrey of Brasile or elsewhere. We fell with this Iland the seuen and twentieth of Januarie, but the inhabitants would in no case traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Iland, and the likelihoods that might be there of prouision of victuals, about three score & two men vnder the conduct & gouernment of M. Winter and master Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Iland (as by the Portingall wee were informed) hauing trauelled to the mountains the space of three miles, and arriuing there somewhat before the day breake, wee arrested our selues in see day The Ile of Mayo.

before vs, which appearing, wee found the inhabitaunts to bee fled: but the place by reason that it was manured, we found to bee more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hils.

Ripe grapes in Winter.

Here we gaue our selues a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded vs: and that season beyng with vs the depth of Winter, it may seeme straunge that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twise in the yeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Sunnes, and beyng so neere the heate of the line, they neuer lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites haue their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Iland is wonderfully stored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath salt also without labour, saue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiuing heate of the Sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

The description of the tree that beareth Cocos.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which because it is not commonly knowen with vs in England, I thought good to make some description of it.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big euery seuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauyng taken off the vttermost barke, which you shall find to bee very full of strings or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell which may hold of quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse: within that shell of the thicknesse of halfe an inch good, you shall haue a kind of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleere liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely find it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

*Or goates.

After wee had satisfied our selues with some of these fruites, wee marched further into the Iland, and saw great store of *Cabaritas aliue, which were so chased by the inhabitaunts, that we could doe no good towards our prouision, but they had taken out as it were to stop our mouths withall certayne old dried Cabaritas, which beyng but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

The Ile of S. Iago.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 21. of this moneth, and sayled by the Iland of S. Iago, but farre inough from the danger of the inhabitaunts, who shot and discharged at vs three pieces, but they all fell short of vs and did vs no harme. The Iland is fayre and large, and as it seemeth rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portingals, but the mountains and high places of the Iland, are sayd to be possessed by the Moores, who hauing bene slaues to the Portingals, to ease themselues, made escape to the desart places of the Iland, where they abide with great strength.

Being before this Iland, we espied two ships vnder sayle, to the one of which we gaue chase, and in the end boorded her with a ship boate without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and pelled vnto vs good store of wine, which prize our Generall committed to the custodie of M. Doughtie, and retayning the Pilot, sent the rest away with his pinnase, giuing them a Butt of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

A prize, and a Portingall Pilot taken.

The Ile of Fogo.

The same night we came with the Iland called by the Portingals, Ila del fogo, that is, the burning Iland: in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayd to bee of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to bee a commodious Iland, because the Portingals haue built, and doe inhabite there.

Vpon the Southside thereof lieth a most pleasaunt and sweete Iland, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in respect whereof they call it Ila del Braua, that is, the braue Iland. From the banks thereof into the sea doth run in many places reasonable streames of fresh waters easie to be come by, but there was no conuenient road for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could be had for ankering, and it is reported, that ground was neuer found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of Braua are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Ilands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet subiect to diuers great stormes, terrible lightenings and much thunder: but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphin, Bonitas, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, where hence they could not rise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

From the first day of our departure from the Ilands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54. dayes with-

without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we sawe the fift of Aprill in the height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike, and being discovered at sea by the inhabitaunts of the countrey, they made vpon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the deuils, about which they vse conjurations, making heapes of sands and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay vpon their coast, not onely sands may bee gathered together in shoales in euery place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiments. Aprill. 33. degrees.

The seuenth day in a mightie great storme both of lightening, rayne and thunder, wee lost the Canter which wee called the Christopher: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her agayne, and the place where we met our Generall called the Cape of Ioie, where euery ship tooke in some water. Here wee found a good temperature and sweete aire, a very faire and pleasaunt countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soile, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but trauelling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our shippes we waied anker, and ranne some what further and harboured our selues betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and vpon this rocke wee killed for our prouision certaine sea wolues, commonly called with vs Seales. The Cape of Ioy.

From hence we went our course to six and thirtie degrees, and entered the great riuer of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 53. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where we filled our water by the ships side: but our Generall finding here no good harborough as he thought her should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of Aprill, and in bearing out we lost sight of our Flie boate wherein maister Doughtie was, but wee sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good Baie wherein were many and the same profitable Islands, one whereof had so many Seales as would at the least haue laden all our ships, and the rest of the Islands are as it were ladē with soules which is wonderfull to see, and they of diuers sortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water. Their entrāce into the riuer of Plate. Abundance of Seales.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Island, the people of the countrey shewed themselues vnto him, leaping and dauncing, and entered into traffique with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the same must bee cast vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very active.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needful to haue a care of such shippes as were absent, and therefore indeuouring to seeke the Flie boate wherein maister Doughtie was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discouer the coast and to search an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, came vnto vs and gaue vs vnderstanding of a safe harbour that they had found, where with all our ships hare and entred it, where we watered and made new prouision of victuals, as by seales, whereof we slew to the number of 2.or 300. in the space of an hower. May.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flie boate, and tooke out of her all the prouision of victuals and what els was in her, and hailing her to the land, set fire to her. and so burnt her to saue the iron worke, which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certayne of the people naked, sauing onely about their waste the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with diuers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, euery man his bowe which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliuer, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their ouer of ranging a few men might appeare. These people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our hands, yet at length our Generall being a shore and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his gold band off his head, and ran a little distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other. The Flie boat cast off and burnt. The people of the countrey.

Hauing dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediately vpon our setting foorth we lost our Canter which was absent three or foure dayes, but when our Generall had her agayne, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope. Cape Good hope.

The next day after being the twentieth of June, wee harboured our selues agayne in a very June. good

Port S. Iulian. good harborough, called by Magellan Port S. Iulian, where wee found a gybbet standing vpon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution vpon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went a shore to the maine, and in his company, Iohn Thomas and Robert Winterhie, Oliuer the master gunner, Iohn Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they presently met with two or three of the country people, and Robert Winterhie hauing in his hands a bow and arrowes, went about to make a shoot of pleasure, and in his draught his bow string brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and droue them to their shifts very narowly.

In this port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without remedie) the successe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the companie was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master Doughties owne confession, and partly by the euidence of the fact to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his priuate affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the presence of vs all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care hee had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her maiestie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as in deed it ought) then the priuate respect of one man, so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie should receiue punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receiue the communion, which hee did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made readie, he hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queens maiestie and our realme, in quiet sort laied his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers speaches to the whole company perswading vs to mitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage, and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receiue the communion as Christian brethren and friends ought to do, which was done in very reuerent sort, and so with good contentment euery man went about his businesse.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

August. The 17. day of August we departed the port of S. Iulian, & the 20. day we fell with the streight or freat of Magellan going into the South sea, at the Cape or headland whereof, we found the bodie of a dead man, whole flesh was cleane consumed.

The streight of Magellan.

The 21. day we entred the streights which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were shuttings vp, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against vs, so that some of the fleete recouering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an anker where they could.

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anker in, except it be in some narow riuer or corner, or between some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds doe come (wherevnto the place is much subiect) it carieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge and mountanous, the lower mountains whereof although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke vpon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner reaching themselues aboue their fellowes so high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of clowdes.

These mountaines are couered with snow: at both the Southerly and Easterly partes of the streight there are Ilands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, euen as it doth in the maine entrance of the freat.

This streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually, the trees seeme to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very fruitfully grow and increase vnder them.

The breadth of the streight is in some place a league, in some other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4. leagues, but the narowest place hath a league ouer.

Abundance of foule in the streight.

The 24. of August we arriued at an Iland in the streights, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in lesse then one day 3000. and victualled our selues throughly therewith.

September. The 6. day of September we entred the South sea at the Cape or head shore.

The

The seuenth day wee were driuen by a great storme from entering into the South sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the streight, in which height and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moon, at the houre of six of the clocke at night, but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impaire our state, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the seas continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seuen fold.

From the Baie (which we called the Baie of seuering of friends) wee were driuen backe to the Southward of the streights in 55. degrees and a terce: in which height wee came to an anker among the Ilands, hauing there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singuler vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Baie, where we found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Iland to another to seeke their meate, who entred traffike with vs for such things as they had. 572. leagues. 55. degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude

Wee returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Ilands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible in report. Wee had by proofe in this place, as also at the furthermost Ilands, that the sunne being at the least 8. degrees from the Tropike of Capricorne, the night was but two houres long, and scant that, so that we perceiued that when the sunne should be in the Tropike, there would be no night at all. October.

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home was found to be true, and he not perished as some of our company feared. 8. Winter is parted and returned.

Thus being come into the height of the streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of Peru to lie as the generall Maps haue described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Peru hath not bene truly hitherto discouered, or at the least not truly reported for the space of 12. degrees at the least, beyng set downe either of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of Nouember, with an Iland called la Moucha, where we cast anker, and our Generall hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselues in this Iland. We being on land, the people came downe to vs to the water side with shew of great curtesie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them, and had promise to haue water there: but the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men a land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vse to shew no fauour if they take them) laied violent handes on them, and as we thinke slew them. Nouember. The Ile la Moucha in 38 deg. of latitude

Our Generall seeing this, staied here no longer, but wayed anker, and set saple towards the coast of Chile, and drawing towards it we met neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and told vs, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of Peru, for which good newes our Generall gaue him diuers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with vs and brought vs to the place which is called the port of Valparizo. S. Iago. The port of Valparizo.

When we came thither, we found in deed the ship riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negroes, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcomed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Buttrixo of wine of Chile to drinke to vs: but assoone as we were entered, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and stroke one of the Spaniards, and sayd vnto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, goe downe dog. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that qualitie in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short we sho wed them vnder hatches all saue one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately lept ouer boord into the sea, and swamme a shore to the towne of S. Iago, to giue them warning of our arriuall. Wine of Chile

They of the towne being not about 9. houshoulds, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our Generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which we entered, and found therein a siluer chalice, two cruets, and one altar cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. Fletcher his minister.

We found also in this towne a warehouse stored with wine of Chile, & many boords of Cedar wood, all which wine we brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords to burne for fire wood;

and so being come aboord, we departed the hauen, hauing first set all the Spaniards on land, sauing one Iohn Grego a Greeke borne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the hauen of Lima.

Iohn Grego a Pilot taken.

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of Chile, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldiuia, amounting in value to 37000. duckets of Spanish money and aboue. So going on our course, we arriued next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall sent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the Spaniards who came with 300. horsemen and 200. footemen, and slew one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

Coquimbo.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tanrapaza, where being landed, wee found by the sea side a Spaniard lying a sleepe, and had lying by him 13. barres of siluer, which waighed 4000. duckets Spanish, we tooke the siluer and left the man.

Tanrapaza.

Here hence we sailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the porte, we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57. wedges of siluer, each of them waighing about 20. pound waight, and euery of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brickbat. In all these 3. barkes we found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone a land to the Towne, which consisteth of about twentie houses, which wee would haue ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoile of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boorded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

Arica.

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, hauing all their sayles caried on shore, for the masters and merchaunts were here most secure, hauing neuer bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approch of none such as wee were. Our Generall rifled these shippes, and found in one of them a chest full of roials of plate, and good store of silkes & linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another ship called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the same ship was laden with treasure, whereupon we staied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the ships in the hauen we let them driue whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speed we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to haue found her, but before wee arriued there, she was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boorded and searched, and found in her 80. li. waight of gold, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emeraulds set in it which he tooke, and some of the conseruage aild for his owne ship.

February. Lima.

From hence we departed still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our company that whosoeuer could first descrie her, should haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that Iohn Drake going vp into the top, descried her about three of the clocke, and about five of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordinance, and strake downe her saile, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious stones, thirteene chestes full of roials of plate, foure score pound waight of gold, and sixe and twentie tunne of siluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape Francisco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

The rich ship called the Cacafuego taken.

Cape Francisco.

The Pilots name of this ship was Don Francesco, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles of siluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall sayd: Segnior Pilot, you haue here two siluer cups, but I must needes haue one of them, which the Pilot because he could not otherwise chuse, yelded vnto and gaue the other to the steward of our Generals ships.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his boy sayd thus vnto our Generall, Captaine, our ship shall bee called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your shippe shall bee called the Cacafuego, which pretie speach of the Pilots boy minister matter of laughter to vs, both then and long after.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, he cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West, and not long after met with a ship laden with linnen cloth and fine China dishes of white earth, and great store of China silks, of all which things wee tooke as we liked.

China ships.

The

The owner himſelfe of this ſhippe was in her, who was a Spaniſh Gentleman, from whome our Generall tooke a Faulcon of golde, with a great emraude in the breaſt thereof, and the Pilot of the ſhippe he tooke alſo with him, and ſo caſt the ſhippe off.

This Pilot brought vs to the hauen of Guatulca, the towne whereof as he told vs, had but 17. Spaniards in it. Aſſoone as we were entred this hauen wee landed, and went preſently to the towne, and to the Towne houſe, where we found a Judge ſitting in iudgement, he being aſſociate with three other officers, vpon three Negroes that had conſpired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges, and priſoners we tooke, and brought them a ſhipboord, and cauſed the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townſemen to auoid, that we might ſafely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ranſaked the Towne, and in one houſe we found a pot of the quantitie of a buſhell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ſhippe. Guatulca.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, tooke a Spaniſh Gentleman as he was flying out of the towne, and ſearching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and ſo let him goe.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, ſet a ſhoare his Portingall Pilot, which he tooke at the Iſlands of Cape Verde, out of a ſhippe of S. Marie porte of Portingal, and hauing ſet them a ſhoare, we departed hence, and ſailed to the Iſland of "Canon, where our General landed, and brought to ſhoare his owne ſhip, and diſcharged her, mended, and graued her, and furniſhed our ſhippe with water and wood ſufficiently. The Portingall Pilot ſet on land. "The Iſlands of Cocolles.

And whiles we were here, we eſpied a ſhippe, and ſet ſaile after her, and tooke her, and founde in her two Pilots, and a Spaniſh Gouernour, going for the Iſlands of the Philippinas: we ſearched the ſhippe, and tooke ſome of her marchandizes, and ſo let her goe. Our Generall at this place, and time, thinking himſelfe both in reſpect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as alſo of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, ſufficiently ſatiſfied, and reuenged: and ſuppoſing that her Maieſtie at his returne would reſt contented with this ſeruice, purpoſed to continue no longer vpon the Spaniſh coaſts, but began to conſider and to conſult of the beſt way for his Countrey. A ſhip with a gouernour for the Iſlands of Philippinas. A purpoſe in Sir Francis to returne by the Streights ſtreights.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two ſpeciall cauſes: the one, leaſt the Spaniards ſhould there waite, and attend for him in great number and ſtrength, whoſe hands he being left but one ſhippe, could not poſſibly eſcape. The other cauſe was the dangerous ſituation of the mouth of the Streights in the ſouth ſide, where continuall ſtormes raining and bluſtering, as he found by experience, beſides the ſhoales, and ſands vpon the coaſt, he thought it not a good courſe to aduenture that way: he reſolued therefore to auoide theſe hazards, to goe forward to the Iſlands of the Moluccaes, and there hence to ſaile the courſe of the Portingals by the Cape of Bona Speranza.

Vpon this reſolution, he began to thinke of his beſt way to the Moluccaes, and finding himſelfe where he now was becalmed, he ſawe, that of neceſſitie he muſt be forced to take a Spaniſh courſe, namely to ſaile ſomewhat Northerly to get a winde. We therefore ſet ſaile, and ſailed in langitude 600. leagues at the leaſt for a good winde, and thus much we ſailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of June. June.

The 5. day of June, being in 42. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the aire ſo colde, that our men being greeuouſly pinched with the ſame, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increaſed vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it beſt for ſome time to ſeeke the land, and did ſo, finding it not mountanous, but lowe plaine land, & clad and couered ouer with ſnowe, ſo that we dyed we backe againe without landing, till we came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleaſed God to ſend vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the ſame. Sir Francis Drake ſailed on the backe ſide of America to 42. deg. of Northerly latitude. 38. degrees.

In this Baye we ankered, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houſes cloſe by the waters ſide, ſhewed themſelues vnto vs, and brought a preſent to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accuſtomed humanitie) courteouſly intreated them, and liberally beſtowed on them neceſſarie things to couer their nakednes, whereupon they ſuppoſed vs to be gods, and would not be perſwaded to the contrarie: the preſents which they ſent to our Generall, were feathers, and cals of network. A deſcription of the people and Countrey of Nouua Albion.

Their houſes are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vtermoſt brimmes of the circle, cliſts of wood ſet vpon them, ſoyning cloſe together at the toppe like a ſpire ſteeple, which by reaſon of their cloſenes are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes ſtrowed on it, and lying about the houſe, haue the fire in the

the inuerst. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staied themselues: where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

A long oration.

In the meane time, the women remaining on the hill, commenced themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time, our Generall, with his companie, went to prair, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiue, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored againe vnto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there, being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall, and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelines.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a marueilous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are limited, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Garde about his person, clad with Coniz skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their handes one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warlike shew. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and lustie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an howre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bul warke and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and daunce, hauing onely the women which vaunced, & kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our bul warke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had sacrifised themselues, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the King and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their prouince & kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, and thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because he knewe not what honour and profite it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in fame.

The Generall receiueth this Countrey with the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the same into his hands for Queene Elizabeth.

The common sort of people leauing the King, and his Garde with our Generall, scattered themselues together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of euery

person:

perſon: and ſuch as pleaſed their fancie, (which were the yongeſt) they incloſing them about offred their ſacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, ſcratching, and tearing the fleſh from their faces with their nailes, whereof iſſued abundance of bloode. But wee vſed ſignes to them of diſliking this, and ſtaied their hands from ſoyce, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whome onelye they ought to worſhippe. They ſhewed vnto vs their woundes, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaiſters, and ointments agreeing to the ſtate of their griefes, beſeeching God to cure their diſeaſes. Euery thirde day they brought their ſacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderſtoode our meaning, that we had no pleaſure in them: yet they could not be long abſent from vs, but daily frequented our companie to the houre of our departure, which departure ſeemed ſo greeuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into ſorrow. They intreated vs, that being abſent we would remember them, and by ſtelth prouided a ſacrifice, which we miſliked.

Great heards of Deere.

Our neceſſarie buſines being ended, our Generall with his companie trauailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where wee found heardes of Deere by 1000. in a companie, being moſt large, and fat of bodie.

Abundance of ſtrange conies

We found the whole Countrey to be a warren of a ſtrange kinde of Conies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbarie Conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Mane, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either ſide a bagge, into the which ſhe gathereth her meate, when ſhe hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their ſkinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Noua Albion.

Our Generall called this Countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two cauſes: the one in reſpect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the ſea: and the other, becauſe it might haue ſome affinitie with our Countrey in name, which ſometime was ſo called.

Gold and ſilure in the earth of Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth here to be taken vp, wherein there is not a reaſonable quantitie of gold or ſiluer.

At our departure hence our Generall ſet vp a monument of our being there, as alſo of her Maieſties right and title to the lande, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poſte, whereupon was ingrauen her Maieſties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maieſties handes, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of ſixe pence of current Engliſh money vnder the plate, where vnder was alſo written the name of our Generall.

Je ſeemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer diſcouer the lande by many degrees, to the South wards of this place.

October.

Certaine Iſlandes in 8. degrees.

Strange Canoas.

After we had ſet ſaile from hence, we continued without ſight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning we fell with certaine Iſlands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Iſlands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in ſome of them 4. in ſome 6. and in ſome alſo 14. men, bringing with them coquos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollowe within, and cut with great arte, and cunning, being very ſmooth within and without, and bearing a glaſſe as if it were a horne daintily burniſhed, hauing a prowe, and a ſterne of one ſorte, reeling in ward circle wiſe, being of a great heigth, and full of certaine white ſhels for a brauerie, and on each ſide of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or leſſe, according to the ſmalnes, or bignes of the boate.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reaſonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an inche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwaies carrie about them in a cane for the ſame purpoſe.

Iſlands.

We leauing this Iſland the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we light vpon diuers others, ſome whereof made a great ſhewe of Inhabitants.

We continued our courſe by the Iſlands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being ſubiect to the Portingals, the firſt whereof hath growing in it great ſtore of Sinnamon.

November.

The Iſle of Ternate.

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Iſlands of Molucca, which day at night (hauing directed our courſe to runne with Tydore) in coaſting along the Iſland of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Viceking ſeeing vs at ſea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboord, and after ſome conference with our Generall, willed him in any wiſe to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, aſſuring him that the King would be glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpoſe he himſelfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whome if he once dealt, he ſhould finde

finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, because he held the Portingall as his enemie: whereupon our Generall resolued to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anker, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king, with a veluet cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffike, and exchange of merchandize, whereof he had good store in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time, the Uiccking had bene with the King according to his promise, signifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffike: whereby the King was moued with great liking towards vs, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that he should haue what things he needed, and would require, with peace, and friendship, and moreouer that he would receiue himselfe, and the right of his Iland to be at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we serued. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at that present.

The king of Ternate offereth him selfe and his kingdome to the seruice of the Queene of England.

In the meane time, our Generals messenger being come to the Court, was met by certaine noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose handes he was most friendly and graciously intertained.

The King purposing to come to our shippe, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Callicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, borne vp with a frame made of reedes for the same vse, vnder which euery one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whome being of good age, and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shewe. There were also diuers yong and comely men attired all white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stoode in comely order round about on both sides, without whome sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on euery side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof 3. or 4. yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries, were the number of 4. score rowers.

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, euery man for the most part hauing his sworde, and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as launces, caleuers, darts, bowes, and arrowes: also euery Canoa had a small call base mounted at the least one full yarde vpon a stocke set vpright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning with great grauitie & fatherly countenances, signifying that the King had sent them to conduct our ship into a better road.

The king of Ternate came to visite Sir Franc. Drake.

Soone after, the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with 6. graue and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with maruelous humilitie. The King was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whome as also to his nobilitie, our Generall graue presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send vs such victuals, as were necessarie for our prouision: so that the same night we receiued of them meale, which they call Sago, made of the tops of certaine trees, talking in the mouth like sowre curds, but meleth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. Wee had of them store of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with store of cloues.

Sago a kinde of meale.

The King hauing promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offring himselfe pawne aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, vpon mislike conceaued of the breach of his promise, the whole companie also vtterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our General sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompanie the Kings brother, reseruing the Uiccking for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought vnto, was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

A castle in Ternate.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60. graue personages, all which were said to be of the kings Counsell. There were besides 4. graue persons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also two Turkes

Romanes and Turkes Ligiers in Ternate.

Ligiers

Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in garded with 12. launces couered ouer with a rich canopie, with embossed golde. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, rising to meete him, he gratiously did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the manner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the same very riche: his legs were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shoes, made of Cordouan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely weathed hooped rings of golde, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had fiue very faire iewels, and sitting in his chaire of estate, at his right hand stoode a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the aire to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in breadth one foote, set with 8. saphyres, richly imbroodred, and knit to a staffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and moue it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the Kings Councell. The maiestie of the King.

This Iland is the chiefest of all the Ilands of Molucca, and the King hereof is king of 70. Ilands besides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, obseruing certaine newe Moones, with fastings: during which fasts, they neither eate nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had here by the fauour of the king receiued all necessarie things that the place could yeelde vs: our General considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but waping his ankers, set out of the Iland, and sailed to a certaine little Iland to the Southwards of Selebes, where we graued our ships, and continued there in that and other businesse, 26. daies. This Iland is thoroughly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very streight and without boughes, saue onely in the head or top, whose leaues are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongst these trees night by night, though the whole land, did shew themselues an infinite swarme of fierie wormes flying in the aire, whose bodies being no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew, and light, as if euery twig or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderful store of Bats, as bigge as large hennes: of Crayfishes also here wanted no plenty, and they of exceeding bignes, one whereof was sufficient for 4. hungrie stomacks at a dinner, being also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themselues holes in the earth like Conies. A little Iland to the Southward of Selebes. Fiery wormes. Bats. Crayfishes.

When we had ended our businesse here, we waied, and set saile to runne for the Molucaes: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Ilands, with much difficultie we recouered to the Northward of the Iland of Selebes, where by reason of contrarie windes not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reason of infinite shoales which lie off, and among the Ilands: whereof we had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our shippe and liues. For of all other daies vpon the 9. of Januarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly vpon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being in deede out of all hope to escape the danger: but our Generall as he had alwaies hitherto shewed himselfe courageous, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best indeuour to saue our selues, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared our selues most happily of the danger. Januarie 1579. Their danger vpon a rocke.

We lightned our shippe vpon the rockes, of 3. tunne of cloues, 8. peeces of ordinance, & certaine meale and beanes: and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God,) changing from the stare boord to the larboord of the shippe, wee hoised our sailes, and the happie gale droue our shippe off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no little comfort of all our harts, for which we gaue God such praise and thanks, as so great a benefite required. Cloues. The helpe of a current in the Molucaes.

The 8. day of Februarie following, we fell with the fruitful Iland of Barateue, hauing in the meane time suffered many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Iland are comely in body, and stature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iust in dealing, and curteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry waies, they being most glad of our presence, and very readie to relieue our wants in those things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, sauing their heads and priuities, euery man hauing some thing or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for some had 8. vpon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of shalle, the lightest whereof by our estimation waied two ounces apeece. Februarie. Barateue Iland.

With this people linnen cloth is good marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make rols

rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Their Island is both riche and fruitfull: riche in golde, siluer, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them.

Their fruites be diuers, and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, coquos, figu, sagu, with diuers other sortes: and among all the rest, we had one fruite, in bignes, forme, and huske, like a baye berrie, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholsome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruites and spices: so that to confesse a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened vpon no place, (Ternate onely excepted) wherin we found more comfortes, and better meanes of refreshing.

Commendation of the Island of Barateue.

Iaua maior.

At our departure from Barateue, we set our course for Iaua maior, where arriuing, wee founde great courtesie, and honorable entertainment. This Island is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call Raiah: as Raiah Donaw, and Raiah Mang Bange, and Raiah Cabuccapollo, which liue as hauing one spirite, and one minde.

Of these fiue we had foure a shipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their vpper parts of their bodies are naked, saue their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as doe the Moluccians: from the middle downward, they weare a pintado of silke, trailing vpon the ground, in colour as they best like.

The manners of the people of Iaua.

The Moluccians hate that their women should be seene of strangers: but these offer them of high curtesie, yea the kings themselues.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swordes and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They haue an house in euery village for their common assemblie: euery day they meete twise, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the companie of another.

A strange fashion of boiling rice.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they haue readie another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the ende they are a firme and good bread, of the which with oile, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make diuers sortes of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

The French pocks.

The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselues, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawne out. Not long before our departure, they told vs, that not farre off there were such great ships as ours, wishing vs to beware: vpon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

From Iaua Maior we sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fel withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portingals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intollerable stormes and present danger to trauailers, which come neere the same.

The Cape of Bona Speranza not so dangerous as the Portingals haue giuen out.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we sawe in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June.

Sierra Leona. Dister trees.

From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arriued the 22. of July, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of Elephants, Disters vpon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Dister suffering no budde to growe. We departed thence the 24. day.

We arriued in England the third of Nouember 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

Instructions

Inſtructions giuen by the honourable, the Lordes of the Counſell, to Edward Fenton Eſquire, for the order to be obſerued in the voyage recommended to him for the Eaſt Indies and Cathay. Aprill 9. 1582.

FIrſt you ſhall enter as captaine Generall, into the charge and gouernement of theſe ſhippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonauenture, the Barke Francis, and the ſmall Frigate or Pinneſſe.

2 Item you ſhall appoint for the furniſhing of the veſſels in the whole, to the number of 200. able perſons, accompeing in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Miniſters, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which ſaid number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be ſea men, and ſhal diſtribute them into euery veſſell, as by aduiſe here before your going ſhall be thought meete: Prouided that you ſhall not receiue vnder your charge & gouernement, any diſordered or mutinous perſon, but that vpon knowledge had, you ſhall remoue him before your departure hence, or by ſ way as ſoone as you can conueniently auoide him, and receiue better in their places.

3 Item, for the more and better circumſpect execution, and determination in any waighty cauſes incident in this voyage, we will that you ſhall take vnto you for aſſiſtances, captaine Hawkins, captaine Wat. M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, Euans, Randolph, Shaw, Mathew Talboys, with whom you ſhall conſult and conferre in all cauſes, matters, and actions of importance, not prouided for in theſe inſtructions touching this ſeruice now in hand. And in all ſuch matters ſo handled, argued, and debated, we thinke it conuenient that alwayes to be executed, which you ſhall thinke meeteſt with the aſſent alſo of any 4. of them, the matter hauing bene debated, and ſo aſſented vnto, in the preſence of your ſaid Aſſiſtants. And in caſe that if ſuch conference and debating the opinions of the aforeſaide Aſſiſtants be founde in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all ſuch matters ſo argued vpon, ſhall reſt to be put in execution in ſuch ſort, as you ſhall thinke moſt meeteſt, hauing the aſſent of any 4. of them as aforeſaide. And if any of theſe Aſſiſtants ſhall die, then the number of the one halfe of the Suruiuours to ioyne with the General Captaine for conſent in all things aforeſaid.

4 Of all which your aſſemblies and conſultations, for the matters aforeſaid, we thinke it very conuenient, that a particular and true note ſhould be kept, for which cauſe we appoint maiſter Maddox miniſter, and if he ſhould deceaſe, then the Generall with halfe the Aſſiſtants Suruiuours, to name one to keepe a booke of all ſuch matters as ſhall be brought in conſultation, and of all ſuch reaſons as ſhall be propounded by any perſon, either on the one ſide, or on the other: what was reſolued on, and by whoſe conſent, who diſſented therefrom, and for what cauſes. In which booke he ſhall in the beginning of the note of euery ſuch aſſemblie, ſet downe particularly the day, and the place, if it may be, the names of the perſons then preſent, and vpon what occaſion the ſaid conſultation was appointed or holden, and ſhall haue to euery acte, the hands of the Generall, and of all, or ſo many of the ſaid Aſſiſtants as will ſubſcribe: which booke the ſaid maiſter Maddox, or the other vpon his decreaſe appointed in his place ſhall keepe ſecrete, and in good order to be exhibited vnto vs, at your returne home.

5 Item, if there happen any perſon or perſons imployed in this ſeruice, of what calling or condition he or they ſhall be, ſhould conſpire, or attempt priuately or publikely, any treaſon, mutinie, or other diſorder, either touching the taking away of your owne life, or any other of authoritie vnder you, whereby her Maieſties ſeruice in this voiage might thereby be ouerthrowne, or impugned: we will therefore, that vpon iuſt proofe made of any ſuch treaſon, mutenie, or any other diſorder attempted as aforeſaid, the ſame ſhall be puniſhed by you, or your Liuetenant, according to the qualitie and enormitie of the facte. Prouided alwayes, and it ſhall not be lawfull neither for you, nor for your Liuetenant to exceede the puniſhment of any perſon, by loſſe of life or limme, vnleſſe the partie ſhall be iudged to haue deſerued it by the reſt of your Aſſiſtants, as is before expreſſed, or at the leaſt by foure of them. And that which ſhall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelue men, of the companie employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpoſe, with the obſeruation of the forme of our Countrie lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Prouided, if it ſhall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, ſhall minniſter cauſe to increaſe the facte of the offendour, then it were better to conuince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12. indifferent perſons, and to commit him to hard impriſonment, vntil the returne. And aſwell of the factes committed by any, as alſo of the proofe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Aſſiſtants, and the maner of the puniſhment, the Regiſter ſhall make a particuler and true note, in the booke of your conſultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item

Mr. Carlile vpon occasion went not in the voyage.

6 Item, you shall not remoove captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, master captaine Luke Ward your Viceadmirall, or captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, who we will not to refuse any such seruice as shall be appointed to him by the Generall and the councell, nor any captaine of other vessels from their charges, but vpon iust cause dulie proued, and by consent of your Assistants, or 4. of them at the least.

7 Item, for the succession of the Generall gouernour of this whole voyage, if it should please God to take him away, it is thought meete that there should bee the names of such Gentlemen secretly set downe to succeed in his place one after the other, which are seuerally written in parchment, included in bals of Waxe, sealed with her Maiesties signet, put into two coffers locked with three seuerall locks, whereof one key is to be in the custodie of captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of master Maddox the minister, and the same two coffers to bee put into two seuerall shippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the custodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonauenture in the custodie of the Viceadmirall, the same two coffers vpon any such casualtie of the Generals death by consent of the Assistants which shall ouerliue, to be opened, and the partie therein named to succeed in the place, who shall thereupon take vpon him the charge in the said voiage according to these instructions, in such sort as if they had bene specially directed vnto him, and the rest of the companie so to take and repute him in euery respect, as they will answer to the contrarie. But if it shall so fall out, (as we hope it will) that there shall bee no such need, but that the Generall doe continue still, then shall you at your returne deliuer backe the sayd coffers and bals of waxe sealed in such sort as they be, without opening them, vnlesse it be in the case aforesayd.

8 You shall make a iust and true inuentorie in euery ship and vessell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their setting foorth hence, and of all the prouisions whatsoeuer, and one copie therof vnder your hand, to vnder the hands of your Viceadmirall and lieutenant, to be deliuered to the Erle of Leicester, and the other to the Gouernour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to be done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the said shippes and vessels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the same shall haue bene spent or lost.

9 Item, you shal vse all diligence possible to depart from Southhampton with your said ships and vessels, before the last of this present moneth of Aprill, and so goe on your course by Cape de bona Speranca, not passing by the streight of Magellan, either going or returning, except vpon great occasion incident, that shall be thought otherwise good to you, by the aduise and consent of your said Assistants, or 4. of them at the least.

10 Item, you shall not passe to the Northeastward the forth degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Iles of Moluccaes, for the better discouerie of the Northwest passage, if without hinderance of your trade, and within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, whereof you shal do well to bee inquisitiue as occasion in this sort may serue.

11 Item, you shall haue speciall regard after your departure from the coast of England, so to order your course as that your shippes and vessels loose not one another, but keepe company together both outward and homeward. And least they happen to seuer the one from the other by tempest or otherwise, it shal not be amisse that you appoint to the captains and masters, certain places where in you will stay certaine dates. And euery ship passing aforehand, and not knowing what is become of the other ships to leaue vpon euery Promontorie or Cape, a token to stand in sight with a writing lapped in lead to declare the day of their passage. And if any wilfulnesse or negligence in this behalfe shall appeare in any person or persons that shall haue charge of any of the ships or vessels aforesayd, or if they or any of them shall doe otherwise then to them appertaineth, you shall punish such offenders sharply to the example of others.

12 Item, we do straightly enioine you, and consequently all the rest imployed in this voiage in any wise, and as you and they will answere at the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarying abroad, nor returning, you doe spoile or take any thing from any of the Queens Maiesties friends or allies, or any christians, without paying iustly for ꝑ same, nor that you vse any maner of violence or force against any such, except in your owne defence, if you shall be set vpon, or otherwise be forced for your owne safegard to do it.

13 Item, we will that you deale altogether in this voiage like good and honest merchants, trafficquing & exchanging ware for ware, with all courtesie to ꝑ nations you shall deale with, as wel Ethniks as others, & for that cause you shal instruct al those ꝑ shal go with you, that whensoeuer you or any of you shal happen to come in any place to conference wᵗ the people of those parts, ꝑ in all your doings

doings and theirs, you and they ſo behaue your ſelues towards the ſaid people, as may rather procure their friendſhip & good liking toward you by courteouſneſſe, then to moue them to offence, or miſliking, & eſpecially you ſhal haue great care of ꝑ performance of your word, & promiſe to them.

14 Item we will, that by the aduiſe of your Aſſiſtants, in places where you and they ſhall thinke moſt fitte, you ſettle if you can, a beginning of a further trade to be had hereafter: and from ſuch places doe bring ouer with you ſome fewe men, and women, if you may, and doe alſo leaue ſome one or two, or more, as to you, and your Aſſiſtants ſhall ſeeme conuenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue, and ſecrets of the Countries, hauing diligent care, that in deliuering, and taking of hoſtages, you deliuer not perſonages of moe value then you receiue, but rather deliuer meane perſons vnder colour of men of value, as the Inſtructions doe for the moſt part vſe. Prouided that you ſtay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then ſhalbe expedient for good exchange of the wares preſently caried with you. Strange people to be brought home.

15 Item you ſhall haue care, and giue generall warning, that no perſon of what calling ſoeuer he be, ſhall take vp, or keepe to himſelfe and his priuate vſe, any ſtone, pearle, golde, ſiluer, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you ſhall come, but he ſhe ſaid perſon ſo ſealed of ſuch ſtone, pearle, golde, ſiluer, or other matter of commoditie, ſhall with all ſpeede, or ſo ſoone as he can detect the ſame, and make deliuerie thereof to your ſelfe, or your Viceadmirall, or Lieutenant, and the Factor appointed for this voyage, vpon paine of forfaiture of all the recompenſe he is to haue for his ſeruice in this voyage by ſhare, or otherwiſe: and further to receiue ſuch puniſhmẽt, as to you, & your Aſſiſtants, or the more part of them ſhal ſeeme good, & otherwiſe to be puniſhed here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence, it ſhal be thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants, or any other, ſhall haue any apparell, iewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatſoeuer, which may be deſired in Countries where they ſhall traffique, that it ſhal not be lawful for them, or any of them to traffique, or ſell any thing thereof for their priuate accompt: but the ſame ſhall be prayſed by the moſt of thoſe that ſhalbe in commiſſion in the places where the ſame may be ſo required, rated at ſuch value, as it may bee reaſonably worth in England, and then ſolde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in aduenture for thoſe to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your ſelfe ſhall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Factors appointed for the ſame ſhip another, wherein ſhalbe a iuſt accompt kept, aſwell of the marchandize caried hence, as of thoſe you ſhall bring home. And aſwell at your ſetting forth, as frõ time to time, as exchange ſhalbe made, you ſhall ſet your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order ſhall you ſee that the Captaine, and the Factors in the Edward Bonauenture, ſhall vſe in their ſhippe, and the other Captaines and Factors in eache other veſſell.

18 Item you ſhall giue ſtraighe order to reſtraine, that none ſhal make any Cartes, or deſcriptions of the ſaid voyage, but ſuch as ſhalbe deputed by you the Generall, which ſaid Cartes and deſcriptions, we thinke meete that you the Generall ſhall take into your hands, at your returne to this our coaſt of England, leauing with them no coppie, & to preſent them vnto vs at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any Cartes, or Mappes in thoſe Countries.

19 Item you ſhall at your returne ſo direct your courſe, that all the ſhippes vnder your gouernment may come home together, and arriue here in the riuer of Thames, if it may conueniently be. And whereſoeuer in this Realme you, or any of the ſhippes ſhall arriue, you ſhall giue ſpecial and ſtraighe order, that no perſon of what condition ſo euer he be, ſhall vnlade, or bring on lande, or booth of the veſſels in which it came, any part or parcell of marchandize, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the ſaid veſſels, vntill we being certified of your, or their arriuall, ſhall giue further order and direction therein, vnder the penalties and forfaitures expreſſed in the 15. article, againſt ſuch as ſhall retayne any thing to their priuate vſe, as in the ſaide article is further expreſſed.

20 Item to the intent that all ſuch perſons, as ſhall goe with you in this voyage may better vnderſtand, what they ought to doe, and what to auoyde, we thinke it requiſite, that aſwell out of theſe, as otherwiſe with the aduiſe of your Aſſiſtants, and maiſters of the ſhips, you ſhall cauſe ſome conuenient order to be ſet downe in writing for their better gouernment both at Sea, and land, if they ſhall happen to goe on land any where. And the ſame to be openly read, and made knowen vnto them, to the intent they may vnderſtand how to behaue themſelues, and vpon any fault committed, not to haue any excuſe to pretend ignorance, and ſo to auoide ſuch puniſhment, as it is requiſite to haue miniſtred, for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may bleſſe this voyage with happy and proſperous ſucceſſe, you ſhall haue an eſpeciall care to ſee that reuerence and reſpect be had to the miniſters appointed to accompanie you in this voyage, as appertaineth to their place and calling, and to ſee ſuch gouernors as

as by them shalbe set downe for reformation of life and maners, duely obeyed and performed, by causing the transgressours and contemners of the same to be sturrerily punished, and the ministers to remoue sometime from one vessell to another.

22 Prouided alwayes, that the whole direction and gouernment of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the fifth article, and the course of this voyage shalbe wholy at your disposition, except in the course by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your passage by the Northward of 40. degrees in latitude, wherein you shall followe direction set downe in the 9. and 10. articles, as also in the displacing of the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, & other captaines, wherein you shal followe the order appointed in the 6. article: Prouided that we meane not by this article to derogate any thing to the authoritie of your Assistants established in the third article, or in any other article of these instructions.

23 Item, in all occasions and enterprises that may fall out to be vpon the land, wee will that captaine Carlile shall haue the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

24 And finally wee require you and euery of you to haue a due regard to the obseruation and accomplishment of these our instructions, and of all such other things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this seruice committed to your charge.

The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. Edward Fenton was appointed Generall, written by master Luke Ward his Vice-admirall, and Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, begun Anno Dom. 1582.

THe second of Aprill I departed with the Edward Bonauenture from Blackewall, and the 19. of the same arriued in Nettle rode at Hampton, where I found riding the Gallion Leicester, and so remaining there till the first of May, wee set saile thence in the forenoone, being of vs in the whole Fleete 4. saile.

1 The Gallion Leicester of 400. tunnes Admirall, whereof was Generall, captaine Edward Fenton and William Hawkins the ponger lieutenant Generall in her, and Chriſtopher Hall, master.

2 The Edward Bonauenture of 300. tunnes Viceadmirall, whereof was Captaine Luke Ward, and Thomas Perrie master.

3 The Francis of 40. tunnes, whereof was captaine John Drake, and William Parham master.

4 The Elizabeth of 50. tunnes, whereof was Captaine Thomas Skeuington and Rafe Crane master.

We spent by meanes partly of businesse, and partly of contrary winds, the moneth of May vpon the coast, and then leauing the land we put off to sea, and proceeded on our voiage intended by the grace of God for China: vntill the moneth of August following, nothing fell out much worthy the knowledge of the world, which is not common to all Nauigants, but about the beginning of August aforesayd, being somewhat neere the coast of Guinie, vpon the shooting off of a peece & the putting out of a flag in the Admiral, I went on boord, & M. Walker, M. Shaw, M. Geffries, our master & pilot with me, where the generall counsel was assembled to consider of two points, viz.

The first, whether it were necessarie to water presently or not, which was thought very needefull of all men, and so concluded.

The 2. where the best and aptest place was to water in, which was thought of the greater number to be at Sierraleona, on the coast of Guinie, which was also concluded, and by the Master, and Pilotes agreed to goe hence Southeast, which determined, we returned aboord, and left Nicholas Allen, my master Carpenter aboord the Gallion, and his boye to take phylike.

The 2. day of August, we went all day, and all night Southeast: the forenoone in slaying our foremast with a send of the Sea, hauing the top saile, and all aboue, we tracked the same within 3. yardes vnder the coppe, since which time we were in great feare of it.

The 3. day at noone master Hall, and Edward Gilman, with others came aboord, and brought our master Carpenter, and one of their Carpenters with him, to mend our masse which we medled not with all: and after some conference they went aboord againe. We went al this day Southeast and East Southeast, till 6. a clocke at night, that we saw the lande of Guinie, which bare Northeast of vs about 12. leagues off, which seene, we sounded, and had no ground: then went I, and our Master and Pilote aboord the Admirall, & after many debatements, concluded to runne in North east by East, and at 11. at night we came aboord againe, and went all night Northeast by East.

The 4. at 8. in the forenoone, we were within 2. leagues of the land which bare of vs northeast, which

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rose like a high hill full of woodes, and of each side lowe land, we being perswaded by our Pilots that it was the entrance into Sierraleona, went in Northeast vntill we were within an halfe league of the shore, and had brought the South point Southeast by East of vs. At 11. a clocke we finding it a baie, and not Sierraleona, brought our tacks aboord and stood along West by North and West larboord tacked.

In this time our Admirals pinnace rowed in, and went on land vpon the South side of the baie, and the Elizabeths boate with her. They found houses of boughes, and in one of the houses the tongue of a beast, and a bullocks tongue fresh killed. Also a lake with plentie of fresh water, and fresh water fish in it hard by the sea side: they found drie pomegranates, and pease like nuts, with other vnknowen fruites vnder the trees. The Elizabeth ranne in, and brought the South point South by West of her, and ankred within Faulcon shot of the shore in 7. fadome oze, where they woke fish with hookes, while he staied for the boates.

The 4. all the afternoone we ran along the coast (which lieth North west by North, and Southeast by South) West, and within a point one way or the other, seeing the land vnder our Lee, 3. or 4. leagues off, and all night likewise.

The 5. day at 6. in the morning wee went West northwest, and Northwest by West with a frank gale, the Northermost land bearing Northwest off vs, 12. leagues, & the Northeast land vnder our Lee within 3. leagues. So we ran along till 12. at noone: then the wind shifted vpon vs to the North northwest, till 3. afternoone, all which time it blew litle but rained much. I went off with our skiffe, and ankred in 18. fadome with a grapnell, and found the currant to set to the Eastwards. At 3. the wind came againe to South a franke gale, so we went along within 3. leagues of the shore West by South larboord tacked. At 6. at night wee shaped our course off as neere as we could lie West next hand, and so went all night.

The 6. day at 6. a clocke in the foorenoone, being 5. leagues off the shore, we went in Northwest, and so the ships stood along. At 7. a clocke I went aboord the Elizabeth, and ran into the shore Northwest and by North, till we were within a league and a halfe of the land, and saw a breach of shallow water vnder our Lee, then we tacked of West being in 7. fadome sand at 9. a clocke: and so running along, we saw as we thinke two Islands, but durst not put in with them, least the ships should folow vs and be on the Lee shore. About 11. a clocke we brought ẏ Westermost land North of vs, and so we edged off after our ships, and at one afternoone I got aboord the Edward againe, and stood hence larboord tacked, West & West northwest, till 8. a clocke at night, that we came to anker in 10. fadome lacke a fourth part, grey sand, and there rid all night. During which time, we found a tide to run very strong, which runneth in the floud North northeast, and the ebbe setteth out South southwest.

The 7. of August about 7. afternoone, M. Hawkins came aboord vs, with whom my selfe, our master & pilot had some conference what was best for vs to do, and how to seeke a harbour being on a shallow vnknowen to vs all. In the end we thought good at 9. a clocke to weie, & send the Francis afore, and to get into deeper water if we could, & when it were cleare to seeke the harbour. At 10. a clocke the ebbe was come, & although it were thicke and rainie weather, we weied, and ran North northwest, and Northwest til noone, and then seeing the miserable weather of raine & fog, we ankred in 9. and a half fadome, hauing gone before betweene 12. fadome, to 4. fadome, 3. parts sand without sight of land. At 4. in the afternoone it cleared vp, and we had sight of the Elizabeth, and of a small Island very high, like the pike of Tenerif, 6. leagues off vs, Northeast, then waxing thicke and rainie againe. The 8. after 9. a clocke afore noone, wee weied, and went hence Northnorthwest, vntill 12. at noone, and from noone till 6. at night we went North next hand to seeke the shore which we had sight of at 5. in the afternoone, and bare northeast of vs being high land. The round Isle and two small Islands which we saw by it, bare East, and to the Southwards at 5. at night. After 6. at night the Elizabeth came vp and told vs, she lost an anker and a cable, and was put to Leewards into 17. foote water by trusting to an old cable.

Then the Gallion came roome, and we all ankred at 7. a clocke in 14. fadome sand: Our ship caped vpon the floud West southwest.

The 9. at 3. in the morning our Admirall shot off a peece, and at 4. wee weied and went hence Northeast. At 5. in the morning we saw the land along, and the Island which wee sawe the night before and diuers other Islands about it, and so ran in Northeast vntill we had brought our selues thwart of the riuer, and thē ran in East about 6. at night, being a league within the riuer. Our Admirall shot off a piece, and there we ankred in eight fadome sand. Being at anker, I manned our boat and would haue gone aboord the Admirall, but could not the floud was bent so strong, and she rid halfe a mile beneath vs in the tide, but we had no tide.

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The 10. in the morning at 5. a clocke I sent our skiffe with our pilot in her to find the rode, and watring place: in the meane time at 6. a clocke, we set saile with our ship, and being calme wee towed with our boat vntill 10. and then ankered a mile shore of the watering place. After dinner I went a land with my skiffe to finde timber to fish our masse, and searching along the shore wee found a good watring place: and further seeking in the wood, which all the countrey is ful of, and of diuers sortes, we found Limmon trees ful of fruits: also trees growing by the water side with the stalkes hung full of oisters and great periwinckles and crabbes among st them: wee found dyte pomegranates with many other fruits vnknowen to vs. In the meane time our Admirall and the Edward, with the barkes, hauing a gale at West, set saile, and ran vp and ankred in the rode before the accustomed watring place.

About 5. afternoone I came aboord, & brought 6. barricoes of water with me: after, I went and supped aboord with the Generall, where we conferred, and about 8. at night I came aboord again and rid quietly all night.

The 11. day our long boat with the master and pilot, went aland & caried all our water caske, which they washed and filled to season, & our Cooper repaired part of the same. In the meane time I with our carpenters & others went in our skiffe, and found a tree to fish our foremast, which we felled, but not able to carie it away because it would not swim, we left it till a better meane were made to bote it. After I with my companie went vp into a pretie riuer of fresh water, a mile into the countrey, which was full of oisters growing vpon trees, and very fresh water, which done, we gathered some Limmons and came aboord. The 12. being Sunday, we had a generall communion in both the ships. After dinner I went aboord to the generall, and spent the afternoone with him in conference, and supped aboord, and diuers strangers with me.

The 13. of August, we were all assembled aboord the Admirall, for the deciding of controuersies, betweene the Captaine, Master, and companie of the Elizabeth: by proofe it appeared vnto vs, that the Master Ralfe Crane, had in speech deserued some punishment, so that we by generall consent agreed, that he should be put into the Bilbowes, which was done: but within halfe an howre, at mine, and others request, he was vpon his submission released. Which done, we dined al with the General, and after dinner, with my boate and skiffe, we went and brought the tree for stiches for our masse into a sandie Baye, by our watring place, to haue it squared, which done with our washers, at night we returned aboord.

The 14. in the forenoone, we washed our ship, and scraped off the Barnackles, the Generall came aboord, and dined with me, and Captaine Drake, Master Hall, and others. After dinner wee went to the old watring place. From thence I went aboord the Elizabeth, and brought diuers things away: then we carried part of our water caske to the other watring place, & there I met with M. Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Walker, M. Lewes, and diuers others, which al supped aland there with sodden Oysters, & a fresh Mullet, and Rice pottage, and came late aboord of all hands.

The 15. day we romaged, and got vp our strong beere out of the foremost roome, and placed it by the maine masse.

The 16. day in the forenoone, we stricke downe most of our Ordinance, and bestowed most of our things abaft masse in hold: and in the afternoone, we tooke in 4. tunnes of water, and certain things, which I fetched out of the Elizabeth of ours.

The 17. wee romaged, and tooke in water, and I kept my cabbin, being sicke: the Generall came aboord, and supped with me.

The 18. day we tooke in water, & romaged our ship all the forenoone. About noone there came down the riuer a canow with 3. Portingals in it, with whom I had conference aboord ỳ Admiral.

The 19. of August being Sunday, it rained all the night before, and all the day, till 2. a clocke after noone: then I manned our long boat and skiffe, and went a land into the oister baie, where I met captaine Hawkins, captaine Parker, captaine Drake, with all our boats, and 130. men which came all to gather oisters, where with we laded our boats, and sent them aboord with the greatest number of our men: and we with the rest went ouer land through the Limmon garden, and gathered many which we caried aboord with vs, and so parted to our charges. The 20. day our companie stowed our pinnace, and fetched certaine things from aboord the Elizabeth: the carpenters set vp one fish of our foremast, our Cooper repaired some of ỳ caske which the flying tide had broken.

The master, pilot and I in our skiffe went along the riuer to the vttermost baie, at the comming in at the West end, where we found a flat baie, yet a crooked chanell in it: and we went a league vp a fresh riuer, which at the vpper end was so thicke of oister trees, that wee could not get to the head of it, so we returned backe againe to the West point, and there I obserued the sunne: which done, we felled two Palmito trees and came to the bathing place, where we washed, and refreshed

our

our selues, and came aboorde, where wee had prayer, and supped, and so went to bedde: but before morning we had much winde and raine.

The 21. day in the morning I went aboord the Admirall to visite him, and found him gone vp the riuer in his pinnesse, then I brake my fast with Captaine Hawkins and the rest: which done, with our newe made nettes we went a fishing into the Oyster bay, where wee pitched our nettes, meaning to haue made a draught: and as wee waded with our nettes, wee sawe in the water among vs a Crocodile or Alligaro, which we assaulted, and within 3. houres after many wounds, with fisgigs, pikes, and shot, we slew him, and brought him aboorde the Admirall, where hee was opened, and flayed, in whose body we found many small stones, and of Palmito nuts. An Alligare killed.

This day also we went a hunting, and being wearie we brought some oysters aboorde the Admirall, and there M. Walker, M. Lewis and I supped: which done we came aboord.

The 22. day the Portingals which had bene with vs before, came downe and brought some other Portingals and Negroes with them in a shippe boate, wherein they brought vs 80. mewes of rice, 500. and odde waight of Oliphants teeth, and a boy Negro, which boy they gaue the Generall, and the rice and teeth for the Elizabeth which wee solde them, with all her tackle, and sailes, hauing neede of the rice, because our meale which we brought out of England, was decayed and naught, whereof we had into the Edward 30. bushels, which is a mew and a halfe: the Francis had 5. bushels, and the Gallion had the rest. And wee had 200. waight of Oliphants teeth, and the Gallion 300. and a halfe, and 6. li. During this time wee sent our skiffe with the Admirals pinnesse vp the riuer to meete with a Gondall, which the Portingals had sent for fresh victuals for vs: who not finding her, returned at night: All this day I with M. Walker remained aboorde with the Admirall, and after their dinner and supper we ended our businesse, and returned aboord, hauing had many good speaches with the Portingals. Their traffike here with the Portingals.

The 23. day I remained romaging aboorde, in which time the Master with the Carpenters, and others went on lande and felled more wood for fishes for our masts, and cut a boates lading of firewood, and brought it aboord.

The 24. day in the forenoone our Generall and Captaine Parker came aboorde, where wee tasted the forenoone in talke, and after Seruice I sent for M. Hall, and M. Maddox to dine with them. After dinner Captaine Parker and I, our boates full of men went on lande, and gathered limmons for the companie, which done, wee returned aboorde our shippes: in the meane time our boate was brought full of wood aboord, and the Carpenter squared timber.

The 25. day of August I was sent for to the Generall about furnishing vp of the Elizabeth, which was fully accomplished and deliuered to the Portingals. Out of her our boate brought pease, wood, hoopes, and many other such necessaries. The Portingals dined with mee: after dinner I rooted my farre, placed him, and filled him with water: and this day Iohn Iohnson wrought of the settles in my cabbin.

The 26. day being Sunday, Captaine Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Bannister, Captaine Drake, M. Euans, M. Hoode, and others came aboorde and heard the Sermon, and dined with me: after dinner we went on shoare to the lower point where wee followed the footing of an Oliphant, but sawe him not, and so spent the time to and fro till supper time, & then came aboorde, and supped together, which done, eche man departed to his abode.

This night I was very sicke, (and so were all they that were on shoare with mee,) with eating of a fruite of the Countrey, which wee founde on trees like nuttes: Whereof some did eate foure, some fiue, some sixe, and more, but wee vomitted and trouled vpon it without reason. Sickenes by eating some fruite in Guinea.

The 27. day in the afternoone, the olde Greeke Francisco, came aboorde to mee, with request that hee might haue the Francis boate to goe vp for his owne boate, which was not come downe, with whome I talked of this Countrey and Countrey people, vntill fiue of the clocke at night, that the flood was come, and then I went aboorde to the Admirall, and got his consent, and sent themselues in her: viz. Ferdinando the Portingall Master, and his Negro: In the meane time I sent 4. of my men to watch in the Elizabeth all night.

The 28. day in the morning at 4. a clocke, I sent my skiffe with the Admirals pinnesse downe to the West point to fish, who came aboorde againe at one in the afternoone, and brought as much fish as all our companies could eate.

During the time that our boates were a fishing, came downe the riuer a Canow & the Portingals former boate, with hennes, orenges, plantans, which they presented the Generall and mee with: and also the rest of the rice due to vs for the paiment of the Elizabeth. For the partitions whereof I went aboord the Admirall, where I dined. After dinner, M. Euans beganne to barter away The Portingals presentes.

M. Euans one of our Marchants.

away certaine of the ſhips commodities with the Negroes, without acquainting the Generall or any other vntil he had done, wherevpon grew more words then profit, as by the bookes of Marchandiſe appeareth. Which done I came aboord, and had 2. of the Portingals to ſupper with me. About 2. a clocke in the morning we had a Ternado, and much raine.

They ſearch the Countrey.

The 29. about 4. in the morning, I in my ſkiffe, and Captaine Parker in his pinneſſe, went downe to the Weſt point, and there wee landed with 11. men in all well furniſhed, and ſearched the woods, plaines and plaſhes, after an Oliphant, finding the haunt, footing and ſople of many newly done, yet we ſawe none of them. We ſaw hogs, goates, or fawns, and diuers ſorts of foules very wilde: and hauing trauailed about two leagues, about noone wee returned to the point, where we landed, and met our boates which had bene at ſea, and taken plentie of good fiſh: there wee refreſhed our ſelues with ſuch victuals as wee had, and came aboorde our ſeuerall ſhippes, where I found the Portingals and Negroes, who had dined, and after ſupped aboorde with me.

After ſupper I barred with them certaine linnen cloth, and gaue them 2. redde cappes for 3. Oliphants teeth, as by the notes thereof appeareth.

The 30. day in the morning at three a clocke I ſent my pinneſſe to ſea a fiſhing, and after our long boate to bee mended and trimmed, which both returned about three in the afternoone: the Generall, Captaine Parker, and Captaine Drake, came aboorde mee at Seruice time, and after examined certaine of the Portingals and Negroes for things by them bought of our companies, and eſpecially for a ſtolne cloake, which would not be heard of: which done we ſupped aboorde together, and after they returned to their charges.

The laſt of Auguſt I went on lande, and obſerued the ſunne, and made proofe of other Inſtruments, and had the Maſter, and others with mee: after wee hewe fiſhe with our nette. In this time Maſter Shawe, and M. Euans ſawe a bullocke and ſhotte at him: Wee raunged a great deale of grounde, but coulde ſee none, and ſo returned aboorde. where ſupped with mee three of the Portingals. At two of the clocke in the morning, our ſkiffe went to ſea a fiſhing, and had foule weather.

September.

The firſt of September about fiue of the clocke in the morning wee ſet ſaile, and got downe with little winde at Noꝛtheaſt, to the Weſtwards two miles: then being calme at 9. a clocke wee ancred.

After Seruice, and dinner, in our long boate, the Maſter, M. Walker, M. Geffreys and others, went on lande into a bay with our nette, where wee hewe about 70. fiſhes, and cut a palmetree. The General being abroade a fiſhing with his pinneſſe came into me, to whom I gaue part of our fiſh, and returned aboord where wee found plentie of fiſh taken in our ſkiffe, for which wee thanked God, and ſupped. About 7. at night wee had a ſudden ſtawe of winde, raine, and lightning, till 9. a clocke: after, a faire night.

The 2. we ſet ſaile at 6. in the morning, and went out Weſt, betwene 7. and 10. fathome, with a prettie gale at Eaſt till 8. then it waxed calme, wee being ſhotte out of the harbour a league and a halfe. It continued calme this day till one in the afternoone, and then it blew vp at Weſt ſouthweſt, a good gale, ſo we ſtood of Noꝛth Noꝛthweſt, and Noꝛthweſt, til 5. in the afternoone, then we ancred in 12. fathome, being 6. leagues off the point Weſt by Noꝛth.

This afternoone Captaine Hawkins came aboord to me and brought the ſamples of clothes, which he deſired to haue put into the aduenture, and to haue our Marchants praiſe them, which to do the better I ſent them aboord the Admirall, to conferre with the Generall and the reſt. Where they ſupped, and returned without taking them into the venture, for that they could not agree to Captaine Hawkins liking.

They returne to Sierra leona againe.

The 3. day about 8. a clocke in the forenoone the Generall came aboorde to mee, complayning that his maine crolle trees were broken, and therefore determined to goe into Sierra leona againe when the winde blew at 12. at noone we ſet ſaile, and went in Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt, and Southſoutheaſt, being carried to the Noꝛthwarde with the flood. And at 7. at night wee ancred in 8. fathome 3. leagues of the entrance, Weſt Noꝛthweſt.

All this day the General remained aboord with me, dinner ſupper, and Seruice, til we ancred, which time we diſcourſed, &c.

The 4. day about 11. at noone we ſet ſaile, and ſtood in Southeaſt with the ebb vntill we were within a mile of the entrance, and then finding it calme wee ancred in 14. fathome 2. mile of the Weſt point: in comming to ancre, our quarter Maſters, let ſlip an ancre, and newe cable, ende for ende through negligence: Captaine Drake being a ſhoare with his boat a fiſhing, put off thinking to recouer his barke but could not, and with much paine got aboorde me where he ſupped, and his companie, and ſtayed all night.

The

The 5. of September in the forenoone about 8. a clocke we sweeped, & dragged for our ancre, and cable, but found it not: likewise at 3. in the afternoone till 4. then wee set saile, and went into the riuer, and ranne in Southeast from 4. fathomes and a halfe, to 14. fathome, and moored by our Admirall athwart of the Oyster bay in 8. fathome at 5. a clocke at night, hauing left a barrell boy where we rode, for a marke to finde our ancre. The oyster bay.

About 6. came the olde Portingall, and 3. more with him, and brought me Oysters, and Plantans, and supped with me. After supper they went aboord the barke.

The 6. before day, both our boates went downe with the Admirals boates to fishe, and dragge for our ancre and cable, and found it not: after our skiffe went a fishing, and tooke plentie. I being aboord at dinner, the Portingals came and dined with me. After dinner, in the boate I went aboord the Generall, and there left my Carpenter: my selfe, with M. Walker, M. Maddox, and others, with our net wee brought good plentie of fish, whereof I carried part aboord the General and supped with him. After supper M. Walker and I came aboord.

The 7. day in the morning I ended many ordinarie businesses: after dinner I called the General, and went downe with the net into the accustomed bay, & there drew 120. fish, wherof were some great mullets. The Generall went aboorde to suppe with Captaine Drake in the Francis: I stayed late on shoare, and supped aboord with our companie, all sauing M. Walker, who supped and remained all night with the Generall aboorde Captaine Drake in the Francis.

The 8. day our companies of all handes went on shoare, and set vp a Smiths forge, and an ouen to bake bread: I went in to the Cockle bay with our net, and finding no plentie of fish there, went to the other bay, and brought aboord plentie of fish, and Captaine Drake with mee whome I met there without a boate, and 4. men with him. A Smiths forge and an ouen set vp at Sierra leona.

The 9. day being Sunday, M. Walker went aboorde the Francis to minister the Communion to that companie, and there he dined: I went aboorde the Admirall, and there heard Seruice, and there dined: after dinner most part of our people went on land, with the Generall to plash trees, and make place for the Carpenters and Smithes on shoare: and I in my skiffe went downe and tooke fish in our nette for supper, and returned before night, and sent the Generall part for his supper. Certaine of our men lay on lande to keepe watche with Captaine Parker, to gard e the Smiths and Carpenters. Watch on land.

The 10. day at 4. a clocke in the morning I went downe in our skiffe, and stoode till 11. at noone to kill a Pellicane, but could not: in the meane time our long boate went along with the net, and at noone with both the boates we returned aboord well fished, where I founde M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and M. Hall, who eate there, and at night went aboord their shippe: after supper I sent 6. men to watch on shoare with Captaine Parker.

The 11. day at 6. a clocke in the morning I went downe with my boate, & the Admirals boat, and dragged for our ancre, but found no hope thereof, and returned aboord at 3. in the afternoone: at 5. came M. Walker in our skiffe, and brought the Generall, and M. Maddox aboord with him, where we supped and were merry together: after supper eche returned to his place: about 11. a clocke at night, we had a great storme of winde, and raine at East Southeast.

The 12. day about 8. in the forenoone came downe the riuer a boat with three other Portingals with whome the Generall bargained, to let them haue 3. barrels of salt, for 5. barrels of rice, and after that rate to exchange for 40. barrels, which hee acquainted mee with: afterwards I dined among the Portingals with him, after dinner I went on shoare to the ouen, and to the Carpenters. After I had bene on shoare and seene the worke there, I returned aboord, & there supped with me the General, M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and 7. Portingals, after supper eche returned to his place. Immediatly after it rained and blew much at Northnortheast. About one a clocke after midnight we had a ternado, which continued 3. houres at East next hand. Traffique with 3. other Portingals. viz. 1. Lewis Henriques a diueller here about 20. yeeres. 2. Matthew Fernandes Captaine. 3. Pedro Diaz priest.

The 13. in the afternoone, the Portingals came againe aboord me, and brake their fast with me: after I sent by them vp the riuer in my skiffe 12. barrels of salt, and gaue them a bottle of wine for one of the sauage Queenes. The Carpenters felled a tree, and squared it for planke and board. The M. had our foresaile on land, and began to binde it, but not hauing time to mende the same, brought it aboord, where we supped with fish, which came from the nette.

The 14. day after drinking our boate went on land with our foresaile, and men to pie and saw the tree, felled & hewed the day before: they came aboord to dinner, & after dinner they went againe and ended the saile, and cut a boate full of wood and at night returned aboord.

The 15. after dinner, the Master, M. Walker, and I, accompanied, with 12. other trauelled ouer a great deale of ground to finde some cattle, but founde none: & comming home thorow the Oyster bay, I founde of my company and of the Admirals together rosting oysters: and going from They went vp to search the Country.

them. Thomas Russell one of my companie sawe a strange fishe named Vtelit, which had fought with a Crocodile, and being hurt came neere the shoare where he waded in, and by the taile drew him a lande, and there sleewe him, and sent the Generall the hinder halfe of him: the head part I kept, in whose nose is like a sword a bone of two foote long, with 23. pykes of a fine sharpe and strange: The body we did eate, and was like a sharke.

A sword fish killed.

The 16. day being Sunday we all kept aboorde till after Seruice, and dinner, then M. Walker and I with others, went aboorde the Admirall, where I had diuers debatements with the Generall about our affaires, and there supped, about 8. a clocke we returned aboord.

The 17. day in the morning I sent Nicholas Allen, and two more of my Carpenters to helpe the Admirall about their maine masse: I sent our Cooper, and men to helpe him to cut hoopes in the wood. After dinner with my long boate, and the Master with me, we went aboord the Admirall, and there tooke in the nette, and Captaine Parker and the Master Hall, and went ouer to the lande to the Northwards, in the riuer a mile aboue the roade. And sounding when we went of the Southside, had 14. fathome, and sholded by litle and litle, so haike a fathome and a foote water, on the sand, which is bare two mile long at quarter ebb, hard sand: we dyed there with our nett, but tooke little fish, and so turned aboord.

The 18. day we beganne a newe fishing nette for our selues, and remained busie about it all day aboorde: our Cooper cut hoopes, and the Baker baked bread on lande: M. Walker supped aboord the Admirall.

Pellicane bay.

The 19. day before 3. in the morning, I went downe in the Admirals pinnesse, which went with the net to fish. They landed me beside Pellicane bay, and there I tooke vp my standing vntil 3. afternoone: in which time I sawe a crane, a martine, and diuers other foules, but shot at none but one hearne, which I killed: after came aboorde the Edward, where the General, M. Maddox, M. Cotton, and Captaine Parker supped with me.

The 20. day after dinner, I sent my boate with the Master, and companie with him to dragge for our ancre, & cable, who could neither finde the same nor see our boop, which wee left riding by a small cagger, for a marke for the other greater ancre, so I accompt all lost. By the way in their going downe the riuer they put me a lande by the Pellicane bay, and there I stood till their returne about 5. at afternoone, and came backe againe with them, and Hooker killed a monkie with a piece. At my returne aboord I found the Portingals caruel come downe the riuer at ancre by our ships.

A Portingal caruel.

The 21. day in the morning the Generall sent for me and M. Walker, who went aboord them, where hee acquainted vs with the faultes founde in his maine masse, perished in the partners, which to mende I sent him two of my Carpenters, and two ancre stockes to fitte the same: Also hee opened before vs two and M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and Captaine Parker, certaine wordes which happened betweene him and the Master Hall, howe Hall saide vnto him among other speaches, that hee was there appointed Master, as hee was Generall, and that hee would be Master, though hee said nay: the which wordes the Master confessed not to speake in effect, but vnfit speaches passed betweene them. Whereupon hee demaunded our opinions, whether he might displace him or not, which wee graunted hee might vpon so fust a cause, but intreated the Generall rather to accept his submission, which Hall willingly yeelded vnto, which followed presently. At Seruice the Master openly before the whole companie acknowledged to haue ouershotte himselfe in vndecent speaches, and craued pardon of the Generall, who willingly forgaue the offence as though it had not beene committed. After dinner I went on lande, the Master, and M. Walker with me, to ouersee the Baker, the carpenters, the smith, and our ropemakers, al which were at worke on land.

After I had bene on land, comming aboord, and captaine Parker with me, we went aboord the caruel, and there saw 30. or 40. slaues fettred together, the men: but the women and children went loose. After the view of them, their behauiour & other trifles there seene, I went aboord. At supper came certaine of the Portingals to me & dranke with me, & after vsed long talke, and so departed.

The 22. day in the morning I sent my workmen ashoare, and about 8. a clocke, I and M. Walker, with others went downe in my boat to the Pellicane bay, but got nothing: in the meane time they in the boat went downe to the point, & gathered a good many of great oysters, and so returned aboorde about 6. at night well wet with raine, and slonge with Bees.

Bees in Pelicane.

The 23. day being Sunday, while we were at the Sermon came the Portingal Captaine Mathew Fernandos, & brought me a Negro boy of 7. yeeres old, which he gaue me, whose name was Iohn Primero. After he had dined with me, came captaine Hawkins, captaine Drake, M. Hoode, M. Faireweather, M. Tailcoyes, and M. Bannister, with many others to visite me: after we had talked

talked a while together, I went aboorde the Admirall and M. Walker, where wee agreed that the Portingall Captaine shoulde goe to the riuer for our shiffe, who was contented to goe: after many debatements with the Generall, and supper with him I came aboorde.

The 24. day we commaged to take vp some of our ordinance, & perusing our water caske, which was filled not 20. dayes before, stowed with greene wood cut in this place found the same to bee eaten with wormes, which caused the greater part of the water to leake out, which troubled vs much. M. Blackoller, & Robert Rose went downe in our boate to dragge for our ancre & cables but found them not: we tooke vp 7. pieces of ordinance, filled some water, and amended some part of our caske. This afternoone the Generall came aboord to me, & conferred about, &c. About 5. a clocke afternoone, among others I went on lande to the buriall of William Marcham M. of the Francis, who died the same afternoone before. Greene wood subiect to wormes. The death of William Marcham.

The 26. we filled water, mended our caske and stowed many things in hold, & ended the coake, and lead, and all things to the net belonging: this afternoone the king Fatama, sent our Generall a monkie, and an Oliphants toothe, by a messenger a Negro of some accompt. Present sent to our men by K. Fatama.

The 27. day at 3. a clocke in the morning the Master and I, well accompanied went downe in my long boate to the fishing bay, where seeing the footing of many cattle, we drew a rope thwart the necke of the land, & placed men to gard the straight: the rest went into the wood to driue downe the cattle, who came so fast vpō our men that one of them ouerthrew W. Towrson, that he lay dead for a quarter of an houre, and being recouered in 2. houres hee knewe not what he did. Thus we wearied our selues not being able to kill any of them, although we gaue them many stripes, and so returned to our fishing againe, where we tooke more fish then we could eate.

This morning came the same messenger aboorde, to present mee with an Oliphants toothe, which came to the General from king Fatama, but finding me absent, receiued such intertainment as the Marchants and M. Walker gaue him, & so went aboord the Admirall, taking the tooth with him. There he receiued of the General to present the king as much scarlet clothe as would make him a cloake, & certaine canuas: and for ỳ Queene a wrought Moscouy smocke, & a looking glasse.

The 28. day in the morning came M. Maddox and other aboord mee: after breakefast we went downe a fishing with our net, & returned aboord to supper, and when we had supped, they went aboord. The 29. day after dinner M. Walker and I went aboord the Admirall, and grew in argument concerning our going roome to the yles of Cape Verde, or whether it were better to proceed forwards with the prouision we now haue. At this conference was the General, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker and I: after sundry debatements we concluded to proceede, and with this conclusion we supped there together. After supper by the same consent, I went aboord the Elizabeth and the caruel, and brought their sailes aboord the Admiral, fearing they would saile away, and deceiue me of my boate and sale: which done, I imparted to the Master, the pilot, M. Shaw, and M. Geffreis, what had bene determined, and left 6. of my men aboord the Portingals to looke to them.

The 30. and last day of September, the Francis Cooke came aboorde about 7. a clocke in the forenoone from fishing with my net, and brought among other fishe, a sea calfe (as wee called it) with haire and lympits, and barnacles vpon him, being 7. foote long, 4. foote 9. inches about: which to see I sent for the Generall, and such as pleased to come see it out of the Admirall, who came and brought with him M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, and most part of his companie, who hauing viewed the beast, which was ougly being aliue, it being flayed, opened, and dressed, prooued an excellent, faire, and good meate, broyled, rosted, sodde and baked, and sufficed all our companies for that day. A strange fish taken.

This day during the time that our dinner was dressing, the Generall assembled vs before named in Commission into my cabbin, where he propounded diuers questions and doubts touching our going forwards, all which being answered, it was agreed to proceed for the straights of Magellan: and being in the South sea, to deale as occasion should be giuen. In this conference grew many hotte, and disdainfull speaches and comparisons betweene Captaine Hawkins, and Captaine Parker, and also the Generall, as offended with Captaine Hawkins, vsed speaches to him very displeasant, which with much adoe was all in the ende pacified, and so went to Seruice, and after to dinner: then ashoare, and aboord againe to Seruice, and supper, so that we passed the latter part of this day in much good fellowship, the more, because my shiffe came downe with another great boate laden with rice for our sale, whereof we tooke in part.

The 1. day of October in the morning, we tooke in to make vp our full complement of rice 20. barels for the 12. barrels of sale, deliuered ỳ Portingal, Lewis Henriques before. About 7. a clocke in the morning ỳ General sent for me & M. Walker, touching certaine speaches, that Miles Euans October.

one of our Marchants vsed at dinner aboorde the Gallion in the absence of the Generall, which was set downe in Articles, and hee charged with them, whereof hee confessed a great part, which seemed so odious, and vnhonest, that M. Walker, M. Maddox, M. Parker, the Lieutenant, and I, concluded with the Generall that he might displace him, which thing Euans earnestly often desired, saying that he would go into England well ynough, as from hence in the Elizabeth with the Portingals, with whom in the afternoone he made freight, and carried his chest, a barrel, & 2. packs aboord, which I, M. Parker, and Lieutenant Hawkins searched by the Generals order.

Euans departed from the company, promising to remaine with the Portingals.

Hauing done these things, wee found that the Portingals had not brought vs rice for so much salt, as they promised the Generall, who sent Captaine Parker and others to search for the same in the Elizabeth and the caruell, where was found good store which wee tooke part of, and payed them salt according to our bargaine. Further wee found searching for rice a boye Negro bigger then my boy Iohn Primero, which I changed him for: and by the Generals order we tooke foure men Negroes, 2. for the Edward, and 2. for the Admirall, for which wee gaue the owners certaine carsey, and other things, as pease, biket, &c.

The 2. day about sixe in the morning wee set saile hauing little winde: the Captaine with the Master, and other of their companie of the Portingals came aboorde mee complaining that the carsey by them receiued for the foure Negroes of the Generall was not sufficient for their payment, whereupon I gaue them scarlet caps, and other things to their content, who finding themselues well pleased, departed away in the Gondall, and we hauing litle winde, got downe thwart of the fishing bay, and there came to ancre about nine a clocke the same forenoone.

About one a clocke I sent my skiffe with the nette a fishing, which came aboorde, and brought fish for supper plentie.

Their 2. departure from Guinea, where they remained from the 4. of August.

The 3. day about two a clocke in the morning wee set saile, and went hence Southwest by West till two in the afternoone then being little winde: at 5. we ancred sixe leagues East South-east of the Southermost part of the lande in fifteene fathome, and there wee ridde till eight a clocke at night, and then set saile with a stiffe gale at Northeast, which sometime blewe, and sometime was litle winde, and so continued all night. This afternoone Captaine Hawkins, and M. Cotton came to supper with me, and before we could set them aboord came a ternado, so that they taried all night aboord with me.

At 7. at night a great Ternado at Northeast.

The fourth day about eight a clocke in the forenoone wee set Captaine Hawkins, and master Cotton aboord the Admirall, and went Southwest by West till two afternoone, then being litle winde, we made small way, or none at all till the next day: in the afternoone we tooke in our boate and skiffe, and at night shifted our companie because some were dead, and wee had taken in more men out of the Elizabeth.

The 5. day it was calme all day till sixe at night, wee lay to and fro driuing, which I can make no allowance of: at sixe at night wee went South by West with a small gale til one at midnight, then we set nette the winde at South Southwest, and went West by North, till three a clocke following, then came a prety gale at Northeast, with which we went South Southwest til sixe in the morning.

The 6. day at 6. in the morning wee had a small gale at West, and went starre boord tacked South a while there being litle winde: we went Southwest by South til 8. a clocke, from 8. we went Southsouthwest, with a small gale all day, and all night.

The 7. day litle winde or none but lay still among great shoales of soules, and sculls of fish all day and night by our ordinary Compasse: in this place the sunne role at East, and by South, and to the Southwards, and set West by South to the southwards.

The eight day little winde, or none: all day and night wee laye driuing among fishe and soule.

The 9. day we had in the forenoone some raine, and a small gale at Northeast, which continued not long, but was calme till midnight, then we had a Ternado of winde, Northeast and raine: after that a small gale at East and southeast all night.

Winde East Southeast.

The tenth day wee went all the forenoone South Southwest larre boorde tacked, after the winde shrinking to the Southeast by South, wee went South, till fiue afternoone: this afternoone the Generall in his long boate, accompanied with M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, M. Cotton, M. Hoode and others came aboorde to see mee: after drinking departed away againe: but when they were in the boate, their shippe not comming roome for them, I was faine to shoote off two minions to make them looke out. After fiue a clocke in the afternoone it continued calme till after midnight, then had wee a Ternado, and after a small gale for 3. houres, at East Northeast, with which we went South southwest.

The

The 11. day it was calme, till 2. of the clocke afternoone, then it began to blowe a small gale. At 6. it blewe more, and so it continued all night large.

The 12. day we had raine at noone: all the rest of the day, and night, we went as the wind did suffer vs, sometime West, sometime Southwest, and sometime South.

The 13. day we had litle wind all day, and all night, but went our course South Southwest, and sometime South by West.

The 14. day we had litle wind, or none. In the afternoone came Captaine Hawkins, and other from the Gallion, and Captaine Drake, who brought me a peece of a Porpose with him, which we eate to supper: after supper they departed aboord the Francis: all the night following, it was in manner calme. This day was Iohn Roberts, and Iohn Hillarde whipped at the maste, for fighting at dinner.

The 15. day it was calme all day, and night, except two houres. In the morning it rained, & blew a small gale, at Northeast. This forenoone Captaine Drake sent for Master Walker, and me, to dinner, where we met Captaine Hawkins, and others. After dinner we returned aboord againe, and Captaine Hawkins went aboord the Admirall. Wind northwest.

The 16. day it was calme, till 7. at night, then we had a pretie gale at Southwest, with which we went West, and sometime West northwest, till 2. of the clocke in the morning, then was it calme all the rest of the night. This day were Robert Parker, Marke Thoughts, Iohn Roberts, and Iohn Collyns, brought to the capstone, and there whipped naked, for stealing certaine victuall out of the Stewards roome, the Sunday night before. Correction.

The 17. day at ten of the clocke, we had a pretie gale, at East northeast, which lasted till 4. afternoone, then had we lesse wind at Southeast, which continued all night: so we went sometime Southsoutheast, and sometime Southwest by South, and Southwest.

The 18. day it was a small gale all daye, and all night, so that wee went our course South southwest.

The 19. day we went our course South southwest, till midnight, then being in manner calme, we went but litle all night.

The 20. day it was calme, till ten of the clocke afternoone, then we went Southwest, with a small gale, at East southeast, with which we went South southwest till midnight, there being calme, we went little all night.

The 21. it was calme, til ten afternoone, then a gale till 12. at noone, then calme againe, till 3. afternoone, then it blewe a small gale at Southeast, with which we went South southwest, and Southwest among til midnight, but then it was calme all the rest of the night.

The 22. it was calme in maner all day, and night, saving at 2. of the clocke after midnight, we had an extreme Ternado of wind, raine, thunder, and lightning. The wind lasted not an howre, but the raine and a calme continued till day.

The 23. day we had much raine, calme, and thicke weather, so that being separated the night before in a Ternado, from our Admirall we lost the sight of him many times: yet when it cleered vp, we sawe each other, but having no winde, could not come neere together by two leagues. Wind East Southeast.

All this night we bare a good saile, and had a reasonable gale, with which wee went betweene the South by West, and the Southwest. In the morning wee sawe the Admirall to Leewardes, so farre as wee might descrye her sayles, with whome the Francis, and wee went roome.

The 24. day in the forenoone, we went roome to our Admirall, West southwest, and West, till ten of the clocke. After dinner we hailed her, and went from ten in the forenoone, south southwest next hand, all day and night following, with a franke gale.

The 25. day we went Southwest next hand, all day, and night, with a franke gale.

The 26. day and night, we went with a pretie gale, betweene the South southwest, and the West southwest, but might haue beene nearer the winde, but for going roome with the Admirall.

The 27. day we went West southwest, and southwest by West among, with a pretie gale, and sometime southwest all day, and night.

The 28. day after dinner, our Admirall laye by the Lee, to stoppe a leake in his bowes, and was faine to slinge three men ouer boord to doe it: in the meane time we came vppe, and hayled them: they tolde vs that if the winde scanted one point more, they meant to cast about, which we thought not best, for certaine causes. Whereupon we tooke in our spit saile, and hayled aft our sheetes close, so that whereas all day before we went South west, and little better, nowe we went next hand South southwest, but alwaies better then Southwest by South all night following.

This

This euening I ſet the Sunne at his going downe, hee ſet more then halfe a point to the South of Weſt by South.

The next morning, I obſerued the Sunnes riſing, which was to the Southwards, a little of Eaſt by South.

The 29. day after dinner, the Francis boate with her Maſter, and Maſter Dore, came aboord of vs, for a hogſhead of porke by the Generals order, which was deliuered them. All this day and night, we went next hand, ſouthweſt by ſouth.

The 30. daye wee went next hande Southſouth Weſt all daye, and all night, with a yrettie gale.

The 31. day, and laſt of October, we went all day, and all night, ſouth ſouthweſt, and Southweſt by ſouth among, ſauing two watches, which were calme in the night, after the raine.

Nouember. The firſt day of Nouember, in the forenoone, we tooke in our maine ſaile, to mende it: in the meane time, the Admirall came vp by vs, and deſiring me, with my Maſter, and Maſter Blackcoller, to come aboord to him, about certaine conference, hee ſent his boate for vs, where by him was propounded, whether it were beſt for vs to ſtande on with the coaſt of Braſile, as we did, or els to ſtande about ſtarboord tacked to the Eaſtwards: whereupon diuers of their Charts and reckonings were ſhewed: by ſome it appeared, we were 115. leagues, by ſome 150. leagues, by ſome 140. leagues, and ſome a great deale further ſhort of Braſile, next hand northeaſt of vs: but all agreed to be within 20. minutes of the line, ſome in the line, ſome to the north, ſome to the ſouth of the line.

After many debatements, it was agreed by moſt conſent to ſtande on for the coaſt of Braſile, except the wind changed, and there to doe, as weather ſhould compell vs. In this conſultation, we had ſpeeches of courſes, and places of meeting, if by misfortune we ſhould be ſeparated, wherein was no full order concluded, but that we ſhould ſpeake euery night with the Admirall, if we conueniently might, and ſo to appoint our courſe from time to time, if wee loſt companie, to ſtaye 15. daies in Riuer de Plate, and from thence to goe for the Streights, and there to ride, and water, and trimme our ſhippes (in no certaine place named.)

After dinner, we returned aboord our ſhippe, Captaine Drake, and his Maſter, to their barke, and went hence as neere as we could lie ſouth ſouthweſt, and ſouthweſt by ſouth all night following, with a freſh gale.

The ſecond day and night, we went next hand ſouth by weſt, and ſometime ſouth ſouthweſt among, with a franke gale.

The third day, we went ſouth by weſt next hand, all day and all night.

The fourth day in like manner.

The fift day wee went South by weſt all daye, and all night wee went South with a franke gale.

The [illegible]t day we went ſouth next hand all day, and night, and ſouth by weſt among.

The ſeuenth day we went ſouth, and ſouth by weſt all day and night, with a franke gale.

The eighe day we went ſouth, and ſouth by weſt all day, and night, with a franke gale.

The ninth day we went ſouth next hand all day, and night, with a franke gale.

The 10. day we went ſouth next hand, and ſouth by weſt, all day and night, leſſe wind.

The 11. day, being Sunday, in the forenoone, Captaine Hawkins, and Captaine Drake, came aboord, and dined with me. After dinner came the General, Maſter Maddox, Maſter Parker, Maſter Banniſter, Maſter Cotton, and diuers others, to viſite Maſter Walker, who ſickened the Friday before of a Callentura. After they had drunke, and eate ſome iunkets, they all departed to their charges. We went all day, and all night, ſouth, and ſouth by weſt among.

M. Walker ſicke of a Callentura.

The 12. in the afternoone, Maſter Maddox, Maſter Hall, Maſter Banniſter, and other, came aboord to viſite Maſter Walker. After a time of aboue with him, they returned to the Gallion all againe, except Maſter Maddox, who remained with Maſter Walker here aboord.

This night Maſter Maddox, and I, beheld we many conſtellations in the firmament, and ſitte downe certaine new ſtarres, raiſed to the ſouthwards. All day and night, we went ſouth, and ſouth by Eaſt among.

Obſeruation of the ſouth Hemiſphere.

The 13. at 6. in the morning, our millen tie brake, and the yard fell downe, many men being neere the ſame, yet God be thanked, it hurt no man, but it brake in peeces, and was ſpliced, and vp againe before noone.

This forenoone the General, M. Banniſter, Captaine Parker, M. Tailboyes, and others, came aboord, & viſited M. Walker, and went aboord the Gallion againe, & M. Maddox with them, leauing M. Banniſter with vs, til afternoone that ꝑ boate brought M. Maddox againe: then departed

Maſter

Master Bannister, Captaine Hawkins, and all, except Master Maddox, who still remained with Master Walker, who made his Will, this afternoone. We went all this day and night South by East, with a flawne sheete, and a franke gale. M. Walkers will made.

The 14. day afternoone, Master Walker was let blood againe: afterward, about 9. of the clocke, Master Maddox, and Master Bannister, went aboord the Gallion againe. Also the same forenoone, came the Master, and others of the Francis, to see master Walker, and in the afternoone Master Maddox, and Master Bannister, came againe to visite him. All this day, and night, wee went south by East, with a franke gale. Wind East northeast.

The 15. day afternoone, came Master Maddox, and Master Bannister, aboord, and brought a potion to Master Walker. Afternoone the Generall, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, Master Maddox, and others, came aboord to visite Master Walker, &c. All this daye, and night, wee went south by East our course, with a flowne sheete, all sailes drawing.

The 16. day we went our course south by East, till noone, and then by the Sunne finding our selues in vpwards of 17. degrees, we shaped our course south, and so went till next morning, with a large and franke gale. This morning the Sunne rose East by south, and to the southwards, and set the same night betweene the southwest by West, and the West southwest, rather to the southwards.

The 17. day afternoone, we shot off three peeces of Ordinance, in honour of our Queenes Maiestie, whome God preserue, and grant her a long life, and prosperous raigne ouer the Realme of England, and all other of vs her subiects. This day after dinner came Master Maddox, and Captaine Drake, with others, to take their leaue of Master Walker, as I, with all my companie had done before, supposing him past hope of recouerie. At 4. of the clocke, finding our selues in 19. degrees to the southwards of the line, and cleere of the shoales, called by vs Powles, we went hence south southwest all night following. 19. degrees of southerly latitude.

The 18. day, being Sunday, after dinner, the Generall, Master Maddox, Captaine Parker, & many other, came aboord, and visited Master Walker: which done, they dranke, & departed aboord againe. All this day, and night, we went our course southwest by south, with a franke gale.

The 19. day, about noone, the Sunne was our Zenith, being declined to the southwards, 21. degrees, and 33. minuts, where we found the aire fresh, and temperate, as in England in June, when a fresh gale of winde doth blowe in the heate of the day, but the euening, the night, and the morning, are more fresh, and colder here, then it is in England, either in June, or Julie. All this day, and night, we went our course southwest by south, with a good gale: the forenoone Master Bannister brought Master Walker a potion, and Captaine Hawkins came with him: there passed speeches betwixt Master Bannister, and me. Cold euenings

The 20. day we went all day, and all night, southwest by south our course, with a fresh gale, and coole weather, wind sometime northeast, and sometime East northeast.

The 21. day afternoone, we brought our best maine top saile to the yard, and cut thale for many vses: also we began to make a newe maine corse and bonnet, and fitted our stancions for our fights, vpon the vpper decks, as afte maste. This day and night, we went our course, with a franke gale, southwest by south.

The 22. day we went our course, southwest by south, till 8. of the clocke at night: then the wind shifted to the south southeast, so that we could lie but southwest by west, till 12. al night, with a good gale: the rest till day, was in a manner calme.

The 23. in the morning, it was raine, and calme, till 8. of the clocke, then we went West, with a small gale, till noone, and from noone, till the next morning, we went southwest by south, & southwest among, our course. Wind northeast.

The 24. day we went our course all day, and night, southwest, with a small gale.

The 25. being Sunday, in the morning, the Generall, and Captaine Parker, with Master Maddox, came aboord to visite Master Walker: which done, we perused our Masters and Pilots plats, and reckonings, and after I went aboord, and dined with the Generall, where after dinner, we also perused the Master, and Pilots charts and reckonings, aboord the Gallion, whereby wee founde our selues farre off the lande, and thought good to edge in with the shoare Southwest, least our water should faile vs, and then being becalmed farre of, might be for want distressed. After this determination, I returned aboord againe, and went all day, and night, our course Southwest.

The 26. day we went our course all day, and night, southwest: this euening the Admirall hailed vs, and told vs he would put into the Riuer De Plate.

The 27. day we went our course all day, and night, southwest next hand.

The

The 28. day little wind all the forenoone, at noone the wind shifted to the South, with raine, til 3. of the clocke afternoone: then it blewe at East southeast, till 4. in the morning: at 4. it changed to the East northeast. All this time we went our course southwest, except sometime we had a lache to the westwards, after the Admirall.

The 29. day at noone, wee altered our course to the West southwest, and so haled in with the land all night, being cleere weather, and a faire night, but a stoute gale all night.

Great cold in the latitude of 28. degrees.

The 30. being S. Andrewes day, and the last of November, at 5. of the clocke in the morning, we had much wind at South, and south by West, and very colde weather, which chooke vs into a coarse, and bonnet of each. At 4. of the clocke afternoone, the wind changed to the southwest, and blewe very much, and rained, being so cold, that we were glad to put on winter apparell. So wee stood close by northwest, and west northwest all night.

December.

The first of December, about five of the clocke in the morning, wee sawe lande on the coast of Brasile, in the height of 28. degrees, or there abouts, which bare northwest, and was 8. leagues from vs very high land. We stoode in with it, being much winde, and comming neere, found diuers Ilands: and seeing the Francis, would not come roome, nor runne a heade vs, we stoode in with the shoare, and sounded in 30. fathome oaze, three leagues off the lande, bearing from the West northwest to the north northwest of vs, and so stoode in till it shoalded orderly into seuen fathome, within a mile of a head lande: then perceauing a breach ouer our bowe, and no hope of a good harbour in that place, we bare vp roome, and our Admirall after vs, whome we haled: then he colde vs he would seeke harbour to Lee wards, requiring me to goe a heade. Then seeing the barke was a sterne, I hoised out my skiffe, and sette her maste and saile, taking her ging, and Tobias, one of my Masters Mates with me, and ranne before the shippe, sounding in 15. fathom faire land, leauing a ledge of rockes a sea boord of vs: so the shippes, and the barke looked vp vnder a head land, and ankered in eight fathome, halfe a mile off the land, hauing brought the head land, which lieth in 27. degrees, 50. minuts, south southeast of them, and the North land northeast of them.

The latitude of 27. degrees, 50. minuts.

I stoode on with the skiffe, hoping to find a better harbour to Lee ward three leagues, but it proued not so: wherefore I returned, and in my way aboord, I met with a rocke in the sea, where we landed, and killed good store of fowle, and after I went aboord the Admirall, where I presented him with fowle, and returned aboord to supper.

In this time our boates had bene a land, and found water, ballaste, and two decaied houses, as they told me, and our men aboord hooked fresh fishe. This night we rid quietly.

The second being Sunday, in the morning, our Generall, Captaine Hawkins, Master Maddox, and others, came aboord to visite Master Walker: during his being here aboord, a sudden qualme came ouer his stomake, which made him scowre vp, and downward: then I sent for Master Parker, and with him came Master Bannister: after he began to be a little better, we all, except the Generall, which remained sicke in my cabbin, went aboord the Gallion to dinner, which was appointed the night before. This forenoone our Masters moared our shippes further into the Baye.

At Baye.

Weles made by our men.

After dinner, Captaine Parker, with my boate, and company, went a lande, and there placed pipes, and made three Weles. In the meane time, I accompanied with Master Hawkins, Master Maddox, Master Cotton, and diuers of mine owne people landed farther within the Baye, and found two riuers of fresh water, and a good fishing place. Presently I sent a boord for my net, with which at one draught, we drew 600. great Mullets, and fiue great Bulles, the like draught was neuer seene with so small a net: with which we went aboord, giuing to the Admirall 240. to the Francis 80. and the rest our companie spent, and gaue Almightie God thankes for his great goodnes.

An exceeding great draught of fishe.

The woods set on fire by our men.

All this while was captaine Parker, and others, gone into the land, and fired the woods, which burned extremely: at length we all met, and supped aboord the Edward with mee, and after supper departed aboord to their charges. All this night we had faire weather.

The third day in the morning, our Carpenter calked without board, and the Master, and others, tooke vp all the merchandize in the sterne sheetes to the keele, and there put downe a boates loding of stone: and seeing the merchandize well conditioned, stowed the same againe: in the meane time, my selfe, and others in our boates, scraped off the wormes, and washed the rudder, and part of one side of our ship.

After dinner, the Master, Pilot, and I, went a shoare, and obserued the Sunne at noone, which being past, with our net wee drewe plentie of diuers sortes of fishes, and went from that Baye to the watering place: from thence, aboord the Generall, which had taken Phillicke, and gaue them

them and the Francis fille for their companes, and so went aboord, where our companie had romaged a fore mast, so that this afternoone we tooke in two boates more lading of stones afore masse.

The 4. day in the morning, I sent 30. men aland, some to cut hoopes, some to cut fire wood, and some to mend our maine sayle: the rest aboord emptied our caske, which was filled with sale water, to stiffen the shippe, and with Ordinance, and all our meanes trimmed her ouer to port, and lightned her stemme, that the Carpenter might the better come to the leake. After dinner we scraped and washed all her starboord side, and tooke in a boates loding of stones.

This afternoone the Generall sent for me to goe aland with him in his Pinnesse, with whome I went, and tooke my nette with mee, and there tooke good store of fishe, especially fishes called Dores: after we went to the watring place, and came aboord the sooner, because the Generall found himselfe sicke, whome I set aboord in my skiffe, and went aboord my selfe, and sent for our people from shoare, and gaue God thankes, and supped late. The necessarie vse of nets.

The 5. day betimes in the morning, we sent our sayle menders a shoare, and trimmed ouer our shippe to starboord, and washed the other side. In the meane while, our Cooper, and others, trimmed our caske, and others placed it in holde. Also we tooke in 2. boates loding more of stones, and some water, we flocked a sheate anker, and bent a newe cable, for it was very much winde, which hindred our busines greatly.

The 6. daye in the morning, before 6. of the clocke, wee sawe a sayle which went towards the southwards the Admirall not hauing knowledge thereof: I went aboord, and certified him, who appointed me to goe and bring her in, and to take Captaine Parker, and some of the Gallions men into the Fraucis, and the Admirals skiffe with vs: so wee gaue her chase, and tooke her fiue leagues to the Lewards of the place we rode in. Then not being able to fetch the roade againe, we ankered in the sea. I, intending to come away in the Pinnesse, and leaue the Francis, and the prize together, being readie to depart, the winde blewe at South, a stoute gale, and raine, so that about fiue of the clocke, we ankered in the roade where our ships rode in. A sayle seene and taken.

After we had taken them, and that Captaine Parker, and I, were aboord, we had much talke with them, before they came to the shippes, and being ankered there, the chiefe men were carried aboord the Generall, which was a Gentleman, named Don Francisco de Vera, Nephew to the Gouernour of the Riuer De Plate, named Don Iohn de Torre Vera.

We founde an Englishman, named Richard Carter, borne in Limehouse, who had bene out of England foure and twentie yeeres, and hath bene neere twelue yeeres dwelling in the Riuer of Plate, at a Towne named Ascension, three hundreth leagues vp in the Riuer, whither they were nowe determined to goe, and inhabite, hauing two women, and two yong children, seuen Friers, the rest boyes, and saylers, to the number of 21. persons. Richard Carter an English man taken in the prize. The number of 21. in the prize.

The olde Frier was had in great reuerence among the rest: insomuch that they called him the holie Father, he was abiding in no place, but as Visitor, he went visiting from Monasterie to Monasterie.

The substance of all the speeches was, that the Spanish Fleete was before at the Streights of Magellan, as they thought, for they were departed sixe weekes past from the Riuer of Genero, where they had beene seuen moneths to refresh and winter. And that these were not of that companie, but came out of Spaine, the 26. of May, 1582. in a Barke of foure score tunne, and foure score persons of purpose, for the Riuer of Plate: the Friers being eighteene in number, could not agree, and their Barke was a ground at Spirito santo, like to be lost: therefore the olde Frier bought this small barke of 46. tunne, at a port, named Spirito santo in Brasile, and so deuided themselues, and comming from thence, lost companie at sea, but they thought they were before at Riuer de Plate. After his speeches, I went, and appointed (by the Generals order) men to remaine aboord the prize, with Captaine Parker, and bought one of the Portingals sayles away with me, and came aboord, where I founde that our men had filled water all day.

The 7. day in the morning, the Generall sent for me, where he shewed me, and Master Maddox, certaine articles, which the Friers, and marriners Spaniards were examined of, which ended altogether to the knowledge of the Spanish fleetes intent, and of the meanes whereby wee might be discouered by way of Riuer de Plate, by land to Peru. In this time came the rest, after whose comming was debated, whether it were best to take the boate, and people with vs, or not, which was not determined, but referred till further examination.

Then was determined to passe by the streights, notwithstanding the Spaniards were there, but not to set vp forge, nor to build pinnesse, but water, and so thorough.

Further

Further, it was determined that Captaine Hawkins, Maſter Tailboys, Maſter Geffries, Maſter Hoode, Maſter Blackcoller, and two ſailers of each ſkippe, ſhould romage the prize: about the appointment of whome, grewe vnkinde, and hot ſpeeches, betweene the Generall, and Maſter Parker, againſt me, concerning authoritie, and gouernment, and alſo Captaine Hawkins finding himſelfe iniuried, was plaine with them both: ſo that we were beyond the termes of Commiſſioners, and fell to plaine brawling, and bragging: the circumſtances I omit, as too long, and vnfit to be written. Time being thus ſpent, the Generall called for wine, and ended all contentions, and ſo we dined there with him.

After dinner they ſearched the barke, and found in her diuers trifles, which are noted in a paper by themſelues. I went a filling, and came aboord, from whence the Generall fetched me, and went aboord to the old Frier in the barke: after we had talked with him, we came aboord, and there ſupped in the Edward with me, the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Parker, and Maſter Hall: wee debated of diuers cauſes before, and after ſupper, and ſo departed, with promiſe to dine with the Generall the next day.

This day alſo we tooke vp all the reſt of our Ordinance, and placed them, and tooke in a boates lading of ſtones, and filled water all day.

The 8. day afore noone, Maſter Walker, and I, went aboord the Admiral to dinner, where was determined to diſcharge the Spaniſh barke, named our Ladie of pitie, and all the men except Richard Carter, the Engliſh man, and Iohn Pynto, a Portingall, which dwelled at Riuer de Plate.

The Spaniſh barke diſmiſſed.

After dinner, the Generall appointed me, and Captaine Hawkins, to ſee them all ſet aboord their ſhip, and to receaue from them certaine neceſſaries, which willingly they imparted with vs, and to leaue them ſatiſfied. Which done, I returned aboord, and hauing deuided the neceſſaries to each ſhip his part, we entred into conſultation, where Maſter Walker propounded certaine queſtions to the Generall of vnkindnes, by me conceaued againſt him, which moued him to ſome cholerike termes with me, which I anſwered: and in the ende, all matters almoſt being agreed betweene vs, then began he to queſtion with Captaine Hawkins, which contention was tedious, and not fully ended before ſupper, & began againe after ſupper: ſo that about 10. of the clocke after ſupper, we came aboord.

In this morning before my going foorth, we trimmed our ſhippe ouer to port, and came to our leakes, and not being able to ſtop the ſame without boord, we ſtopped the ſame within boord, and after our men filled all our water caſke, laded, and placed all our Ordinance, and made all things ready to goe hence.

The 9. day being Sunday, in the morning, I ſent maſter Shawe, and maſter Geffries, aboord the Admirall, to peruſe the Spaniards letters, wherein they found the eſtate of the Fleete, which was in the Streights of Magellane, as by the note thereof appeareth.

About ten of the clocke, the Generall, maſter Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and Captaine Parker, came aboord of me, the Generall began to reproue my Quarter maſter, for grudging of victuall for the Francis, which was anſwered, and he wel ſatiſfied. Then ſent I for the old Frier, and Don Franciſco, who all dined with me, and after dinner, the Spaniards hauing receaued the Canow which was ſunke a land, and ſtones to ballaſt them, with my boate carried them, and all other things to their liking, and content, they departed from mee: the Generall alſo departed, and his companie, who being gone, I deuided the ſuger, and ginger among my people, which the Spaniards gaue vs, and after ſpent the day in ordinarie buſines.

Spaniſh preſents.

The 10. day in the morning, our ſkiffe went a filling, whereof we eate as much to ſupper, as ſerued the companie, the reſt we ſalted for ſtore, and to proue if they would take ſalt or not. In the afternoone our ſkiffe went againe to fiſhe, and tooke good ſtore: the reſt of our people tooke their eaſe, ſome aboord, and ſome on ſhoare.

The 11. day, betimes in the morning, our ſkiffe went againe to fiſhe, & tooke great plentye. About 7. of the clocke, I went a land, taking with me the M. & others of our beſt men, to the number of 22. perſons, & traueled to ꝑ place, where our people before had found many great iars of earth, & deuiſed habitations of the Indians, & trees being dead, and withered of ſweete wood. From that place, we ſaw ouer the tops of a narrow wood, a faire plaine, which at the requeſt of the M. and the reſt, I went with them to ſee. We paſſed through a thicke & perillous wood, before we came to the ſuppoſed plaine: & when we came to it, wee found the loweſt part thereof higher then any of our heads, and ſo mollie vnder foote, that we ſlipped to the knees many ſteps, which ſo wearied vs, that for my part, I was very ſicke, and ſo haſted aboord, leauing the Maſter with 15. men, which cut a tree of ſweete wood, and brought many peeces thereof aboord.

Things found in the Iſland.

About 3. afternoone, M. Walker, and many of our men being a ſhoare, the winde came faire, and

and we layd out a warpe to the Northeast, and began to winde a hedd: after we layd out another warpe with a bende, and wound to the platt, and so ridde by it one anker all night.

The 12. day about 5. a clocke in the morning, we set sayle, and as we ranne out betweene the ledge of rockes, & the mayne in 8. fadom water, as we were catting our anker, the cattrope, stopper and all brake, so that we were glad to let slip all the cable, and cast off our boate, and skiffe to way the same: after we had stood out a good way, the Admirall was vnder sayle, then cast we about, and went roome with the Admiral which weaned vs, who sent in his pinnesse, and the Francis to helpe out our boats, so by the helpe of the Admirals pinnesse, with her sayle, wee had our boate the sooner, and about 12. a clocke at noone taken in the anker, cable, our long boate, skiffe, and all, and put out all our sayles bearing after the Admirall, which went hence South by east. About 6. a clocke at night being thick weather we lost sight of ẏ land, being 4. leagues off or there about, 'all night it was but litle winde, yet went we our course South by west.

The 13. day about 7. a forenoone the wind blewe at South southeast, & was very fogge, with which gale we stood in larboord tacked west, till 10. a clock the same forenoone: then had we sight of the land a hedd, all along (for it waxed cleere weather) it sheweth a farre off, like white cleeues, but is all sandy hilles, and bayes along the sea side: at one a clocke afternoone we were in 16. fadom water and within halfe a league of the shoare, where we saw seuerall fires made by the Indians to giue warning to the other people within the land as we supposed: then we cast about, and stood off, Southeast by east till midnight, that the wind came large: then went wee our course, South by west til next morning.

The 14. day we went our course South by west hauing sight of the land at 6. a clocke in the morning about 7. leagues off, and so went till 6. at night that we saw lande againe, 7. leagues off west, and the wind shifted to the South: then we cast about and stood off East southeast at 7. at night for a while, then came vp the wind at Northwest and blew a good.

This day at 8. a clocke at night we had a prety gale and went our course with it til 12. after, it was in maner calme all night.

The 15. day in the morning, the Admirall was a hedd, as farre as we could almost see her, by whose default I know not, & being litle wind we could not get to her, till 4. a clocke afternoone, then we hayled her, and stood in betweene the South southwest, and the southwest til 6. at night that the wind was variable, and foule weather: then we cast about, and sounded in 23. fadom soft oaze, and stood off a while Northeast: and presently cast about againe, and went south by east larboord tacked, and south southeast among all night: at 4. in the morning 15. fadom sande.

The 16. day being Sunday we saw the land within 3. leagues of vs at 6. a clocke in the morning, at 8. a clocke we cast about and went Northeast till 11. the same forenoone, then wee stood along south by west stil within 3. or 4. leagues of the shoare, and in 12. fadom water, sand about 2. a clocke, the wind larged, so we went south by east: at 6. a clocke we were 6. leagues off the lande which bare west southwest of vs, and was in the 23. fadom, after the wind came vp at Northeast: so we went all night South with our sheats hayled of: a cleere night of starres but cold weather. The Sunne set this night at southwest by west, and to the Northwards a litle, and rose the next morning East by south, and to the Southwards.

The 17. day we went our course South til ii. a clocke afternoone: then the wind scanting we lay betweene the Southeast, and the East southeast, til the next day morning with litle winde.

The 18. day aforenoone, being calme yet a boylting sea, we tooke in all our sayles, and mended them, and riued newe mayne tides, and repaired many decayes, as a Ramme head &c. at 7. a clocke at night it began to blowe at southeast, & so we lay by larboord tacked, southwest by south, and South southwest all night with a good gale.

The 19. day we stood in next hand southwest all day and night.

The 20. day about 10. a clocke aforenoone, we went aboord the Admirall: viz. Master Walker the Master, the Pylot, the two Marchants, and my selfe, being directed so to do by the Geneneral; vpon our comming the Generall was going to dinner where we also dyned with him: hauing dyned, the General called vs his Assistants into his cabben, and there deliuered to vs in writing two demands, to bee by vs considered vpon, and he to haue our opinions therein.

The effect of the demands were these.

1. Whether it was best for vs to aduenture our selues to passe the Steights of Magelan or not, considering the force of the enemy, which we knew to be there before vs: and also that our determination was there to set vp our pinnesse, make yron hoopes, carrene our ships, and do all our necessary businesses for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

2. Demand was, if that course were not thought best, which way were meetest for vs to take.

To the first we were of opinion, that it were good to heare the opinions of Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Drake, & the 2. pylots, which had passed the streights, and knew the harbors, and likest places to be fortified, & inhabited or not, who were called, and the 3. Masters with them: their opinions were as diuers as their names, & almuch differed, as before this time they weare wont vsually to do: only they all agreed in this one point, ỹ it was impossible for vs to passe ỹ streights without seeing, and incountring with the ships although the fortifications of the lande did not annoy vs, which being long and throughly debated, and their opinions with the 3. Masters demanded, which accorded not scant any one with other, they were dismissed.

Then the General receiued the opinions of vs his Assistants: beginning with the yongest in aucthority first, which when he had harde them all ouer, & being set downe in writing vnder our hands, he tooke deliberation till after supper to giue his determination.

When we had all supped then he sent for vs downe into his cabden and deliuered in writing his determination, which was) to victuall, and furnish our selues on this coast before he proceded any further, and named 2. places River de Plate, or S. Vincent to be chosen.

Richard Carter the Englith man taken in the pyle, caried along with them.

For the better deciphering of Riuer de Plate, and the commoditis therof, was called before vs Richard Carter, which doth dwel there, who could not assure vs of any wine except we could stay 4. moneths for it, but other victuals plenty: the riuer shoale & dangerous, ỹ road 7. leagues from any towne, or place of commoditie: which considered with the trecherie that might from thence be vsed, into the Streights by sea, & into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited with Portingals, and where in honest sort we might conueniently haue all our busines done.

They returne in the latitude of 33.

With this resolution we tooke our leaues about 8. a clocke at night, & being come aboord presently bare vp, & went roome, hauing all the day before beate vp the winde larboord tacked East southeast til at night: after it was a litle winde all night, we went North next hande.

The 21. day after seruice, I declared vnto my company, the intent of our returne to the Port of S. Vincent, wherewith they were wel satisfied being before doubtfull that we should not proceede, but returne without performance of our voyage. It continued calme all day till 6. at night, then we went Northwest by west, till 8. at night: and then we cast about, and stood off East southeast, and East by South all night with a good gale.

John Drake in the Francis went to the riuer of Plate wherein his ship was cast away, but the men gatt to land, and liued 15. moneths among the Sauages.

The 22. day in the morning, we missed the Francis, which by all presumption went roome in the beginning of the night.

About sixe afternoone we cast about, and stood in Northwest, till sixe a clocke at night: then we went about, and stood of East by South, and East Southeast among all night, till foure a clocke next morning.

The 23. day at foure a clocke in the morning, we cast about, and stood in West northwest, and West by north, till twelue at noone: Then we stoode about larboorde tacked a while, and presently the winde came large, so we went North by east, & North northeast all day & night following.

The 24. day we went North northeast, and North by east, til one a clocke after midnight: then we cast about, and stood of East southeast, and Southeast by east, all the rest of the night.

The 25. day being Christmas day, it was little winde in the forenoone till ten a clocke, then it blewe a fresh gale, with which we went our course North northeast: in the afternoone it was lesse winde: yet went we our course North by east, and North northeast and North and North by west till midnight. Then being in shoaled water, wee cast about, and lay South southeast, and Southeast by south an houre, & seeing our Admiral came not after vs, we cast about back againe & presently met him, so we went both together next hand South southeast, al the rest of the night.

Infinite number of fishe.

This afternoone we saw the skimme of fishes so chicke in the sea, that it seemed a water troubled with trampling of horses, which was thicke, and slimy, for we had taken vp some of it.

The 26. day at 7. afternoone we cast about, and stood in North by west, and North northwest: about 11. at noone we saw the Land which lay Northwest of vs 4. leagues, at one a clocke wee cast about, and stood of Southeast with a South gale all night.

The 27. day we stood off into the sea betweene the Southeast, and the East by North all day and night with a foule gale of wind at North.

The 28. day it was calme all the forenoone till 12. a clocke then we went West northwest: during this calme we tooke in our mayne Sayle and toppe sayles, and mended them: all the day and night following much winde.

The 29. day we went West northwest with a south gale, till 6. a clocke at night: then it thundred, lightned and rained, the winde almost calme and shifting, where with we went all night, betweene the East, and the North northeast.

The

The 30. day being Sunday, after Sermon, dinner, and obseruation of the Sunne at noone, we hoysed out our skiffe: the Master, M. Walker, and I went aboord the Admirall where wee had a banket of sweete meates: after that ended, the General and I fell into familiar conference seuerall by our selues of the state of our voyage, & debated long of the same in good sort: then being neere 4. of the clocke we tooke our leaues, & came aboord, & tooke in our skiffe, and went North northwest till 8. at night, then we cast about, and went southeast, and southeast by south al night smooth sea, much fogge.

The 21. & last of October at 6. afternoone we cast about, & stood in northeast til 5. afternoone: then seeing the land 3. leagues off vs, we cast about, & stood off east southeast al night with litle winde.

The first day of January, we had litle wind all day and night, but we layd our course withall next hand North northeast. January.

The 2. day, our foretoppmast being perished, we tooke it downe, & the cap of ỹ Mast, which the Carpēter wrought vpon al day, & night: we set our course next hand, north northeast litle wind.

The 3. day we went our course till 11. a clocke at night North by east, then the wind scanted, & we stood off East southeast till 4. next morning.

The 4. day at 4. a clocke afternoone we went Northnext hand, till 5. a clocke at night, hauing runne in sight of land all day, then being in 15. fadom water within 2. mile of the shoare, we cast about and stood of South southeast, and Southeast all night, with a reasonable gale.

This afternoone we set vp our foretopmast againe, being wel mended.

The 5. day at 9. a clocke afternoone, we cast about: & whereas all the morning before we went Southeast by east now we went North till 5. afternoone: then being in sight of land, 3. leagues short of the place were we were the day before at that time we cast about, and went Southeast all night with a stout gale of wind. This afternoone our mainetopsayle split from the boltropes, and was greatly torne wich we got downe, and began to mende.

The 6. day after dinner we gatt vp our mainetopsaile againe, and went all day and night, betweene the southeast, and the East by south with much winde.

The 7. day we went between the east by south, & the east all the day & night with a stoute gale.

The 8. day we went next hand, East til 5. a clocke afternoone, then we cast about, and stood in Northwest, and betweene that and the West all night.

The 9. day after we had stricken and mended our mainesayle we went north by east, litle wind for a while, but afternoone it blew a stout gale: so we went our course all day, and night next hand North northeast.

The 10. day we went all day and night our course North northeast with a stout gale of wind.

The 11. day we went our course North, and North by east all day, and night with a stout gale of winde.

The 12. day we went betweene the north, and the Northwest till 12. at midnight: then we being neere the land cast about, and stood of East northeast till 4. in the morning.

The 13. day we went about after 4. a clocke in the morning, and stood in west hauing sight of the lande West by north till one a clocke afternoone: then being within 4. leagues of the shoare: where we saw a white pinnacle like a watch towre, which bare West northwest of vs: we cast about and stood off east, till 10. a clocke at night litle winde.

About 3. a clock this afternoone I hoysed out my skyffe and sent her with the Master, & Pylot aboord the Admiral, to conferre with them there, who shewing them that I was not well at ease, caused the General, M. Maddox, and Captaine Parker, to come aboord and visit me, where they supped: & hauing had some conference with him about our dealings at S. Vincent &c. he departed and the skiffe brought the Master & Pylot aboord againe who supped aboord the Gallion.

At 10. a clocke the winde came large and we went all night betweene the Northeast by east, and the Northeast to goe cleare of the land we saw ouer night.

The 14. day in the morning it was hayslie and thicke weather, so we sawe not the land till 9. a clocke in the forenoone, vntill which time we hailed in West northwest: but then seeing lande beare North northwest of vs we stood hence east northeast til 7. a clocke at night: then our Admirall would needs come to anker vpon the bed land, but I thought it not best and lay close by all night, so that at 6. a clocke in the morning we were 4. myles to wyndward of her.

The 15. day we plyed off and on in the entrance of the bay, and got litle or nothing all day and night, but kept sight of our Admiral which ridde at anker till 12. at noone: then set sayle, and lay close by the wind as we did.

The 16. day hauing turned to winde wards all night before, we found our selues in the morning a league to leewards of the place, where we were ouernight by the shiftings of the winds to

our disaduantage, this forenoone about tenne a clocke we mett a change of waters, which runne out South southeast into the sea which wee supposed to be some freshet which came out of the Bay, and lyeth along the coast North northeast and South southwest with a great difference both of course and sweling.

This afternoone we stoode in North northeast, into eighe fadomes and a halfe on the West side of the Bay, and about 4. a clocke we stood out againe South southeast, in hope to see our Admiral, whose sight we lost the night before, but seeing we went so fast to leewards we ankred at 7. a clocke under a small Iland, a myle off West from our ship caped East northeast, & Northeast most part of the night, which we iudge was some streame which came y way, for it was litle wind.

The 17. day about 7. a clocke the Master, master Biaccoller, and I went in our skiffe and rowed, and sounded round about the Ile, and found 16. fadomes within a stones cast hard aboord the shoare, and faire ground: after we landed, and found nothing but woods and bushes, and strange wormes: we saw a faulcon, and one other small birde, and therefore named it Faulcon Ile: it is ample about, with a rocke on the East side, which lyeth close to it, and it is in sight without danger, after we came aboord, and dyned, at two a clocke, we set saile with winde Southeast, & ranne in Northeast a while till the winde shanged: then we went in North northeast, till we were in 7. fadome and a halfe of water, within a league of the shoare: then we cast about, and stood off south southeast all night till 6. a clocke next morning.

A small Iland which our men called Faulcon Ile.

The 18. day at 6. a clocke a forenoone we cast about and stood in North by east, North northeast, and sometime Northeast, being sometime a gale, sometime calme: about three a clocke aforeday we saw our Admirall againe, and kept her company till day.

The 19. day being within a league of the Citron Ile about 8. a clocke a forenoone we went aboord the Generall viz. M. Walker, the Master, the Pylot, and my selfe reioycing of our good meeting, who tolde me of their euil roade, where they lost an anker, a cable and a hawser: and how the day before their Pynnesse was a shoare on the same Iland and found fowle, and water there, whither now they had sent their boats, and Pinnesse for more water, where I knowe they had small store.

Citron Ile.

I also taking captaine Parker, the Master, and M. Wilkes with me went a shoare, & trauelled to the top of the Ile, which is wooded, & high gras, but euil water, & little on it, but yong fowle plenty, & dangerous comming to them. By this time I hauing set the Iles, & bed lands about in sight with a compasse, came a smal gale, at South southeast, then our Admiral shot off a peece for the boats & hence he went, & I dyned aboord with him: & came after aboord, and went in North northeast and Northeast til morning, at which time we were within a league of the Ile, entring before S. Vincent, but knew not how much water was vpon the barre to goe ouer.

Their arriuall at S. Vincent.

The 20. day in the morning being calme, the Generals pinnesse came into the shoare, with intent to sound the entrance, but seeing 3. Canows with each at the least 20. men, wherof the greater part were naked Indians which rowed, the rest Portingals, they returned aboord againe: the Canowes came with a flagge of truce vnto calling of our ship, & we shewed them the like, asking what we weare & of what nation, at length one Portingall went aboord the Admiral, by whom the General sent a letter to the Gouernor craning a Pylot to bring in our ship of curtesie and to haue traffike. About noone hauing the wind at South we bare in Northwest, & so to the Northeast as the chanel trended: but coming into 7. fadom water we ankred, vntil our boats had sounded the barre. During which time I went aboord y Admiral to conferre wth him about our proceedings.

3. Canowes of Portingals and Indians.

After I had staied a while aboord the Admiral the General came aboord with me, where wee published vnto all my company very good rules for their behauior & profit, to their great satisfaction: after he went downe into my cabbin, where with al his assistants he conferred of diuers particulers of our voyage: by which time the boate being returned from sounding, we departed, & set saile following our skiffes, and with our ships got within the barre into 7. fadome, then being becalmed ankred againe before a sandy bay, wherein standes a Castle and houses: wee rid within musket shot of it: and ankred about 4. a clocke afternoone.

Then went I forwards with my skiffe vntill a farther point, sounding along: before my returne, the General had sent for me to supper, & thither I went: but being redy to sit downe there came out to vs a Canow wherein were 10. Indians and ii. christians, the one an auncient Genoa the other a Portingal, who came aboord, & there receiued a smal banket, declaring their comming was to vnderstand our intents and what we sought, who being satisfied departed with a farewell of three great peeces from each ship.

A Canow with 10. Indians and ii. christians wherof one was an old Genoois.

Then went we to supper, and after I got me aboord being weary, but before I went to bedde came diuers complaints vnto me of the euil speeches & practises vsed by Thomas Russell, which I

partly

partly examined before Maſter Walker, the Maſter, and M. Ieffries, and finding cauſe of correction, I committed him to the bilbowes, vntill further leaſure to examine the cauſe: ſo placing a carefull watch with charge to haue care of the ſande, we paſſed ꝧ night very wel, God be prayſed.

The 21. day betimes in the morning, I went aland in the ſkiffe, and tooke good plentie of freſh fiſh on the North ſide: for we prooued on the South ſide and found litle or none. At nine a clocke after ſeruice, I ſent to bury Robert Reſe, one of the Maſters mates, which died this morning: and alſo after dinner died Griffyn who was there buried.

After dinner I conferred with the Maſter and Pilot about the choyſe of another Mate for them, but concluded that father Kyd ſhould be aſſiſtant in the watch, but no Maſters mate more.

Alſo in the preſence of the Maſter, M. Walker, the Pilot, M. Ieffries, M. Shawe, and Tobias the Maſters mate, was Thomas Ruſſell examined, and his accuſers, which examinations were written by M. Walker, and reſt to be further conſidered of hereafter.

About three a clocke after noone, came a Canoa, with the old Genouoys, named Ioſeph Dory, a Fleming named Paul Badeues, and Steuen Repoſe a Portingale, and brought a letter from the Generall, and withall anſwere of feare and doubtes of vs, &c. After many ſpeeches and requeſts a banket was made them, and the Generall in his Pinneſſe with his muſike, and trumpets, and I in my Skiffe with trumpets, drum and fife, and taboy, and pipe, accompanied them a mile vp the riuer: at going off, ſaluted them with a voiye of three great peeces out of eche ſhip: and after vs came Captaine Parker with the Admirals long boat, and certaine ſhot in the ſame, to attende on the Generall. So we returned aboorde the Edwarde, and then ſupped together, and made our ſelues merry, and after ſupper they departed. John Whitehalle an Engliſhman which dwelleth at Santos, hath married this Ioſeph Dories daughter.

The 22. day betimes in the morning, I went aboord the Admirall to conferre about the ſending of ſome token and preſent to the Gouernour, which was by all the Aſſiſtants determined to ſend him three yards of fine ſcarlet, and three yards of fine murrie cloth, and to Ioſeph Dory the old Genouoys, Steuen Repoſe the Portingale, & to Paul Badeues the Fleming, eche of them three yards of fine blacke cloth, which our marchants went vp to Santos withall, in the Admirals Skiffe, about nine a clocke afternoone. Santos.

Alſo this afternoone we being minded to goe vp higher with our ſhippes into harbor, I aduiſed them to goe view the place, and ſound the road before we went vp, which we did, where were found the place both vnconuenient, and the road worſe, and ſo we returned and left the firſt determination. This day we tooke downe our maine tops, and top maſte, and all the ſhrowds.

About two a clocke afternoone our marchants returned with their preſents, not hauing bene at the Towne becauſe Steuen Repoſe by the way met them on the Riuer, and aduiſed them to ſtay vntill there had bene worde ſent to the Gouernour, who was vnwilling to ſpeake with them yet, but ſhortly would ſend their anſwere.

The reſt of this afternoone, wee ſpent in communication about the appointing of a Purſer, for the Edward. Alſo we ſigned an aſſent for comming to this place: about which thing grewe foule ſpeeches betweene the Generall, and his Lieutenant after the olde cuſtome. After being at leaſure I reuealed vnto him Ruſſels offences.

Then went we to ſupper, and being at ſupper, certaine Indians came aboorde, and brought the Generall a ſtrange Crowe, and Potatos, and Sugar canes, to whom he gaue looking glaſſes, great pins, and biſket, and ſo we departed being late. Alſo this afternoone I ranne ouer towards Saint Vincent, and ſounded the Bay a league ouer, and found the chanell and flats and returned aboorde againe within two houres, hauing a good gale of winde. The Indians preſents. The chanell of S. Vincent ſounded.

The 23. day our Skiffe went a ſhoare to fiſh, and tooke prettie ſtore: we ſent our mayne top a ſhoare to be mended, and many of our men to waſh their clothes: alſo I went my ſelfe with them aland, to take order, that no man ſhould any wayes offend the Indians. In the meane time the Generall with all the reſt of the chiefeſt Gentlemen, came a ſhoare, and viewed the place, and appointed out the fitteſt roome, to ſet vp our ſmithes forge, and ouens to bake our biſket, & place for our coopers to trim our water caſke.

After the well peruſing of the place, and ſome familiar conference with the Indians, the Generall, M. Parker, M. Walker and I came aboorde, and dyned in the Edward: after dinner wee had ſome priuate conference, and about one a clocke they went aboorde the Gallion: I ſpent the reſt of this day in putting many things in order.

The 24. day at foure a clocke before day, we heard one call for a boate on the North ſhoare, to whome I ſent my Skiffe, who brought aboorde one named John Whitehall an Engliſh man, which is married here in this place, and with him two of his Indians: whom I interteined vntil I ſent worde to the Generall to prepare himſelfe to receiue him, in which time he and I talked of John Whitehall.

many ſeuerall particulers.

Good counſell giuen by the foreſaid Engliſhman to our men.

About ſixe a clocke I conueyed him aboorde the Admirall: there he diſcouered vnto vs, what had bene done at the Towne, as fortification, and ſending their wiues away, &c. aduiſing vs to receiue no more delayes, but to come vp preſently before the Towne with our ſhippes.

About ten a clocke, came a canoa, and brought downe Ioſeph Dory, and Steuen Repoſe, who tolde vs that on Saturday the Gouernour would meete our Generall, and talke with him, praying vs in the meane time to vſe our ordinarie buſines of cooperage, carpenters worke, filling water, fiſhing, and waſhing, &c. but not to ſet vp forge, nor ouen, vntill ſpeech had with our Gouernour. After this anſwere we dyned together aboorde the Gallion: After dinner we left the Meſſengers ſitting in the cabbin, and went vpon the poop, where the Generall demaunded the aduiſe of his aſſiſtants, whether it were not beſt to ſlay theſe men while we had them or not, or whether it were beſt to goe vp with our ſhips to the Towne or no.

Whereunto euery man paused to make anſwere: wherefore I deliuered my opinion, which was, that we were forbidden to vſe violence to any nation for trade.

The opinion of London ſometime vſed for traffike.

Secondly, I conſidered that diuers of our nation worſhipfull marchants, and nowe aduenturers in this voyage, had ſet out the Pinion hither, and begun a trade, which with our forcible dealing might be ſpoyled, and our nation brought in hatred.

Laſtly, that with force we were not like to attaine to ſo much commoditie, as we were in poſſibilitie to haue with courteſie.

Hereupon all was concluded, and they ſuffered to paſſe away: to whome the Generall gaue the three cloke clothes, to Ioſeph Dory, to Paul Baudeueſe, and to Steuen Repoſe, to euery of them one, which were before cut out for them: and ſo friendly we and they departed about two a clocke afternoone: which done, I went aboorde, and prepared for the entertainement of certaine of the Gallions men, which determined to ſup with me.

Three Spaniſh ſhips diſcouered.

About foure a clocke this afternoone we ſawe three ſayle of ſhips come bearing in about the point, which aſſoone as they ſawe vs, ankred vpon the barre, and put themſelues in readines, ſending from one ſhip to another with their boats, and blowing off their ordinance, meaning to take vs: and we before night, getting our men and other neceſſaries from the ſhoare which were buſie aland, armed our ſhips to defend our ſelues. Then went I aboord ẏ Admiral to know what he meant to doe: who determined to ſet his watch in warlike ſoyle, and ſo hee did, for after the trumpets and drumme had ſounded he ſhot off a great piece, as they before had done: And preſently the Viceadmirall ſhot at me, whome I anſwered with another, and ſo ceaſed. We then ſet vp our mayne top, and top maſte rigged before 11. clocke the ſame night: In the meane while they let ſlip their ankers and cables, and came driuing and towing with their boats in vpon vs meaning to haue boarded vs: and being neere our Admirall he hailed them, who refuſed to tell of whence they were, thinking by ſpending of time to get aboorde of him, to whome I called ſtill to beware, and to ſhoote at them in time. At length he let flee at them, yet was glad to let an anker and cable ſlip to auoyde them: then came they all driuing downe thwart my hawſe, ſo that I was faine to let ſlip an anker and cable to ſhun the Gallion: all this while the ordinance & ſmall ſhot plyed of all parts, and I was faine to ſend the Gallion my Skiffe with a hawſer to ride by, for ſhe was looſe, and with the flood draue vp within me. Then was the Viceadmirall on my broad ſide who was well payde before, yet I left not gawling of him, till I thought our pouder ſpent in vaine to ſhoote at him, he was ſo torne and broken downe by vs. About foure a clocke it rayned ſo faſt, that we could ſcant diſcerne one the other the Moone being gone downe, yet ryd the Admirall, and the Reareadmirall, but a little ahead of vs: during which time we pauſed, and made ready all our munition.

The fight betwixt the Engliſh, 3 Spaniſh ſhips at S. Vincent.

The Spaniſh Viceadmirall ſunke by the Engliſh.

The 25. day, by day light, we ſawe the Viceadmiral ſunke hard by vs, ſo that his yards which were hoyſed acroſſe, and his tops, and that ouer head was aboue water: moſt of their men were gotten away in their boats, ſauing about fourtie perſons which hung in the ſhrowds, and tops, whom I aduiſed our Generall to ſend for away, and had made ready, and well manned our Pinneſſes: but being vpon the way going, the General called them backe, and would not ſuffer them to goe: there were three of their boats alſo going for them from their ſhippes, at whome I ſhot, and made them to retyre and leaue them vpon the ſhrowds. At length our Generall ſent for two of the men away, which his Pinneſſe brought to him, the one was heaued ouer boorde becauſe he was ſore hurt not like to liue, and he was a Dardillian, the other was a Greeke borne in Zante, boatſwaine of the Viceadmirall: the reſt of the men, ſome ſwamme away vpon rafts, ſome were drowned, and ſome remained ſtill hanging on her. By this time it was fayre day light,

This Greeke tolde the Generall, that there were 600. and odde in the three Spaniſh ſhips

and

and I called to our Generall to waye, and driue downe to them, who required mee to goe first and anker on their quarter, and hee would followe, and anker on their bowes. I waued, and went downe, & ankred by them, yet not so neere as I meant, for the ebbe put me off to the Northwards. There ryd I alone spending shot at them, and they both at mee foure houres, before our Admirals anker would come vp, during which time I had some spoyle done, but when our Admirall came, she had her part, and eased me very well.

At length our Admiral began to warpe away, and being come without mee set sayle, and began to stand out into the Sea: I went aboorde of him to knowe his pleasure, who determined to get out of shot, but could not because the winde scanted on them: the Edward before she could get vp her ankers endured many more shot, after the Gallion was further off a good way then shee, and sometime the Gallion had two or three: thus we ended about two a clocke afternoone. The rest of this day and part of the night we spent in mending, fitting, and putting our ordinance and furniture in order for the next morning, thinking they would haue bene with vs.

The 26. day in the morning wee could not see them, because they were gone vp the River: wee manned our boats, and Pinnesses, and wayed two ankers, and one cable that they let slippe the night before: as our men were waying the third anker, the booprope brake, and so wee lost that anker. Our Admirall had an anker of twelue hundreth, and a good cable of eleuen inches, and wee had an anker about sixe hundreth, with a piece of a base cable, and booprope nothing worth.

After dinner I went aboorde the Admirall, to conferre with him, who determined to goe off to Sea, and thither I carried Senior Pinto, to interprete the Indian language, with an Indian named Peter, which fledde from the Bay where wee ryd in a canoa, and brought with him a Spaniards caliuer, flaske, and touchboxe, to goe with vs, whome our Admirals boate met, and brought him aboorde to the Admirall. Hee tolde vs that the Spaniards had brought many dead men on lande and buryed them, and also landed many hurt men in their Bay, and that there were certaine Spaniards gone ouer thorowe the woods to looke after vs. Then the Generall, Captaine Hawkins, and Master Maddox came aboorde of mee to viewe my hurt men, and harmes of my shippes, both men, shippe, and tackle, and I also went aboorde him to peruse his hurtes, who had but one man slayne slaine.

The 27. day wee set sayle, and ran South by east, and sometime North by east.

The 28. day in the morning died Lancelot Ashe of a hurt, who departed very godly. This day we stoode to the Northwards, and in getting in our ankers and skiffe, wee were put three leagues to leewarde of Fiddle Ile, but the Gallion ryd still.

The 29. day in the morning, seeing my selfe put to sea from the Admiral, I assembled Master Walker, Master Shawe, Master Ieffries, the Master, the Masters mate, and the Pilote, to whome I shewed, that I was desirous to goe backe to seeke our Admirall, whereunto the master Pilot, and Masters mate answered directly, that we could not fetch the Ile where wee left them, and to meete them in going backe it was very unlikely and to vs dangerous many wayes, aswell for falling into the laps of the Spaniards, as to bee put on a lee shoare: Whereupon all the rest aduised mee to stand off into Sea, whereunto I assented, remembring withall, that time spent consumed victuall, and howe long we had beaten vp and downe in the same Bay before, to get in with calmes and contrary windes. Here the Gallion and the Edward Bonaventure were seuered, and neuer met afterward.

Thus we concluded that Master Walker should set downe each mans opinion, and we set to our hands, and from henceforth he to keepe a Register of all our proceeding, as Master Maddox doth aboord the Admirall.

The 30. day our Carpenters wrought in repairing the sides of our ship, which were somewhat hulsed, and torne with shot.

The 31. day the like was done, and we went East southeast.

The first day of February, we went East by south, and East southeast with a stout gale: and went the same course the 3. 4. and 5. dayes following. Februarie.

The 5. day about 10. a clocke in the forenoone Master Walker dyed, who had bene weake and sicke of the bloody flix 6. dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and prised them, and heaued him ouer board, and shot a piece for his knell. M. Walker the preacher dieth.

From the 6. day to the 11. day we went Northeast and North northeast.

The 12. day hauing considered the lacke of water, the company were contented to haue the pease boyled, with three iacks of freshe water, and two iacks of salte water, for the prolonging of the same.

The

The 13. day we went North with a sweete gale.

The 14. day I called into my cabbin the two marchants, the Master and the Pilot shewing them our wants of victuals and other necessaries, whereupon they and I concluded, that it was best for vs to returne to our Countrey, with as little losse of time and expense of victuals as might be, being without hope of reliefe vpon this coast, and yet to keepe the coast of Brasill to friende for feare of extremitie.

The 15. and 16. dayes we went our course Northeast.

The 17. day in the morning hauing much raine, we saued aboue two tunne of water, of which we were very glad.

Variation of the compasse. The 18. day I obserued the variation of the compasse, which varied one point, and a halfe to the Southwards, by our ordinarie compasse of London.

From the 19. day to the 27. we went our course Northeast, and North, as the winde serued.

The 27. day, I allowed a certaine portion of wine to our men, to wit, halfe a canne of wine to euery sixe men euery night at eight of the clocke, at the setting of the watche, to strengthen their weakenesse.

M. Wylks death. The 28. day M. William Wylks hauing bene sick of the flixe a moneth before, grewe impatient and outragious in his disease, but by prayer and good perswasions we recouered him to his former good and quiet minde, and at night after nine a clocke he meekely departed the seruant of God.

March. The 1. of March wee heaued him ouer boord, and gaue him a piece.

The 2. day the Master, Pilot, and I, agreed to fetch the Ile of Fernando Lorona.

From the 3. day to the 10. day we went West, and by South, and ran in for the shoare.

The 10. day we sawe the land, which was sandy hilles with woods on it.

The 11. day seeking to goe a shoare, we sawe foure men, which weaued to vs with a white shirte, and we weaued to them with a flag of truce: At length one of them swamme to our boats side, and there lay in the sea talking with vs, almost an houre: in the ende, being partly perswaded by Pinto, who talked with them in the Indian tongue, and partly entised with such trifles as I shewed him, he came into our Skiffe, and called to his companions on shoare, who came aboord swimming: we deliuered them certaine barricos to fetch vs them full of fresh water: after, there came downe 40. Indians, boyes, women, and men, and with them a French boy, but the former Indians deceiued vs of our barricos. Whereupon Pinto and Russell swamme a shoare to seeke water, but found none.

The same day we sayled to a place where boats might land, and I went a land in my Skiffe, and found the Indians, and Frenchman which were with me the day before, and they brought our three barricos ful of fresh water: for which I rewarded them with some trifles. In ỳ meane time our boate went a shoare, and our men with some of the Indians brought vs twentie barricos more of fresh water, and I my selfe went to shoare and brought 23. hennes of India.

The 12. day betimes in the morning, we manned our boate and Skiffe, & tooke some trifling things to shoare, and barricos: at our first arriuall the rude Indians flocked together, wading to the Skiffe wherein I was, begging, and wondring about vs: First I caused them to fetch 27. barricos of water, whom I rewarded with small belles, &c. In the meane time they brought hens to me, wading to the Skiffe, for I kept my selfe alwayes a float, and for their hens I gaue them a knife, and a small looking glasse. All this while M. Blackcoller our Pilot, Thomas Russell, Marke Thawghes were still on shoare, and would not tarry aboord: In the ende, fearing some

Treason of the Indians. treacherie, because all the Indians were slipped on shoare from me, I called our men away, and suddenly they laide hands on our men a shoare, & with their bowes shot thicke at vs in the boats, and waded into the water to vs, laying hands on our Skiffe, yet God of his mercy deliuered vs from their hands, with the losse of fiue men slaine, and others hurt.

Thus we got aboord with fourtie hens, Ducks, Turkies, and Parrats, and three hogsheads

Iaques Humfrey a Frenchman saued. of water: and I carried a Frenchman aboord with me, named Iaques Humfrey, who was by chance in the boate with me when this frap began.

The 13. day we set sayle, and went Northeast.

The 14. day, the Master shaped our course North northeast, to recouer the coast of Guyny, then the next shoare to vs.

The 15. day we went the same course.

The 16. day it rained, and we saued a butte of water

The 17. day we tooke three sharks in the morning.

From that day to the first of Aprill, we went our course, sometime with raine, and sometime with

with variable winds, and so til the 4. of April, which day wee saw foure byrds with long tailes, which houered about the ship, and in the afternoone we sawe and tooke vp many weedes which came cleane in the sea, which wee iudged to bee driuen with the East windes from the ies of Cape verde.

From this day till the 11. day wee went our course sometime Northeast, sometime Northwest according to the winds: vpon this 11. day George Cope one of our carpenters, hauing the night before broken vp the hold, and stolen wine, and drunken himselfe drunke, being taken in the roome, lept ouerboord out of the beake heade, and so drowned himselfe: this day and night we went betwixt the North by West, and the North with much winde. A desperate act.

The 12 day wee sspyed our foremast to bee perished in the hownes, and durst not beare our fore sayle vpon him but went hence with our sayles next hand, North all day, and night.

From hence to the 20. day wee went Northeast, and by North. This day I obserued the variation of the compasse: and I noted that the south poynt of the compasse caried more then halfe a poynt to the Westwardes. Variation of the compasse.

From this day to the 25. wee went our course North northeast, with a reasonable gale of winde: this 25 day was litle winde stirring.

The 26 day it was in a maner calme, till seuen a clock at night, then it began to blowe a good gale at East southeast all night, with which wee went Northeast, and Northeast by east, and at night betweene the Northeast, and the Northeast by east.

The 28 day about 10 a clocke in the forenoone, our mayne yarde brake in sunder in the middest and split our sayle with being put to great streste, which wee got in and all the sayle, and tackle, without the hurt of any man God be thanked. After dinner our Carpenters wrought vpon it, who were fayne to take our bonnet, and anker stocke, the boats masts, pinnes shawes, capston barres, &c. So we went all day & night following with our foresayle, and misen betweene the Northeast, and the Northeast by east, with a stoute gale.

The 29. day, our carpenter wrought all day, we went with our foresayle, and misen next hand North northeast, lesse winde then before, and rayne.

The 30 day with great labour in the rayne, about 6. a clocke afternoone, wee set our mayne course which was mended, and other of our sayles hauing made small way, or none the day before: after we went all night betweene the North northeast, and the Northeast thicke and moyst weather.

The first day of May, it was a great fogge calme, and thicke mysty till 4. afternoone, then the winde blewe a stiffe gale at East, and still scanted to the Northwards, that we could lye all night but North, and North by weast, with much winde and fogge. May.

The 2. day it continued very foggie, and much winde, so that at 9. a clocke afternoone wee hooke off our bonnets: at 12. at noone wee cast about, and went larboorde tacked betweene the East Southeast, and the Southeast all day, and night.

The 3. day wee continued in the morning our course with much winde, and went betweene the East Northeast, and the East all day, and night.

The 4. day it was lesse winde, so that betimes in the morning, wee laced on our bonnets, and put abroade all our other sayles, and went East Northeast till 8. at night, then hauing the winde large, and a good gale we went all night our course East by North.

The 5. day being Sunday wee had a stout gale till 5. a clocke afternoone, then it was lesse winde but large, with which we went our course all day, and night East by North.

The 6. day it was foggie, and blewe a stiffe gale, with which wee went our course East by North, all day and night.

The 7. day and night we went our course East by North, with a stoute gale.

The 8. day and night, wee went our course East by North with a franke gale, but all the day was foggie, and sometime raine, the winde shifting betweene Southwest, and the West Southwest.

The 9. day it rayned till noone, and blewe a stout gale, at West southwest till 12 a clocke at night with which wee went our course East by North, then it shifted to the East, and East Northeast with which wee went the rest of the night, betweene the North, and the North Northeast.

The 10. day it rained, and blewe much afternoone: about 9. a clocke we cast about, and went East Southeast larboord tacked, at 12. at noone with bearing ouer much sayle, wee brake our spritsayle yarde, and with much paine saued the peeces, and the coyne sayle: so wee went all day and night following East Northeast, and sometime East by North, and sometime East with

our

our foꝛecoarſe, and the mayne coarſe, and bonnet.

The 11. day it was leſſe winde and fayr weather till noone: then it blewe a good gale, and in the night very much winde, and colde weather: all this day wee made ſpyrk, and made another ſpritſayle yarde of our Toy gallant maſte, our Myſſen topmaſt, our mayne Flagſtaffe, oars, &c. and went our courſe Eaſt by Noꝛth, all day and night.

The 12. being ſunday, it was hayrie afoꝛenoone and much winde, ſo that hauing out our topſayles, and ſpritſayles, wee tooke them in at noone, and went all day and night our courſe Eaſt by Noꝛth with a ſtoute gale.

The 13. day in the moꝛning it was ſomewhat leſſe winde, and we tooke off, and mended our foꝛebonnet, which was toꝛne the night befoꝛe, and at noone brought it to the yarde againe, and after dinner put out our topſayles, being litle winde and rayne, ſo went all day, and night our courſe Eaſt by Noꝛth with a ſmall gale.

The 14. day we went our courſe Eaſt by Noꝛth, till 12. at midnight with a pretty gale, then was it ſtarke calme.

The 15. day it was calme till 9. a clocke afoꝛenoone, then it blewe a ſmal gale, at Eaſt ſoutheaſt, with which we went Noꝛtheaſt till noone, then came vp the winde, at South ſoutheaſt, and at midnight blewe ſo much, that wee menning to haue ſhaken of our bonnets, tooke in all our ſayles, and ſeeing the winde ſtill increaſed, we lay to hull from midnight till 6. next moꝛning hauing gone befoꝛe Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and Eaſt by Noꝛth, and Eaſt amongſt: this afternoone we ſaw a ſayle but ſpake not with them.

The 16 at 6. afoꝛenoone we ſet ſayle with much winde at South ſouthweſt, and went Eaſt our courſe, with a coarſe and bonnet of each, all day and night with very much winde.

The 17. day about 8. at night wee ſounded, and had no ground, in 160 fathome, ſo wee kept our courſe on Eaſt till 12 at midnight, then the winde began to ſcant, ſo we went betweene the Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and the Eaſt by Noꝛth, all the reſt of the night.

The 18. day at 8 at night we ſounded againe, but had no ground, ſo we went all day & night, betweene the Noꝛtheaſt, and the Noꝛth by Eaſt with a ſkant winde.

The 19. being Sunday at 6. afoꝛenoone, the wind came to the Southeaſt, ſo we went Eaſt Noꝛtheaſt til 8. at night, then it was flat calme, and all night litle winde at Noꝛth, with which wee went next hand Eaſt ſoutheaſt fayre weather.

The 20. day it was little wind all the foꝛenoone at Noꝛth, then it changed to the Noꝛth noꝛtheaſt, and blewe but little: ſo we were all day, and night betweene the Eaſt by South, and the Southeaſt with a ſmall gale fayre weather.

The 21. day was fayre weather and litle winde betweene the Eaſt and the Noꝛtheaſt with which we went all day and night betweene the Southeaſt by South, and the South by Eaſt ſtil ſhifting: this day wee ſaw a Turtle doue.

The 22. day it was a prettie gale, and fayre weather: wee went all day till 8. at night Eaſt ſoutheaſt, then the winde being ſomewhat larger, wee went all night Eaſt.

The 23. day wee went Eaſt by Noꝛth till 8. at night, then hauing ſounding in 66. fathome fine ſande, we ſhaped our courſe Noꝛtheaſt, but would not lye ſo neere, but as we might, went all night betweene the Noꝛtheaſt by Eaſt, and the Eaſt noꝛtheaſt.

The 24. day we went Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, & Eaſt by Noꝛth, till 7. at afternoone, then we ſownded and had 65. fathome gray ſand, hauing ſayled by many weedes, & burton beds all day beforе: after we went all night as the day beforе Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and Eaſt by Noꝛth with litle winde.

The 25. day we went betweene the Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and the Noꝛtheaſt with a ſmall gale till 5. a clock afternoone: then had we ſight of land, which roſe ragged to the Noꝛthwards like broken land, we being about 5. leagues off: that Ille, bare Noꝛtheaſt by Noꝛth of vs, and the Noꝛthermoſt part bare Noꝛth by Eaſt of vs, with a rock a ſea boyd: we then ſounded, & had 55. fathome grey ſande, and maze great ſtoꝛe in it: ſo we ſtood in Noꝛtheaſt till 8. a clocke, and then beheld it againe being vnn 4. leagues of it, bearing as beforе, but we could not make it, foꝛ ſome thought it to be the foꝛeland of Fontenay, ſome iudged it the Ille of Vſſant: the. wee ſownded againe, in 55. fathome browne ſand, and little maze in it: at 8. a clocke at night we went about, and ſtoode of South ſouthweſt one watche, then the winde ſhrinked to the Southweſt, that we could lye but South ſouthweſt 6. glaſſes, ſo that at 3. a clock we caſt about, and lay Noꝛthweſt 6. glaſſes, and Noꝛth noꝛthweſt a watche being then 8. a clocke the next day.

The 26. day we lay as nigh as we could betweene the Noꝛth and the Noꝛth noꝛtheaſt, and ſawe the ſame land againe, and made it to be the foꝛelande of Fontenay, and the ragges to bee the Seames, which bare nowe Eaſt Noꝛtheaſt of vs: and wee ſtoode on till 10. a clocke, then being

being within two leagues of the rockes and Ielle, we cast about and stoode of southwest, because we could not dubble the vttermost rockes: when we were about wee drawe to the Southwardes very faste, for the ebbe set vs West southwest, and being spring tydes, it hoyled vs a pace to leewardes, for the space of on houre: then with the flood which was come, we drawe againe to windwards: at twelue at noone it was calme till 6. afternoone, then we stoode about Iarbood tacked, South southwest one watche, then at midnight wee cast about and stood ouer Northe till foure afornoone.

The 27 day, hauing brought the lande East southeast of vs, wee made it to be Sylly being before deceiued, and went hence East by north to dubble Grymsbie, leauing the Bishop, and his clearkes to the Southwestwards, which wee before tooke to be the Seames. The yle of Sylly.

At 7. a clocke afornoone wee sawe the landes ende of England, which bare East by North of vs, and is 7. leagues of from Sylly.

Abaut 9. a clocke, we shewing our flags, and ensigne, and shoting of a peece, there came two boats aboord vs, of whome we bought fish, and some other trifling fresh victuals, with refreshed our men though it were but little.

But hearing newes of them of the health of our Queenes maiestie, and our country in peace, we gaue God thankes, and stoode hence East by South hauing brought the Iland of Sylly, West, and West by South 3. leagues off vs. At eight at night wee had brought the lands ende North by West, and the Lyzard bare East of vs 6. leagues, so wee stoode along all night East, being little winde.

The 28. wee had brought the Lyzzarde West Northwest of vs, a league and a halfe of, wee hoysed out our skiffe at 8. in the morning, and went along Northeast by East: at 12 a clocke at noone wee had brought Helforde, and the Manacles rockes which lye two miles of the mayne North of vs, passing by Falmouth: at 2. a clocke afternoone, wee brought Dudman North of vs 2. leagues of. The Lyzard.

Then we had sight of Ramme head, and stoode on Northeast by east, and sometime Northeast, with little winde all day and night following.

This night about 2. a clocke after Midnight dyed Robert Webbe, and Master Skeuington of the Skuruie.

The 29. day at 6. afornoone wee had brought the Ramhead North of vs, and weare within a league of it, and went in Northeast next hande, being thicke and foggie, and little winde: so that at eleuen of clocke wee got in within the Iland, and their by mistaking of a sownding, our ship came aground betweene the yle, and the mayne, and there sate till 4. a clocke afternoone that it was halfe fludde. Wee came to Plymmouth.

In this meane time I sent M. Blaccoller, and Johnson a shore to prouide men, and fresh victuall, and necessaries for our present neede.

The Maior, M. Bronkorne, M. Martyn, and many other of the towne, came aboorde to visiteme, and dyned with mee about 5. a clocke the ship being mored in 7. fadom water, the castle in the yle being South by East of vs, I went a lande and sawe M. Skeuington, and Robert Webbe buried in the Churchyard, and supped with M. Geffryes, and Master Symberbe, at Master Bronckhornes, and not hauing a boate to come aboorde, I lay a shore all night at that house.

The 30. day about 9. a clocke, with much a doe I furnished away M. Jeffries, M. Symberbe, and William Towreson with letters, after dyned at M. Blaccollers, and made many salutations with diuers gentlemen.

Betimes this morning I sawe a cable bought, tymber for a Dauet, and anker stocke, and dispatched many businesses and at 12. a cloke I came aboord, and set a cooper to worke, and other things were done: a great many of our weake men went a shore, to refresh themselues, and to lye a shoare.

The 31. I wrought aboorde all day, and put our ship, and things in order: Afternoone I hauing pittie of some poore men of Mylbrooke which were robbed the night before by a Pyrat named Purser, which rid in Cawson bay, I consented to go out with the Edward in companie of a small ship, which they had furnished to be their Master, so about 5. afternoone, came 100. men of theirs aboord of mee: about 12. a clocke we set saple, and by 3. afore day wee were gotten to windwards of him, then he set saple, and went hence to the Eastwards, and outsayled vs, because our consort would not come neere him: after a small chase which we gaue him to no effect we returned into our old roade, and there moared the ship about 9. afornoone, and hence went all the Mylbrooke men againe a shore from mee, and thus I ended a troublesome voyage.

An

An extract out of the discourse of one Lopez a Spaniard before spoken of, touching the foresayd fight of M. Fenton with the Spanish ships together with a report of the proceeding of M. Iohn Drake after his departing from him.

Vpon the relation of Pedro Sarmiento concerning the Streights, and for that the king hard, that there were shippes in England preparing for the same Streights, hee commanded Diego Flores de Valdes a noble man of Spaine, to passe thither with 23. ships, and 3500. men to stoppe the passage of the English men.

There went in this fleete the gouernour of Chile with 500. olde Souldiers þ came out of Flanders: but this fleete was the vnhappiest ships that euer went out of Spayne: for before they came from the coast of Spaine a storme tooke them, and cast away 5. of the fleete, and in them aboue 800. men, and the rest came into Cales. But the king sent them worde that they should proceede: and so there went out on the voyage 16. of the ships, for 2. more of their fleete were much spoyled by the storme which they had.

5. ships of this fleete cast away on the coast of Spaine.

In these 16. ships, Pedro Sarmiento was sent to bee gouernour in the streights, & had assigned vnto him 500. men to stay there with him, and he carryed with him all kinde of Artificers to make him forts, and other necessaries, with great store of ordinance and other munition.

This Fleete because it was late, did winter on the coaste of Brasill, in the riuer of Genero: and from thence they went when the winter was passe, and about the height of 42. degrees they had a sudden storme, so that Diego Flores beat it vp and downe 22. dayes, in which time he lost one of the best ships that he had, which had in her 300 men, and 20. women, that went to inhabite the streights: and in this shippe also was most part of the munition which should haue bene left in the streights, so in the end the storme grewe to be so great, that the ships were not able to endure it at any longer, but were put backe vnto an Iland, called Sancta Catelina: and there hee found a barke wherein were some Fryers going for the riuer of Plate: which Fryers tolde him of two great English shippes, and a Pynnesse, which had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaynes ships.

M. Fenton tooke these Fryers.

Hereupon Diego Flores, knowing that these English ships would goe for the Streights, determined to goe thither although it was in the moneth of Februarie, and choosing 10. shippes of the 15. that were left, he left two ships which were not in case to goe to sea at the Iland, and the other three ships which were old, and shaken with the storme he put into them all the women, and sicke men, in all the fleete, and sent them to the riuer of Genero, and he with the other 10. returned againe for the Streights.

The 3. ships in which the sicke men and women were, went to Brasill, and there they founde with in the port of S. Vincent the two English ships before mentioned.

They would haue had the English men to haue gone out of the harbour, and thereupon they fell to fight, and because that these 3. ships were weake with the storme, and the men that they had were the worst in all the Fleete, the English men easely put them to the worsse, and sincke one of them, and might haue sunke another, if the English men would: but they minded not the destruction of any man: for that is the greatest vertue that can be in a man, that when he may do hurt, yet hee will not doe it: so the English men went from this port to Spirito Sancto, where they had victuals for their Marchandise, and so they went backe for England, without doing of any harme in the country.

A fight betwixt our 2. English ships & three Spanish ships

The cause why these English shippes vnder the conduct of Master Fenton went not to the streights, I know not: but some say that they were put backe by foule weather: other some say that it was for feare of the kings ships.

But the pynnesse of these two ships went from them, in which was Captaine Iohn Drake: the cause why they parted I know not, but the Pinnesse came into the riuer of Plate, and within 5. leagues of seale Iland, not far from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands ships did take in fresh water, the was cast away vpon a ledge of rocks: but the men were saued in their boate, which were in number 18. who went a shoare on the Northside, and went a dayes iourney into the land, and met with the Sauages, which are no men eaters, but take all the Christians that they can, and make them slaues.

But the English men fought with them, and the sauages slew 5. of them, and tooke 13 aliue, which were with the Sauages about 15. moneths. But the Master of the pynnesse, whose name was Richard Fayeweather being not willing to indure the misery that hee was in, and being knowledge that there was a towne of Christians on the other side of the riuer, he in a night cal-

led.

ter Iohn Drake, and another yong man which was with them, & tooke a very litle Canow, which had but two oares, and ſo paſſed to the other ſide of the riuer, which is about 9. leagues hyoad, and were 3. dayes beiore they could get ouer without meate, and comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towards the chriſtians: and ſeeing the footing of horſes, they followed it, and at laſt came to an houſe where there was corne ſowed, and there they met with Indians ſeruaunts vnto the Spaniards, which gaue them to eate, and clothes to couer them, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the towne, and told them of the Engliſhmen: ſo the captaine ſent 4. horſemen, and brought them to the towne behind them.

This captain clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake dieted at the captains table, and they were all very well intreated, the captaine purpoſing to ſend them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hauing newes hereof, ſent for them, and ſo Iohn Drake was ſent to him, but the other two were kept there, becauſe they were maried in the countrey, ſo that I know no more of their affaires. Iohn Drake ſent to the Viceroy of Peru.

Vpon this comming of the Engliſhmen, there were prepared 50. horſemen to goe ouer the riuer to ſeeke the reſt of the Engliſhmen, and alſo certain Spaniards that were among the ſauage people, but I am not certaine whether they went forward or not.

A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple,

conteining a report of the true ſtate and commodities of New found land, by M. Anthonie Parkhurſt Gentleman, 1578.

MAſter Hakluyt, after moſt heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindneſſe to me ſhewed, not for any merites that hitherto haue bene mine, but wholy proceeding, I muſt needs confeſſe, of your owne good nature, which is ſo readie preſt to benefit your country and al ſuch poore men as haue any ſparke in them of good deſires, that you do not onely become their friend, but alſo humble your ſelfe as a ſeruant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cauſe your burning zeale to bee knowen to thoſe that haue authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompence your trauelling mind and pen, wherwith you ceaſe not day nor night to labour and trauell to bring your good and godly deſires to ſome paſſe, though not poſſiblie to that happy ende that you moſt thirſt for: for ſuch is the malice of wicked men, the diuels inſtruments in this our age, that they cannot ſuffer any thing (or at leaſt few) to proceed and proſper, that tendeth to the ſetting forth of Gods glory, & the amplifying of the chriſtian faith, wherein hitherto princes haue not bene ſo diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the harueſt great, I truſt God hath made you an inſtrument to increaſe the number, and to moue men of power, to redeeme the people of New found land, and thoſe parts from out of the captiuitie of that ſpirituall Pharao, the diuell.

Now to anſwer ſome part of your letter touching the ſundry nauies that come to New found land, or Terra noua, for fiſh: you ſhall vnderſtand that ſome fiſh not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen, & ſome yeeres come many more then other ſome, as I ſee the like among vs: who, ſince my firſt trauell being but 4. yeeres, are increaſed from 30. ſaple to 50. which commeth to paſſe chiefly by the imagination of the Weſterne men, who thinke their neighbors haue had greater gaines then in very deed they haue, ſo that they ſee me to take ſuch paines perely to go in proper perſon, they alſo ſuppoſe that I find ſome ſecret commoditie by reaſon that I do ſearch the harbors, creekes and hauens, and alſo the land much more then euer any Engliſhman hath done. Surely I am glad that it ſo increaſeth, wherof ſoeuer it ſpringeth. But to let this paſſe, you ſhall vnderſtand that I am informed that there are aboue 100. ſaile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and doe dry it when they come home) beſides 20. or 30. more that come frō Biſkaie, to kil Whale for traine. Theſe be better appointed for ſhipping and furniture of munition, then any nation, ſauing the Engliſhmen, who commonly are lordes of the harbors where they fiſh, and do vſe all ſtrangers helpe in fiſhing if need require, according to an old cuſtome of the country, which thing they do willingly, ſo that you take nothing from them more then a boat or traine of ſalt, in reſpect of your protection of them againſt rouers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbour, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be well neere fiue or ſixe thouſand: but of Portingals there are not lightly aboue 50. ſaile, and they make all wet in like ſorte, whoſe tunnage may amount to three thouſand tunnes and vpwarde. Of the French nation and Brittons, are about one hundred and fiftie ſailes, the moſt of their ſhipping is very ſmall, not paſt fortie tunne, among which ſome are great and reaſonably well appointed, better then the Portingals, and not ſo well as the Spaniards, and the

burden of them may be ſome 7000. tunne. Their ſhipping is from all partes of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from moſt parts of Spaine, the Portingals from Aueiro and Viana, and from 2. or 3. portes more. The trade that our nation hath to Iſland, maketh that the Engliſh are not there in ſuch numbers as other nations.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodneſſe of the countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand that I haue in ſundry places ſowen Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Peaſe and ſeedes of herbes, kerneis, plumſtones, nuts, all which haue proſpered as in England. The country yeelded many good trees of fruite, as Filberds in ſome places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of peare tree meete to graffe on. As for Roſes, they are as common as Brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raſpis, as common as graſſe. The timber is moſt Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple trees: few of theſe two kindes meete to maſte a ſhip of three ſcore and ten: but neere the grand baie or Cape Britton big, and ſufficient for any ſhip. There bee alſo okes and thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meeteſt wood for cole, and alſo Willow which will ſerue for many other purpoſes. As touching the kindes of fiſh beſide Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plaſe, or rather wee ſhould call them Flounders, Dog fiſh, and another moſt excellent of taſte, called of vs a Cat, Oiſters, & Muſkles, in which I haue found pearles aboue 40. in one Muſkle, and generally all haue ſome, great or ſmall. I heard of a Portingall that found one worth 300. duckets: There are alſo other kinds of Shel fiſh, as limpets, cockle, wilkes, lobſters, and crabs: alſo a fiſh like a *Smelt which commeth on ſhore, and another that hath the like propertie called a Squid: theſe be the fiſhes, which (when I pleaſe to bee merie with my old companions) I ſay, doe come on ſhore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports, and coniure them by ſuch like words: Theſe alſo bee the fiſhes which I may ſweepe with broomes on a heape, and neuer wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three words whatſoeuer they be appointed by any man, ſo they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes bee ſmall, but the nature of the fiſh great and ſtrange. For the Squid, whoſe nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I ſet him a candle to ſee his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it, as doe our freſh water fiſh, the other commeth alſo in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would deuour him, and therefore for feare comming ſo neere the ſhore, is driuen vpie by the ſurge of the Sea on the pibble and ſands. Of theſe beyng as good as the Smelt, you may take vp with a ſhoue net, as plentifully as you doe Wheate in a ſhouell, ſufficient in three or foure houres for a whole Citie. There bee alſo other fiſhes which I tell thoſe that are deſirous of ſtrange newes that I take as faſt as one would gather vp ſtones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie ſay they, wee beleeue ſo, and that you catch all the reſt you bring home in that ſore, from Portingals and Frenchmen. No ſurely, but thus I doe: with three hookes ſtretched footh in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele ſpeare, with which I pricke thoſe Flounders as faſt as you would take vp fritters, with a ſharpe pointed ſticke, and with that toole I may take vp in leſſe then halfe a day Lobſters ſufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This paſtime ended, I ſhew them that for my pleaſure I take a great Paſtime I haue, and ſay no more to him then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fiſh that obeieth not this Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Chyſſendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of thoſe great Coddes by reaſon of the liuing ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him vp backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cauſe my friendes to wonder, and at the firſt hearing to iudge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merie when they heare the meanes how to each tale is true.

*Called by the Spaniards Anchoues, and by the Portingals Capelinas.

I told you once I doe remember how in my trauell into Affrica and America, I found trees that bare Oiſters, which was ſtrange to you, till I told you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oiſters and Muſkles did ſticke faſt, as their propertie is to ſtakes and timber.

Now to let theſe merie tales paſſe, and to come to earneſt matters againe, you ſhall vnderſtand that New found land is in a temperate Climate, and not ſo colde as fooliſh Mariners doe ſay, who finde it colde ſometimes when plentie of Iſles of Ice lie neere the ſhore: but vp in the land they ſhall finde it hoter then in England in many partes of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the Ice that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the ſituation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of litle ſmall riuers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendered both of ſnow and raine: few ſpringes that euer I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in ſome places or rather in moſt places, great lakes with plentie of fiſh, the countrey

trey moſt couered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good graſſe, and plentie of Beares euery where, ſo that you may kill of them as oft as you liſt: their fleſh is as good as pong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other, if it be poudered but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like ſtore. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wilde geeſe, and many other kind of birdes ſtore, too long to write, eſpecially at one Iſland named Pengum, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ſhip as many as ſhall lade her. Theſe birdes are alſo called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of theſe, then in a gooſe: the Frenchmen that fiſh neere the grand baie, doe dying ſmall ſtore of fleſh with them, but virtuall themſelues almaynes with theſe birdes. Now againe, for Veniſon plentie, eſpecially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Pleſance: there are many other kind of beaſts, as Luzarnes and other mightie beaſtes like to Camels in greatneſſe, and their feete clouen, I did ſee them farre off not able to diſcerne them perfectly, but their ſteps ſhewed that their feete were clouen, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I ſuppoſe them to be a kind of Buffes which I read to bee in the countreys adiacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee alſo to the Northward, Hares and Foxes in all partes ſo plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our fleſh before our faces, within leſſe then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie perſons were turning of drie fiſh, and two dogges in ſight, yet ſtoode they not in feare till wee gaue ſhoot and ſet the dogges vpon them: the Beares be alſo as bold, which will not ſpare at middaie to take your fiſh before your face, and I beleeue aſſuredly would not hurt any bodie vnleſſe they be forced.

Now to ſhew you my fanſie what places I ſuppoſe meeteſt to inhabite in thoſe partes diſcouered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand baie, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chaſteau, and one Iſland in the very entrie of the ſtreight called Bell Iſle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are ſtone and things meete for it throughout all New found land) we ſhall be lordes of the whole fiſhing in ſmall time, if it doe ſo pleaſe the Queenes maieſtie, and from thence ſend wood and cole with all neceſſaries to Laborador lately diſcouered: but I am of opinion, and doe moſt ſtedfaſtly beleeue that we ſhall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fiſhing then any yet we haue vſed, where we ſhall haue not farre from thence plentie of ſalt made by fire vndoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reaſon I finde ſalte kerned on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: theſe places may bee found for ſalte in three and fortie. I know more touching theſe two commodities laſt remembred, then any man of our nation doth: for that I haue ſome knowledge in ſuch matters, and haue moſt deſired the finding of them by painefull trauell, and moſt diligent inquirie. Now to be ſhort, for I haue bene ouerlong by maſter Butlers means, who cried on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde worthy of remembraunce: wherefore this one thing more. I could wiſh the Iſland in the mouth of the riuer of Canada, ſhould be inhabited, and the riuer ſearched, for that there are many things which may riſe thereof, as I will ſhew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proofe whether it be true or no that I haue red and heard of Frenchmen and Portingals to bee in that riuer, and about Cape Britton. I had almoſt forgot to ſpeake of the plentie of wolues, & to ſhew you that there be Foxes, black, white & gray: other beaſtes I know none ſaue thoſe before remembred. I found alſo certaine Mines of iron and copper in S. Johns, and in the Iſland of Iron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had deſire to plant thereabout, for proofe whereof I haue brought home ſome of the oare of both ſortes. And thus I ende aſſuring you on my faith, that if I had not bene deceiued by the vile Portingals, deſcending of the Iewes and Iudas kind, I had not failed to haue ſearched this riuer, and all the coaſt of Cape Britton, what might haue bene found to haue benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falſifying their faith and promiſe, diſappointed me of the ſalt they ſhould haue brought me in part of recompence of my good ſeruice in defending them two yeeres againſt French Rouers that had ſpoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me looſe not onely the ſearching of the countrey, but alſo forced me to come home with great loſſe aboue, 600. li. for recompence whereof I haue ſent my man into Portingall, to demaund iuſtice at the kings hand, if not, I muſt put vp my ſupplication to the Queenes maieſtie & her honourable counſell, to grant me leaue to ſtay here ſo much of their goods as they haue dammified mee, or els that I may take of them in New found land, as much fiſhe as ſhall be worth, 600. li. or as much as the ſalte might haue made. I pray you aduertiſe mee what way I were beſt to take, and what hope there may be of a recompence if I follow the ſuite: many there are that doe comfort mee, and doe bidde mee proceede, for that her Maieſtie and the

counſell doe tender poore fiſhermen, who with me haue ſuſtained 300. pound loſſe in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend ſhall thinke me a man ſufficient and of credite, to ſeeke the Iſle of S. Iohn, or the riuer of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Britton, I ſhall giue my diligence for the true and perfect diſcouerie, and leaue ſome part of mine owne buſineſſe to further the ſame, and thus I end committing you to God. From Byſſow the 13. of Nouember, 1578.

Yours to vſe and commaund,
Anthonie Parkhurſt.

The Letters Patents graunted by her Maieſtie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom theſe preſents ſhal come, greeting. Know ye that of our eſpeciall grace, certaine ſcience and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, doe giue and graunt to our truſtie and welbeloued ſeruaunt ſir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton in our Countie of Deuonſhire knight, and to his heires and aſſignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to diſcouer, finde, ſearch out, and view ſuch remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories not actually poſſeſſed of any Chriſtian prince or people, as to him, his heires and aſſignes, and to euery or any of them, ſhall ſeeme good, and the ſame to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and aſſignes for euer, with all commodities, iuriſdictions and royalties both by ſea and land: and the ſaid ſir Humfrey and all ſuch as from time to time by licence of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ſhall goe or trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the diſcretion of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, and of his heires and aſſignes, the ſtatutes or actes of parliament made againſt Fugitiues, or againſt ſuch as ſhall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, ſtatute, lawe, or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And we doe likewiſe by theſe preſents, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, giue full authoritie and power to the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery, or any of them, ſhall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the ſame voyages, to trauel thitherward, or to inhabite there with him, and euery or any of them, ſuch, and ſo many of our Subiects as ſhall willingly accompany him and them, and euery or any of them with ſufficient ſhipping, and furniture for their tranſportations, ſo that none of the ſame perſons, nor any of them be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be ſpecially reſtrained by vs, our heires and ſucceſſours. And further, that hee the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them ſhall haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires or aſſignes, and euery of them for euer, all the ſoile of all ſuch landes, countries and territories ſo to bee diſcouered or poſſeſſed as aforeſayd, and of all Cities, Caſtles, Townes and villages, and places in the ſame, with the rites, royalties and iuriſdictions, as well marine as other, within the ſayde landes or countries of the Seas thereunto adioyning, to be had or vſed with full power to diſpoſe thereof, and of euery part thereof in fee ſimple or otherwiſe, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the ſame conueniently may bee, at his, and their will and pleaſure, to any perſon then beyng, or that ſhall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires & ſucceſſors, paying vnto vs for all ſeruices, duties & demands, the fifte part of all the oare of gold & ſiluer, that from time to time, & at all times after ſuch diſcouerie, ſubduing and poſſeſſing ſhall be there gotten: all which lands, countries and territories, ſhall for euer be holde by the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours by homage, and by the ſayd paiment of the ſayd fifte part before reſerued onely for all ſeruices.

And moreouer, we doe by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, giue and graunt licence to the ſayde ſir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or aſſignes, & to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them ſhall, and may from time to time, and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulſe, repell, and reſiſt, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatſoeuer, all, and euery ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoeuer, as without the ſpeciall licence and liking of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, and of his heires and aſſignes, ſhall attempt to inhabite within the ſayd countries, or any of them, or within the ſpace of two hundreth leagues

neere

neere to the place or places within such countries as aforesayd, if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforesaid, with the subiectes of any christian prince, being in amitie with her Maiestie, where the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their associates or companies, shall within sixe yeeres next ensuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by these presents, further power and authoritie to the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, & at all times for euer hereafter to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoeuer, all and euery person and persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the said sir Humfrey, or his heires or assignes, as aforesayd, shall be found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes, within the limites aforesayde, (the subiectes of our Realmes and dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, being driuen by force of tempest or shipwracke onely excepted) and those persons and euery of them with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and possesse, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and of euery or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amitie of such countreys, landes and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better incouragement of men to this enterprise: wee doe by these presents graunt, and declare, that all such countreys so hereafter to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesayd, from thencefoorth shal bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires, and successours. And we doe graunt to the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our courts of Record within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall now in this iourney for discouerie, or in the second iourney for conquest hereafter, trauel to such lands, countries and territories as aforesaid, and to their and euery of their heires, that they and euery or any of them being either borne within our said realmes of England, or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countries and territories, with such licence as aforesaid, shall, and may haue, and enioy all the priuiledges of free denizens and persons natiue of England, and within our allegiance, any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as vpon the finding out, discouering, and inhabiting of such remote lands, countries and territories as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneis or voiages, to determine to liue together in Christian peace and ciuill quietnesse each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit, enioy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: we for vs, our heires and successours are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and graunt to the said sir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shal and may from time to time for euer hereafter within the said mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue ful and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine, and other, all such our subiects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter aduenture themselues in the said iournies or voiages habitation or possession, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the said place or places, where the said sir Humfrey or his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabite within sixe yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or euery, or any of them deuised or established for the better gouernment of the said people as aforesayde so alwaies that the said statutes, lawes and ordinances may be, as neere as conueniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, & pollicie of England: and also, so as they be not against the true christian faith or religion now professed in the church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or successors, as their immediate soueraignes vnder God. And further we do by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt ful power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloued counseller, sir William Cicill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England, of vs for the time being, and to the priuie counsell of vs, our heires and successours, or any foure of them for the time being, that hee, they, or any foure of them, shall, and may from

time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or ſeales by vertue of theſe preſents, authoriſe and licence the ſayd ſir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them by him and themſelues, or by their or any of their ſufficient attornies, deputies, officers, miniſters, factors and ſeruants, to imbarke and tranſport out of our realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their aſſociates and companies, and euery or any of them, with ſuch other neceſſaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the ſayd lord Treaſurer or foure of the priuie counſell of vs, our heyres or ſucceſſors for the time being, as aforeſaid, ſhall be from time to time by his or their wiſdoms or diſcretions thought meete and conuenient for the better reliefe and ſupportation of him the ſayde ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them, and of his and their, and euery or any of their ſaid aſſociates and companies, any acte, ſtatute, law, or other thing to the contrarie in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleaſure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Chriſtian kings, princes and ſtates, that if the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, ſhal at any time or times hereafter robbe or ſpoile by Sea or by land, or doe any acte of vniuſt and vnlawfull hoſtilitie to any of the ſubiects of vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, or any of the ſubiectes of any king, prince, ruler, gouernour or ſtate being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, &c. that vpon ſuch iniurie, or vpon iuſt complaint of any ſuch prince, ruler, gouernour or ſtate, or their ſubiectes, wee, our heyres or ſucceſſours ſhall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the ſayd Sir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any other to whom theſe our letters patents may extend, ſhall within the terme to be limited by ſuch proclamations, make full reſtitution and ſatiſfaction of all ſuch iniuries done, ſo as both wee and the ſayd princes, or others ſo complaining, may hold vs and themſelues fully contented: And that if the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, ſhall not make or cauſe to bee made ſatiſfaction accordingly, within ſuch time ſo to bee limited: that then it ſhall be lawfull to vs, our heires & ſucceſſors, to put the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the ſaid places to bee diſcouered as is aforeſaid, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after ſuch time of putting out of protection the ſayde ſir Humfrey, and his heires, aſſignes, adherents and others ſo to be put out, and the ſayd places within their habitation, poſſeſſion and rule, ſhall bee out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all princes and others, to purſue with hoſtilitie as being not our ſubiects, nor by vs any way to bee aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiaunce any way belonging, for that expreſſe mention, &c. In witneſſe whereof, &c. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 11. day of June, the 20. yeere of our raigne. Per ipſam Reginam, &c.

A report of the voyage and ſucceſſe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord, 1583. by Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other Gentlemen aſſiſting him in that action, intended to diſcouer and to plant Chriſtian inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon thoſe large and ample countries extended Northward from the Cape of Florida, lying vnder very temperate Climes, eſteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian prince, written by M. Edward Haies Gentleman, and principal actor in the ſame voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by Gods ſpeciall aſſiſtance returned home with his retinue ſafe and entire.

MAny voiages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any thoughtly accompliſhed by our nation, of exact diſcouerie into the bowels of thoſe maine, ample, and vaſt countries, extended infinitely into the North from 30. degrees, or rather from 25. deg. of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bin taken of planting a Chriſtian habitation and regiment vpon the ſame, as well may appeare both by the litle we yet do actually poſſeſſe therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and ſecrets within thoſe landes, which vnto this day we know chiefly by the trauel & report of other nations, & moſt of the French, who albeit they cannot chalenge ſuch right and intereſt into the ſaid countries, as we, neither theſe many yeeres haue had opportunitie nor meanes ſo great, to diſcouer & to plant (being vexed with the calamities of inteſtine warres) as we haue had by the ineſtimable benefit of our long & happy peace: yet haue they both waies performed more, & had long ſince attained a ſure poſſeſſion and ſeiled gouernment of many prouinces in thoſe Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into thoſe forren and remote landes had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The

The first discouery of these coasts (neuer heard of before) was well begun by John Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida vnto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of Inland countries had beene followed, as the discouery vpon the coast, and out parts thereof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Maiesties territories and reuenue had beene mightily inlarged and aduanced by this day. And which more is: the seed of Christian religion had beene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might haue brought forth a most plentifull haruest and copious congregation of Christians. Which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoeuer is builded vpon other foundation shall neuer obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

The coasts frō Florida northward, first discouered by the English natiō.

And although we can not precisely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what haue beene the humors of men styrred vp to great attempts of discouering & planting in those remote countries: yet the euents do shew that either Gods cause hath not beene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto those Infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the onely cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and complet discouery and possession by Christians both of those ample countries and the riches within them, hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisedome hath permitted to be reuealed, from time to time, a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little, to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time attained, of calling those pagans vnto Christianity.

In the meane while, it behoueth euery man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils vpon the land: whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation.

A fit consideration.

Otherwise, if his motiues be deriued from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honor of God, compassion of poore Infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull mauer ouer theyr bodyes and soules: aduancement of his honest and well disposed countreymen, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions: reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed. All these be honorable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyonde expectation of man.

And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelyhood, may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely neuer) the time is complet of receiuing also these Gentils into merchandize: And that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same. It seeming probable by euent of precedent attempts made by the Spanyardes and French sundry times: that the countryes lying North of Florida, God hath reserued the same to be reduced vnto Christian ciuilitie by the English nation.

Probable conjectures ꝑ these lands north of Florida, are reserued for the English natiō to possesse.

For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discouered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for Spaine, John and Sebastian Cabot made discouery also of the rest from Florida Northwards, to the behoofe of England.

And whensoeuer afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all theyr Southerne discoueries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North: they prooued most vnhappy, and were at length discouraged vtterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeuoring to bring those Northerly regions also vnder the Spanish iurisdiction: as if God had prescribed limits vnto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed: as by theyr owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The Spanyards prosperous in the Southerne discoueries, yet vnhappy in these Northerne.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title vnto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discouery of the same continent so farre Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but reuiew that before discouered by the English nation, vsurping vpon our right, and imposing names vpon countryes, riuers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had beene the first finders of those coasts, which iniurie we offered not vnto the Spanyards, but left off to discouer when we approched the Spanish limits: euen so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent vpon an others right, notwithstanding theyr

The French are but vsurpers vpon our right.

manifold

The French also infortunat in those North parts of America.

manifolde attempts, in which the issue hath beene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by theyr owne reports is extant.

A good incouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North of America.

The due time approcheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens vnto Christianity.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right vnto these countryes of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of first discouery, vnto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, & set forth by the expence of our late famous king Henry the seuenth: Which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe, by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: It may greatly incourage vs, vpon so iust ground, as is our right, and vpon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion, (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same:) to prosecute effectually vnto a full possession of those so ample & pleasant countries appertaining vnto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arriued vnto the time by God prescribed of theyr vocation, if euer theyr calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the reuolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath mooued from the East, towards, and at last vnto the West, where it is like to end, vnlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached throughout the world, shall be the end. And as the Gospell when it descended Westward beganne in the South, and afterward spred into the North of Europe: euen so, as the same hath begunne in the South countries of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spred into the North.

The word of God mooueth circularly.

These considerations may helpe to suppresse all dreads rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauie successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our country man sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first that of our nation carried people to erect an habitation and gouernement in those Northerly countries of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expence of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismaid by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunately incombred with wants, and woorsse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditate for those affayres, was subiected to tollerate abuses, and in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit, happely to succed.

The planting of Gods word must be handled with reuerence.

Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting vpon remote lands.

The issue of such actions being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) vnto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter, not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well aduised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the carriage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countryes. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes, as many haue made the same but a colour to shadow actions, otherwise scarse iustifiable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his iust proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how iust soeuer, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous vnto theyr state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards such in whom appeareth disposition honorable vnto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (vnto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage vndertaken with sir Humfry Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduersly.

The first and great preparation of sir H. Gilbert.

When first sir Humfry Gilbert vndertooke the Westerne discouery of America, and had procured from her Maiesty a very large commission to inhabit, and possesse at his choise all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand: Very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neuerthelesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, theyr dispositions were diuers, which bred a iarre,

and

and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begunne: and when the shipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready vpon the coast to go aboord: at what time some brake coulor, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended. Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leauing the generall with few of his assured friends, with whome he aduentured to sea: where hauing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retyre home with the losse of a tall shippe, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

A constant resolution of sir H. Gilbert.

Hauing buryed onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid, he continued his former desygnment and purpose to reuiue this enterprise, good occasion seruing. Upon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfie his desire: at last he granted certaine assignements out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the priuiledge of his grant, to plant and fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whom if God gaue good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South, and be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course, might be excused without preiudice vnto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countries by vertue of his grant, did inuest him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfrey Gilbert to make those assignements, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expyre after sixe yeeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

A second preparation of sir H. Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch at last he must resolue himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired or within two yeeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding both by his aduise and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their abilitie ioyned vnto him, resolued to aduenture their substance and liues in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victuall, men, and things requisit, some of them continued the charge two yeeres complet, without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents, opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay, neere vnto Plymmouth: then resolued to put vnto the sea with shipping and prouision, such as we had, before our store yet remayning, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere were too farre spent. Nevertheless it seemed first very doubtfull, by what way to shape our course, and to beginne our intended discouery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

Consultation about our course.

The first (that is beginning South) without all controuersy was the likelyest, wherein we were assured to haue commodity of the currant, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, discouering from the foresaid cape along towards cape Britton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Commodities in discouering from South Northward.

Also the yeere being farre spent, and arriued to the moneth of June, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely winter: but to court the South, which we had space enough, then to haue attained: and there might with lesse detriment haue wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North, where winter is both long and rigorous.

These & other like reasons alleged in fauor of the Southerne course, first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull prouisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintring of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply: and that was to take the Newfound land in our way, which was but seuen hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being vsually at that time of the yeere, and vntill the fine of August, a multitude of shippes repayring thither for fish: we should be relieued abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Cause why we began our discouery frō the North.

Not staying long vpon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, vntill we arriued at places more temperate to our content.

Incommodities in beginning North.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying vnto necessitie, which must be supplyed. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approch of winter, hinging with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather: also contrarietie of currants

currants deſcending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Britton and cape Raſe, would fall out to be great and irreſiſtable impediments vnto our further proceeding for that peere, and compell vs to tourne in thoſe North and colde regions.

Wherefore ſuppoſing all obiections to the contrary, we reſolued to beginne our courſe Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfound land: from whence after our refreſhing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permiſſion) to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay, which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of ſearch. Immediatly we agreed vpon the maner of our courſe and orders to be obſerued in our voyage: which were deliuered in writing vnto the captaines and maiſters of euery ſhippe a copie in maner following.

Euery ſhippe had deliuered two bollets or ſtrowles, the one ſealed vp in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included ſeuerall watchwords: that open, ſeruing vpon our owne coaſt or the coaſt of Ireland: the other ſealed, was promiſed on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we ſhould be cleere of the Iriſh coaſt: which from thenceforth did ſerue vntill we arriued and met altogether in ſuch harbours of the Newfound land as were agreed for our Rendevous. The ſaid watchwords being requiſite to know our conſorts, whenſoeuer by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet diſperſed ſhould come together againe: or one ſhould hale another: or if by ill watch and ſtearedge one ſhippe chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reaſon of the bollet ſealed, was to keepe ſecret that watchword while we were vpon our owne coaſt, leaſt any of the company, ſtealing from the fleete, might bewray the ſame: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord vs by night without miſtruſt, hauing our owne watchword.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Maiſters to be *obſerued by the fleet of ſir Humfrey Gilbert.*

FIrſt the Admirall to carry his flagge by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall ſhall ſhorten his ſaile by night, then to ſhew two lights vntill he be anſwered againe by euery ſhippe ſhewing one light for a ſhort time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his ſhortning of ſaile, as afore ſaid, ſhall make more ſaile againe: then he to ſhew three lights one aboue another.

4 Item, if the Admirall ſhall happen to hull in the night: then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet ſhould happen to be ſcattered by weather, or other miſhap, then ſo ſoone as one ſhall deſcry another, to hoiſe both toppe ſailes twiſe, if the weather will ſerue, and to ſtrike them twiſe againe: but if the weather ſerue not, then to hoiſe the maine toppe ſaile twiſe, and forthwith to ſtrike it twiſe againe.

6 Item, if it ſhall happen a great fogge to fall, then preſently euery ſhippe to beare vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery ſhippe to hull, and ſo to lie at hull till it be cleare. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to ſhoot off two peices euery euening, and euery ſhippe to anſwere it with one ſhot: and euery man bearing to the ſhippe, that is to leeward ſo neere as he may.

7 Item, euery maiſter to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery ſhippe to haile the Admirall, and ſo to fall aſtearne him, ſayling through the Ocean: and being on the coaſt, euery ſhippe to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any ſhippe be in danger any way, by leake or other wiſe, then ſhe to ſhoot off a piece, and preſently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beare towards her, anſwering her with one light, for a ſhort time, and ſo to put it out againe, thereby to giue knowledge that they haue ſeene her token.

10 Item, whenſoeuer the Admirall ſhall hang out her enſigne in the maine ſhrowds, then euery man to come aboord her, as a token of counſell.

11 Item, if there happen any ſtorme or contrary winde to the fleete after the diſcouery, whereby they are ſeparated: then euery ſhippe to repayre vnto theyr laſt good port, there to meete againe.

Our

Our courſe agreed vpon.

THe courſe firſt to be taken for the diſcouery is to beare directly to cape Raſe the moſt Southerly cape of Newfound land. And there to haboꝛ our ſelues either in Rogneux oꝛ Fermous, being the firſt places appointed for our Rende vous, and the next harboꝛs vnto the Noꝛthward of cape Raſe. And therefoꝛe euery ſhippe ſeparated from the fleet, to repayre to that place ſo faſt as God ſhall permit, whether you ſhall fall to the Southward, oꝛ Noꝛthward of it: and there to ſtay foꝛ the meeting of the whole fleet the ſpace of tenne dayes, and when you ſhall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our courſe vnto the New found land.

BEginning our courſe from Silley, the neereſt is by Weſt ſouthweſt (if the winde ſerue) vntill ſuch time as we haue brought our ſelues in the latitude of 43 oꝛ 44 degrees, becauſe the Ocean is ſubiect much to Southerly windes in June and July. Then to take trauerſe from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Noꝛthward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrional latitude by no meanes, if God ſhall not inforce the contrary: but to do your indeuoꝛ to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, ſo neere as you can poſſibly, becauſe cape Raſe lyeth about that height.

Notes.

IF by contrary windes we be driuen backe vpon the coaſt of England, then to repayre vnto Silley foꝛ a place of our aſſembly and meeting.

If we be driuen backe by contrary windes, that we can not paſſe the coaſt of Ireland: then the place of our aſſembly to be at Beare hauen oꝛ Baltimore hauen.

If we ſhall not happen to meet at cape Raſe, then the place of Rende vous to be at cape Briton, oꝛ the neereſt haboꝛ vnto the Weſtward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other ſhipping we may not ſafely ſtay there, then to reſt at the very next ſafe poꝛt to the Weſtward, euery ſhippe leauing theyꝛ marks behinde them foꝛ the moꝛe certaintie of the after comming to know where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in ſuch a caſe, were of the Generals priuate deuice, written by himſelfe, ſealed alſo cloſe in waxe, and deliuered vnto euery ſhippe one ſcroule, which was not to be opened vntill occaſion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue foꝛ inſtruction of after comming: and euery of vs comming into any harboꝛ oꝛ riuer, might know who had beene there, oꝛ whether any were ſtill there vp higher into the riuer, oꝛ departed, and which way.

Beginning of the voyage.

Orders thus determined, and promiſes mutually giuen to be obſerued, euery man withdrew himſelfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our ſhippe vnder ſaile, hauing a ſoft gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tueſday the eleuenth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, hauing in our fleet (at our departure from Cauſet bay) theſe ſhippes, whoſe names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and maiſters of them, I haue alſo inſerted, as followeth:

1 The Delight (aliàs) the George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her, and part owner, and Richard Clearke maiſter.

2 The Barke Rawley, ſet foorth by M. Walter Rawley, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Dauis of Byſtoll maiſter.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reere admirall: In which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cope of Limehouſe maiſter.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirill, of burthen tenne tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade maiſter.

Our fleet conſiſted of fiue ſailes, in which we had about 260 men.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Maſons, Carpenters, Smithes, and ſuch like, requiſit to ſuch an action: alſo Minerall men and Refiners. Beſides, foꝛ ſolace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Muſike in good variety: Not omitting the leaſt toyes, as Moꝛis dancers, Hobby hoꝛſe, and Paylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by

Prouiſions for ſuch diſcoueries.

by all fayre meanes poſſible. And to that end we were indifferently furniſhed of all perty haberdaſhrie wares to barter with thoſe ſimple people.

June 11. In this maner we ſet forward, departing (as hath beene ſaid) out of Cauſon bay the eleuenth day of June, being Tueſday, the weather and winde fayre and good all day, but a great ſtorme of thunder and winde fell the ſame night.

June 13. Thurſday following, when we hailed one another in the euening (according to the order before ſpecified) they ſignified vnto vs out of the Vice admirall, that both the captaine, and very many of the men were fallen ſicke. And about midnight the Vice admirall forſooke vs, notwithſtanding we had the winde Eaſt, fayre and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious ſickneſſe, and arriued greatly diſtreſſed at Plymmouth: the reaſon I could neuer vnderſtand. Sure I am, no coſt was ſpared by their owner M. Raleigh, in ſetting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

Obſerue.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieued with the loſſe of the moſt puiſſant ſhippe in our fleet: after whoſe departure, the Golden hinde ſucceeded in the place of Vice admirall, and remooued her flagge from the mizon vnto the fore toppe.

June 15. From Saturday the 15 of June vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had fayre day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the Weſt northweſt, whereby we were driuen Southward vnto 41 degrees ſcarſe.

About this time of the yere the windes are commonly Weſt to wards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of Weſt to the South or to the North, whereby the courſe thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Aprill & May, hath beene performed out of England in 22 dayes and leſſe. We had winde alwayes ſo ſcant from Weſt northweſt, and from Weſt ſouthweſt againe, that our trauerſe was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almoſt, and afterward North vnto 51 degrees.

July 20. Great fogges vpon the Ocean ſea Northward.

Alſo we were incumbred with much fogge and miſts in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe ſo well together, but were diſſeuered, loſing the company of the Swallow and the Squirill vpon the 20 day of July, whom we met againe at ſeuerall places vpon the Newfound land coaſt the third of Auguſt, as ſhalbe declared in place conuenient.

July 27 Saturday the 27 of July, we might deſcry not farre from vs, as it were, mountaines of ile driuen vpon the ſea, being then in 50 degrees, which were carried Southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be coniectured that ſome currant doth ſet that way from the North.

The banke in length vnknowen, ſtretcheth from North into South. in breadth 10 leagues, in depth of water vpon it 30 fathome.

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this ſide, we paſſe the banke, which are high grounds riſing within the ſea, and vnder water, yet deepe enough, and without danger, being commonly not leſſe then 25 and 30 fathome water vpon them: the ſame (as it were ſome chaine of mountaines within the ſea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, begiming Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South in kinde. The breadth of this banke is ſomewhere more, and ſomewhere leſſe: but we found the ſame about 10 leagues ouer, hauing ſounded both on this ſide thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground, with almoſt 200 fathome of line, both before and after we had paſſed the banke. The Portingalles, and French chiefly, haue a notable trade of fiſhing vpon this banke, where are ſometimes an hundred or more ſailes of ſhippes: who commonly beginne the fiſhing in Aprill, and haue ended by July. That fiſh is large, alwayes wet, hauing no land neere to dry it, and is called Corre fiſh.

A great fiſhing vpon ꝑ banke.

During the time of fiſhing, a man ſhall know without ſounding when he is vpon the banke, by the incredible multitude of ſea fowle houering ouer the ſame, to pray vpon the offalles and garbiſh of fiſh thrown out by fiſher men, and floting vpon the ſea.

Abundance of fowles.

Upon Tueſday the 11 of June, we forſooke the coaſt of England. So againe Tueſday the

July 30. 30 of July (ſeuen weeks after) we got ſight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or ſome other great bay: the certeinty whereof we could not iudge, ſo great haſe and fogge did hang vpon the coaſt, as neither we might diſcerne the land well, nor take the Sunnes height. But by our beſt computation we were then in 51 degrees of latitude.

Firſt ſight of land.

Forſaking this bay and vncomfortable coaſt (nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rocks and mountaines, barre of trees, and void of any greene herbe) we followed the coaſt to the South, with weather fayre and cleere.

Iſland and a fowle named Penguin.

We had ſight of an Iſland named Penguin, of a fowle there breeding in abundance, almoſt incredible, which can not flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much leſſe then a gooſe) and exceeding fat: which the French men vſe to take without difficulty vpon that Iſland, and to barrell them vp with ſalt. But for lingering of time we had made vs there the like proviſion.

Trending

Trending this coast, we came to the Island called Baccaleu, the same not past 2. leagues from the maine: to the South wherof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccaleu, betweene which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whome we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: wherof it seemed their ioye was so amended, that for ioy & congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast vp into the aire and ouerboord, their caps and hats in good plentie. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by vs surprised vpon the narrow seas of England, being pirats, and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kinde so oft, as (being separated from the General) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods iustice did follow the same companie, euen to destruction, and to the ouerthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor:) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharpely tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tollerated longer as great outrage in others: by howe much these went vnder protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

An Island called Baccaleu, of the fish taken there.

Therfore vpō further enquirie it was knowen, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his fraight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victual, and chiefly of apparel, doubtful withal where or when to finde and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to bestow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leaue giuen, not without charge to deale fauorably, they came aboord the fisherman, whom they pilled of tackle, sailes, cables, trailes, and the men of their apparel: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heades) to drawe out else what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men skilfull in such mischiefe) as they tooke their cocke boat to goe aboord their owne ship, it was ouerwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men there drowned: the rest were preserued euen by those seely soules whom they had before spoiled, who saued and deliuered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sailes & furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 750. leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant, to reueile the fact, and iustifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

Misdemeanors of them in the Swallow.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, vntil we came against the harbor called S. Iohns, about 5. leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the frigate of Squirril lying at ancre. Whome the English marchats (that were & alwayes be Admirals by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made ready our fights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrary notwithstanding. there being within of all nations, to the number of 36. sailes. But first the General dispatched a boate to giue them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, hauing Commission from her Maiestie for his voyage he had in hand. And immediatly we folowed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not aboue 2. buts length) the Admiral fell vpon a rocke on the lare boord side by great ouersight. in that the weather was faire, the rocks much aboue water fast by the shoare, where neither went any sea gate. But wee found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delaye there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

English ships are the strongest and best instrals of other fleetes, fishing vpon the South parts of New found land.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ancres, the Captaines & masters repairing aboord our Admiral: whither also came immediatly the Maisters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to vnderstand the Generals intent & cause of our arrival there. They were all satisfied when the general had shewed his cōmission, & purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of ꝑ crowne of England, & the aduancement of Christian religion in those paganish regions, requiring but their lawful ayd for repairing of his fleete, & supply of some necessaries, so farre as conueniently might be afforded him, both out of that & other harbors adioyning. In lieu wherof, he made offer to gratifie them with any fauor & priuiledge, which vpon their better aduise they should demaund, ꝑ like being not to be obteined hereafter for greater price. So craning expedition of his demaund, minding to proceed further south wbout long detention in those parts, he dismissed them, after promise giue of their best indeuour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request.

The marchants with their Maisters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

Good order taken by English marchants for our supply in New found land.

It was further determined, that euery ship of our fleete should deliuer vnto the marchants and Maisters of that harbour, a note of all their wants: which done, the ships as well English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne company, and part of theirs, to goe into other harbours adioyning, (for our English marchants commaund all there) to leauie our prouision: whereunto the Portingals (aboue other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (aboue our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles, and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, troutes, lobsters, and other fresh fish brought daply vnto vs. Moreouer, as the maner is in their fishing, euery weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeed in orderly course, and haue weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: euen so the General, Captaines and maisters of our fleete, were continually inuited and feasted. To growe short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightful, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was vnexpected in that desolate corner of the worlde: where at other times of the yeere, wilde beastes and birds haue onely the fruition of all those Countreis, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good entertainment in New found land.

No Sauages in the South part of New found land.

August 4.

The next morning being Sunday *&* ỳ 4. of August, the General *&* his company were brought on lande by English marchants, who shewed vnto vs their accustomed walkes vnto a place they cal the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought foorth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which do growe in euery place.

August 5.

Possession taken.

Munday following, the General had his tent set vp, who being accompanied with his owne followers, summoned the marchants, and maisters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countreis. Before whom openly was read *&* interpreted vnto the strangers, his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. Iohns, and 200. leagues euery way, inuested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him (after the custome of England) a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for euer: And signified vnto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same lande as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorized vnder her Maiestie to possesse and enioy it, And to ordeine lawes for the gouernment thereof, agreeable (so neere as conueniently might be) vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people comming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subiected and gouerned. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he posed and deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maiesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted preiudicial, the partie or parties offending, should be adiudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should vtter words sounding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loose his eares, and haue his ship and goods confiscate.

Three Lawes.

These contents published, obedience was promised by general voice *&* consent of the multitude as well of Englishmen as strangers, praying for cõtinuance of this possession *&* gouernment begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, *&* infixed vpon a pillar of wood. Yet further *&* actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Maiestie, *&* to the behoofe of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for euer: the General graunted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. Iohns, *&* elsewhere, which was to ỳ owners a great commoditie, being therby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and seruice vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for euer, and yeerely to maineteine possession of the same, by themselues or their assignes.

Actuall possession maintened in New found land.

Now remained only to take in prouision graunted, according as euery shippe was taxed which did fish vpon the coast adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men vnto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and prouisions: others, to search the cõmodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, *&* to make relation vnto the General what either themselues could knowe by their owne trauaile

Men appointed to make search.

uaile and experience, or by good intelligence of men Engliſh or ſtrangers, who had longeſt frequented the ſame coaſt. Alſo ſome obſerued the eleuation of the pole, and dyuerſe plattes of the countrey exactly graued. And by that I could gather by eche mans ſeuerall relation, I haue drawen a briefe deſcription of the New found land, with the commodities by ſea or lande already made, and ſuch alſo as are in poſſibilitie and great likelyhoode to be made: Neuertheleſſe the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, & capes, did periſh with the Admiral: wherefore in the deſcription following, I muſt omit the particulers of ſuch things.

A briefe relation of the New found land and commodities thereof.

Newfound land is of Iſlandes or broken lands.

That which we do call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iſland, or rather (after the opinion of ſome) it conſiſteth of ſundry Iſlands & broken lands, ſituate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfe & entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North ſide of this Iſland. The land lieth South & North, containing in length betweene 3. and 400. miles, accompting from Cape race (which is in 46. deg. 25. min.) vnto the Grand bay in 52. deg. of Septentrionall latitude. The Iſland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, ſafe roades for ſhips, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

Goodly roads and harbors.

The cõmon opinion that is had of intemperature & extreeme cold that ſhould be in this countrey, as of ſome part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more cold then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the ſame eleuation: euen ſo it cannot ſtand with reaſon & nature of the clime, that the South parts ſhould be ſo intemperat as the yeare hath gone. For, as þ ſame do lie vnder the climats of Britton, Aniou, Poictou in France, betweene 46. & 49. deg. ſo can they not ſo much differ from the temperature of thoſe countreis: vnleſſe vpon the outcoaſts lying open vnto the Ocean & ſharpe winds, it muſt indeede be ſubiect to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interpoſed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defende and to reſiſt the aſperitie and rigor of the ſea and weather. Some holde opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more ſubiect to cold, by how much it lieth high and neere vnto the middle region. I graunt, that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy & Affricke, euen vnder the Equinoctial line, the mountaines are extreeme cold, and ſeldome vncouered of ſnow, in their culme & higheſt tops, which commeth to paſſe by the ſame reaſon that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countreis lying beneath them, it is found quite contrary. Euen ſo all hilles hauing their diſcents, the valleis alſo and low grounds muſt be likewiſe hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be ſo forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Affricke: by howe much the Sunne in his diurnal courſe from Eaſt to Weſt, paſſeth ouer (for the moſt part) dry land and ſandie countries, before hee arriueth at the Weſt of Europe or Affricke, whereby his motion increaſeth heate, with litle or no qualification by moyſt vapours. Where, on the contrary, he paſſeth from Europe and Affricke vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyſt vapours, which do qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being ſo much to the Northward. Neuertheles (as I ſaid before) the cold cãnot be ſo intollerable vnder the latitude of 46. 47. and 48. (eſpecially within land) that it ſhould be vnhabitable, as ſome doe ſuppoſe, ſeeing alſo there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in theſe South parts there be certaine beaſts, ounces or leopards, & birds in like maner, which in the Sommer we haue ſeene, not heard of in countreis of extreeme and vehement coldneſſe. Beſides, as in the moneths of June, July, Auguſt & September, the heate is ſomewhat more then in England at thoſe ſeaſons: ſo men remaining vpon the South parts neere vnto Cape Race, vntil after Hallantide, haue not found the cold ſo extreeme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Thoſe which haue arriued there after Nouember & December, haue found the ſnowe exceeding deepe, wherein no maruell, conſidering the ground vpon the coaſt, is rough & vneuen, and the ſnow is driuen into the places moſt declining, as the like is to be ſeene with vs. The like depth of ſnow happily ſhall not be found within lande vpon the plainer countreis, which alſo are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds & weather. But admitting extraordinary colde in thoſe South parts, aboue that with vs here: it can not be ſo great as in Sweueland, much leſſe in Moſcouia or Ruſſia: yet are the ſame countreis very populous, and the rigor of colde is diſpenſed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meates and drinkes: all which needs not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

Newfound land habitable.

Cold by accidẽtal meanes.

Commodities

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelyhoode haue abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are sauages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this Countrey, seruing either for sustentation of inhabitantes, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made diuers: that it seemeth Nature hath recompensed that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits:

Fish of sea and fresh water.

viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as trouts, salmons & other fish to vs vnknowen: Also codde, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of whales, for which also is a very great trade in ꝑ bayes of Placentia & Grand bay, where is made Trane oyles of the whale: Herring the largest that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Walstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, lobsters, turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters hauing pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, as well to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large Countries adioyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countreis of Europe doe yeeld, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitche, tarre, soapeashes, dealboord, mastes for shippes, hides, furres, flaxe, hempe, coyne, cables, cordage, linen cloth, mettals and many more. All which the Countries will afoarde, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are firretrees, pine and Cypresse, all yeelding gumme and turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger then a small pease. Also peare trees but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sortes to vs vnknowen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing foorth abundantly pease small, yet good feeding for cattle. Roses passing sweete, like vnto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berrie we call hurts, good and holesome to eate. The grasse and hearbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proued by English marchants which haue caried sheepe thither for fresh vitaile, & had them sailed exceeding fat in lesse then 3. weekes. Pease which our countrymen haue sowen in the time of May, haue come vp faire, & bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming vp by art and industrie in that desolate and inhabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the toppes of mountaines and in the valleis. In which are said to be muskels not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water & land in great plentie and diuersitie. All kinde of greene foule: Others as bigge as buttards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

Upon the land diuers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentifully larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doues, which our men after one flight did kill with cougels, they were so fat and vnable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and others very small. Beasts of sundry kinds, red deare, buttolses or a beast it seemeth by the exact and foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolfes, foxes, which to the Northward a litle further are blacke, whose furre is esteemed in some Countreis of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought vnto him a Sable aliue, which he sent vnto his brother Sir John Gilbert knight of Deuonshire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderstood. We could not obserue the hundreth part of creatures in those vnhabited landes: but these mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures seruing for the vse of man, though man hath not vsed the fift part of the same, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to liue indirectly, and very miserably to liue and die within this Realme pestered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obteine a habitation in those remote landes, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister vnto mens endeuors, and for art to worke vpon.

How fruitfull land doth minister commodities abundantly for art and industrie.

For besides these already recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shewe of mineral substance: Iron very common, lead, & some where copper. I will not auere of richer metals: albeit, by the circumstance following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

For amongst other charges giuen to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest, and religious, named Daniel. Who after

after search brought vp at first some sorts of oare, seeming rather to be vpon then other mettall. The next time he found oare, which with no small shew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General, vsing protestation, that if siluer were the thing which might satisfie the General & his followers, there it was, auoiding him to seeke no further: the peril whereof hee vndertooke vpon his life (as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maiestie, that I may vse his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Siluer oare brought vnto the General.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to liue, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to haue some part of the oare, he replied: Content your selfe, I haue seene enough, and were it but to satisfie my priuate humor, I would proceed no further. The promise vnto my friends, and necessitie, to bring also the South countreis within compasse of my Patent (neere expired) as we haue already done these North parts, do onely perswade me further. And touching the oare, I haue sent it aboorde, whereof I would haue no speach to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: being here both Portingals, Biscayes and Frenchmen not farre off, from whome must be kept any bruite or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea proofe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answere I iudged reasonable, and consenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the New found-land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

Reasons why no further search was made for the siluer mine.

While the better sort of vs were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of an other sort & disposition, were plotting of mischiefe. Some calling to steale away our shipping by night, watching opportunitie by the Generals and captaines lying on the shoare: whose conspiracies discouered, they were preuented. Others drew together in company, and carried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shoare. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselues, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as dayly departed from the coast. Some were sicke of flixes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licensed to returne home. Insomuch as after we had reuiewed our people, resolued to see an ende of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallowe with such prouision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

Disobedience in our company.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose steade was appointed Captaine, Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallowe: who also brought with him into the Delight, all his men of the Swallowe, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fishermen there mette at sea.

God brought together these men into the ship, ordained to perish, who before had committed such outrage.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell, (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England.) the same frigate being most conuenient to discouer vpon the coast, and to searche into euery harbour or creeke, which a great shippe could not doe. Therefore the frigate was prepared with her nettings and flixes, and ouer charged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to giue a shewe, then with iudgement to seruice vnto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their ouerthrow.

Why Sr H. Gilbert went in the frigate.

Nowe hauing made ready our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboorde our prouision, which was wines, bread or rusk, fishe wette and drie, sweete oyles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons, barrelled and such like: Also wee had other necessary prouisions for trimming our shippes, nettes and lines to fishe withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discouerie. In briefe, wee were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

Liberalitie of the Portingals.

We departed from this harbour of S. Iohns vpon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact obseruation to be in 47. degrees 40. minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

August 20.
S. Johns in 47. deg. 40. min.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Johns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the sea, riseth vp a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowen: It is in latitude 46. deg. 25. min.

Cape Race in 46. deg. 25. min.

Under this Cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layde out bookes and lines to take codde, and drew in lesse then two houres, fishe so large and in such abundance, that many hopes after we finde vpon no other prouision.

Fish large and plentifull.

From hence we shaped our course vnto the Iland of Sable, if conueniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Britton.

Cattel in the Iſle of Sabla.

Sabla lieth to the Seawarde of Cape Britton about 25. leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence wee had of a Portingall, (during our abode in S. Iohns,) who was himſelfe preſent, when the Portingals (about 30. yeeres paſt) did put into the ſame Iſlande both Neat and Swine to breede, which were ſince exceedingly multiplied. This ſeemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Iſlande lying ſo neere vnto the maine, which wee intended to plant vpon, ſuch ſtore of cattel, whereby we might at all times conueniently be relieued of victual, and ſerued of ſtoare for breed.

In this courſe wee trended along the coaſt, which from Cape Race ſtretcheth into the Northweſt, making a baye, which ſome called Trepaſſa. Then goeth out againe towarde the Weſt, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lie in maner Eaſt and Weſt. But this point incli neth to the North: to the Weſt of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We ſent men on land to take view of the ſoyle along this coaſt, whereof they made good report, and ſome of them had will to be planted there. They ſawe growing peaſe in great abundance euery where.

Good ſoile.

The diſtance betweene Cape Race, and Cape Britton is 100. leagues. In which Nauigation we ſpent 8. dayes: hauing many times the wind indifferent good, yet could we neuer attaine ſight of any land all that time, ſeeing we were hindered by the currant. At laſt we fel into ſuch flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs eſcaped: where neuertheleſſe we loſt our Admiral with all the men and prouiſion, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of ſkill to make coniecture, by our courſe and way we held from Cape Race thither, And thereby the flats and dangers may be inſerted in ſea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the ſame courſe hereafter: I haue ſet downe the beſt reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Coxe Maſter of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouſe.

Reckonings kept in our courſe from Cape Race towards *the Iſland of Sabla, or Cape Britton, to the time and* place where we loſt our Admirall.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt,	14. leagues.
	Weſt and by South,	25.
	Weſt Northweſt,	25.
	Weſt Northweſt,	9.
	South Southweſt,	10.
	Southweſt,	12.
	South Southweſt,	10.
Auguſt 29.	Weſt Northweſt,	12. Here we loſt our Admirall.

Summe of theſe leagues, 117.

The reckoning of Iohn Paul Maſters mate, *from Cape Race.*

Auguſt 22.	Weſt,	14. leagues.
23.	Northweſt and by Weſt,	9.
24.	Southweſt & by South,	5.
25.	Weſt and by South,	40.
26.	Weſt and by North,	7.
27.	Southweſt,	3.
28.	Southweſt,	9.
	Southweſt,	7.
	Weſt Southweſt,	7.
29.	Northweſt and by Weſt,	20. Here we loſt the Admiral.

Summe of all theſe leagues 121.

Our courſe we helde in clearing vs of theſe flats was Eaſt Southeaſt, and Southeaſt, and South 14. leagues with a marueilous ſcant winde.

The

The manner how our Admirall was loſt.

VPon Tewſdaye the 27. of Auguſt, toward the euening, our Generall cauſed them in his frigat to ſownd, who found white ſande at 35. fathome, beeing then in latitude about 44. degrees. August. 27.

Wenſday towards night, the winde came South, and we bare with the lande all that night, 28
Weſt northweſt, contrarie to the minde of Maſter Coxe: neuertheles wee followed the Admirall, depriued of power to auoide a miſchiefe, which by no contradiction coulde be brought to bee other courſe, alleaging they could not make the ſhippe to worke better, nor to lye otherwaies.

The euening was faire, and pleaſant, yet not without token of ſtorme to enſue, and moſt part of this Wenſday night, like the Swanne that ſingeth before her death, they in the Admirall, or Delight, continued in ſounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: alſo winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the ende of their iolitie, left with the batterll and ringing of dolefull knels. Predictions before the wracke.

Towards the euening alſo, we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mightie Porpoſe, with a harping yron, hauing firſt ſtriken diuers of them, and brought away part of their fleſh, ſticking vpon the yron, but could recouer onely that one. Theſe alſo paſſing through the Ocean, in heardes, ad portend ſtorme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of ſtrange voyces, the ſame night, which ſtarted ſome from the helme.

Thurſday the 29. of Auguſt, the winde roſe, and blewe vehemently at South and by Eaſt, 29
bringing withall raine, and thicke miſte, that wee could not ſee a Cable length before vs. And betimes in the morning, wee were altogether runne and folden in amongeſt flats and ſandes, amongeſt which, wee found ſhoale and deepe in euery three or foure ſhippes length, after wee began to ſownd: but firſt wee were vpon them vnwares, vntill Maſter Coxe looking out, diſcerned (in his iudgement) white cliffs, crying (lande) withall, though we could not afterward deſcry any land, it being very likely the breaking of the ſea white, which ſeemed to be white cliffes, though the haſte and thicke weather. Loſſe of our Admirall.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to caſt about to Seaward, which, being the greater ſhippe, and of burden 120. tunnes, was put foremoſt vpon the breach, keeping ſo ill watch, that they knewe not the danger, before they felt the ſame, too late to recouer it: for preſently the Admirall ſtroke a grounde, and had ſoone after her ſterne and hinder partes beaten in peeces: whereupon the reſt (that is to ſay, the Frigat, in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) caſt about Eaſt ſoutheaſt, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, becauſe that was, carried vs to Seaward. Making out from this danger, we ſownded one while ſeuen fathome, then fiue fathome, then foure fathome and leſſe, againe deeper, immediatly foure fathome, then but three fathome, the ſea going mightily and high. At laſt we recouered (God be thanked) in ſome deſpaire, to ſea roome enough.

In this diſtreſſe, wee had vigilant eie vnto the Admirall, whom we ſawe caſt away, without power to giue the men ſuccour, neither could wee eſpie any of the men that leaped ouer boord to ſaue themſelues, either in the ſame Pinneſſe or Cocke, or vppon rafters, and ſuch like meanes, yeelding themſelues to men in thoſe extremities: for we deſired to ſaue the men by euery poſſible meanes. But all in vaine, ſith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beate vp and downe as neere vnto the wracke as was poſſible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might eſpie any of them.

This was a heauie and grieuous cuent, to loſe at one blowe our chiefe ſhippe fraighted with great prouiſion, gathered together with much trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the loſſe of our men, which periſhed, to the number almoſt of a hundreth ſoules. Amongeſt whome was honoured a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the Citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the geſts and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this diſcouerie, to the honour of our nation, the ſame being adorned with the eloquent ſtile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time. Budæus a Hungarian.

Here alſo periſhed our Baron Reuner and Diſcouerer of ineſtimable riches, as it was left amongſt ſome of vs in vndoubted hope. Daniel a refiner of mettals.

No leſſe heauie was the loſſe of the Captaine Mawrice Browne, a vertuous, honeſt, and diſcreete Gentleman, ouerſeene onely in libertie giuen late before to men that ought to haue bene reſtrained, who ſhewed himſelfe a man reſolued, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his laſt act

of

of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall be hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recouering the shippe, and that men began to giue ouer, and to saue themselues, the Captaine was aduised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the shippe: but refusing that counsell, would not giue example with the first to leaue the shippe, but vsed all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leaue off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue perished through his default, the wing an ill precedent vnto his men, by leauing the shippe first himselfe. With this minde he mounted vpon the highest decke, where he attended imminent death, and vnauoidable: how long, I leaue it to God, who withholdeth not his comfort from his seruants at such times.

A wonderfull scape and deliuerance. A great distresse. A desperate resolution.

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of foureteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselues to Gods mercie, amiddest the stormes, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming ouercharged in foule weather with companie, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, though he better then some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to be throwen ouer board vpon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwaies seemed impossible to liue, offered himselfe with the first, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuertheles Richard Clarke, that was Maister of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, auising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to saue all, as well as a few.

The boate was carried before the winde, continuing sixe daies and nights in the Ocean, and arriued at last with the men (aliue, but weake) vpon the New found land, saue that the foresaide Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and an other called of vs Brasile, of his trauell into those Countries, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in colde and wette, to haue no better sustenance then their owne wine, for sixe daies together.

Thus were famished.

Thus whome God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to be famished, who doth giue limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whome againe he will preserue, neither Sea, nor famine, can confound. For those that arriued vpon the Newe founde land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coast.

After this heauie chance, we continued in beating the sea vp & downe, expecting when the weather would cleere vp, that wee might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or some Iland. For we many times, and in sundry places, found ground at 50. 45. 40. fathomes, and lesse. The ground comming vpon our lead, beeing sometimes ooze sande, and other while a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage daily after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of colde, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendment, setling an assurance of worse weather to grow vpon vs euery day. The Leesde of vs laye full of flatts and daungers inuitable, if the winde blewe harde at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Baye of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknowen. But aboue all, prouision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Casting striuing vs to returne home againe.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediatly they also of the Golden Hinde, grewe to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons hauing also moued the Generall to haue compassion of his poore men, in whome he sawe no want of good will, but of meanes fitte to performe the action they came for, resolued vpon retire: and calling to the Captaine and Maister of the Hinde, he perswaded them many reasons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, wherall protesting himselfe greatly satisfied with that he had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these wordes, Be content, we haue seene enough, and take no care of expence past: I will set you forth royally the next Spring, if God send vs safe home. Therefore I pray you let vs no longer striue here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how vnwillingly the Captaine & Maister of the Hinde condescended to

this

this motion, his owne company can teſtifie: yet comforted with the Generals promiſes, of a ſpeedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reaſons, proving an impoſſibilitie, to accompliſh the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to returne.

So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31. of Auguſt, we changed our courſe and returned backe for England, at which very inſtant, euen in winding about, there paſſed alongſt betweene vs and towards the land we now forſooke, a very lion to our ſeeming, in ſhape, haire and colour, not ſwimming after the maner of a beaſt by mouing of his feete, but rather liding vpon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in ſight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe riſing about the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunife, Porpoſes, and all other fiſh: but conſtantly ſhewing himſelfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithſtanding, we preſented our ſelues in open view and geſture to amaſe him, as all creatures will be commonly at a ſudden gaze and ſight of men. Thus he paſſed along turning his heade to and fro, pawning and gaping wide, with ougliſe demonſtration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde vs a fare well (comming right againſt the Hinde) he ſent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which ſpectacle we all beheld ſo farre as we were able to diſcerne the ſame, as men mone to wonder at euery ſtrange thing, as this doubteleſſe was, to ſee a lion in the Ocean ſea, or fiſh in ſhape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the generall himſelfe, I forbeare to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre againſt ſuch an enemie, if it were the deuill. August. 31. A monſter of the ſea.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the ſea rough, inſomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went, was almoſt ſwalowed vp.

Munday in the after noone we paſſed in ſight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights back againe, as before we had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ſhip periſhed. Which hinderance thitherward, and ſpeed backe againe, is to be imputed vnto the ſwift currant, as well as to the windes, which we had more large in our returne. September 2.

This Munday the Generall came aboord the Hinde, to haue the Surgeon of the Hinde to dreſſe his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a nayle: At what time we comforted each other with hope of hard ſucceſſe to be all paſt, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry out lights alwaies by night, that we might keepe together: he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be entreated to carry in the Hinde, which had bene more for his ſecuritie. Immediately after, followed a harpe ſtorme, which we ouerpaſſed for that time. Praiſed be God.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hinde againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Maſter, and companie, which was the laſt meeting, and continued there from morning vnto night. During which time, there paſſed ſundry diſcourſes, touching affaires paſt, and to come, lamenting greatly the loſſe of his great ſhippe, more of the men, but moſt of all, of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which he was out of meaſure grieued, the ſame doubtles being ſome matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not diuine from him: yet by circumſtance gathered, the ſame to be the care which Daniel the Sayon had brought vnto him in the Newe found land. Whatſoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him ſo deepe, as not able to containe himſelfe, he beate his boy in great rage, euen at the ſame time, ſo long after the miſcarrying of the great ſhip, becauſe vpon a faire day, when we were becalmed vpon the coaſt of New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he ſent his boye aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongſt which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time, he could neuer conueniently ſend againe aboord the great ſhip, much leſſe he doubted her ruine ſo neere at hand. Our laſt conference with our Generall. Circumſtances to be well obſerued in our Generall, importing the care to be of a Miner. Mayne.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuerſly, and by ſundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this riche mine. For whereas the Generall had neuer before good conceite of theſe north partes of the world: now his minde was wholly fixed vpon Newe founde land. And as before he refuſed not to grant aſſignements liberally to them that required the ſame into theſe north partes, Now he became contrarily affected, refuſing to make any ſo large grants, eſpecially of S. Johns, which certaine Engliſh merchants made ſuite for, offering to employ their money and trauell vpon the ſame: yet neither by their owne ſuite, nor of others of his owne companie, whome he ſeemed willing to pleaſure, it could be obtained.

Alſo laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for diſpoſing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he aſſigned the Captaine and Maſter of the Golden Hinde, vnto the ſouth diſcouerie, and reſerued vnto himſelfe the north, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the ſouth, and that he was now become a northen man altogether.

Laſt

Laſt, being demanded what meanes he had at his arriuall in England, to compaſſe the charges of ſo great preparation, as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leaue that to me (he replied) I will aske a penie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maieſtie, who will be ſo gracious, to lende mee 10000. pounds, willing vs therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he ſaid) with all his heart, for that he had ſeene, the ſame being enough for vs all, and that wee needed not to ſeeke any further. And theſe laſt words he would often repeate, with demonſtration of great feruencie of mind, being himſelfe very confident, and ſetled in beliefe of ineſtimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheleſſe miſtruſted altogether, not being made partakers of thoſe ſecretes, which the Generall kept vnto himſelfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witneſſes of his wordes and proteſtations, which ſparingly I haue deliuered.

Miſlikers in the Generall.

Leauing the iſſue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleaſure bring the ſame to light: I will haſten to the ende of this tragedie, which muſt be knit vp in the perſon of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen ſo the vehement perſwaſion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaile, to diuert him from a wilfull reſolution of going through in his Frigat, which was ouercharged vpon their deckes, with ſighes, netting, and ſmall artillerie, too cumberſome for ſo ſmall a boate, that was to paſſe through the Ocean ſea at that ſeaſon of the yeere, when by courſe we might expect much ſtorme and foule weather, whereof in deede we had enough.

A token of a good mind.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Maſter, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venter in the Frigat, this was his anſwere: I will not forſake my little companie going homeward, with whome I haue paſſed ſo many ſtormes, and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be ſo ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the ſea, albeit this was rather raſhnes, then aduiſed reſolution, to preferre the winde of a vaine report to the wright of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reaſon, he had prouiſion out of the Hinde, ſuch as was wanting abooard his Frigat. And ſo we committed him to Gods protection, and ſet him abooard his Pinneſſe. We being more then 300. leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Illands of Aſores South of vs, yet we then keeping much to the North, vntill we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible ſeas, breaking ſhort and high Pyramid wiſe. The reaſon whereof ſeemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and lowe within that ſea, (as we ſee hils and dales vpon the land) vpon which the ſeas doe mount and fall: or elſe the cauſe proceedeth of diuerſitie of winds, ſhifting often into ſundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not preſently ſetled, ſo many ſeas doe encounter togither, as there had bene diuerſitie of windes. Howſoeuer it commeth to paſſe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, neuer ſawe more outragious Seas. We had alſo vpon our maine yarde, an apparition of a little fire by night, which Sea men doe call Caſtor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill ſigne of more tempeſt: the ſame is vſuall in ſtormes.

A reſolute and Chriſtianlike ſaying in a diſtreſſe.

Sunday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere caſt away, oppreſſed by waues, yet at that tyme recouered: and giuing fourth ſignes of ioye, the Generall ſitting abaft with a booke in his hande, cryed out vnto vs in the Hinde (ſo oft as wee did approche within hearing:) Wee are as neere to heauen by Sea, as by lande. Reiterating the ſame ſpeeche, well beſeeming a ſouldier, reſolute in Jeſus Chriſt, as I can teſtifie hee was.

Sir Humfrey G. drowned.

The ſame Sunday night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being a heade of vs in the Golden Hinde, ſuddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, wee loſt the ſight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was caſt away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and ſwallowed vppe of the Sea, yet ſtill wee looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vppon the coaſt of England: Deuiſing no ſmall raſle at Sea, vnto which wee gaue not the tokens betweene vs, agreed vppon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if wee ſhoulde at any time bee ſeparated.

Arriuall in England of the Golden Hinde.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleaſed God to lend ſafe home the Golden Hinde, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22. day of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger eſcaped in a flawe, comming from ſouth eaſt, with ſuch thicke miſt, that we could not diſcerne land, vntil we put in right with the hauen.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, and lay there at anker before the range, while the captaine

taine went a land, to inquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sailing well, might happily haue bene before vs. Also to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall, of our hard successe, whome the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witnesses of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might please him to take the examination of euery person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeuour. Sir Iohn Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether despairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendshippe and curtesie to the Captaine, and his companie, requiring to haue his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

A sit motion of the Captain vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert.

Neuertheles, when the Captaine returned aboord his ship, he founde his men bent to depart, euery man to his home: and then the winde seruing to proceede higher vpon the coast: they demanded money to carry them home, some to London, others to Harwiche, and else where, (if the barke should be carried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home:) or else to take benefite of the wind, then seruing to drawe neerer home, which should be a lesse charge vnto the Captaine, and great ease vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure vnto sir Iohn Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. All the men tired with the tediousnes of so vnprofitable a voyage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toile and labour, hard diet, and continuall hazard of life was vnrecompensed: their Captaine neuertheles, by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoeuer haue confidence in him alone. Yet haue we more neere feeling and perseuerance of his powerful hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one same peril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

An ill recompense.

Euen so, amongest very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoilings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed: albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence, for their sakes liuing, it pleased God to support this companie, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infested:) the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or preuented by death.

Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterprise and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discouer, possesse, and to reduce vnto the seruice of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countries of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the which, as his zeale deserueth high commendation: euen so, he may iustly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

Constancie in sir Humfrey Gilbert.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine and determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: neuertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimonie, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance vpon a ground imagined good. The which failing, very like his associats were promised, and made it their best reckoning to be salued some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

His temeritie and presumption.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credite, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fitte, presuming, the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carry him to the desired ende. Into which, hauing thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though he sawe no encouragement to proceede, least his credite foiled in his first attempt, in a second should vtterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and worst, refused not to entertaine euery person and meanes whatsoeuer, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For besides that

fruite

fruite may growe in time of our trauecing into those northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to be in this Gentleman, and made vnsauorie, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Afflictions needefull in the children of God.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: so it pleased the deuine will, to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwaies aspired.

Ornatissimo viro, Magistro Richardo Hakluyto Oxonij in *Collegio ædis Christi, artium, & Philosophiæ Magistro, amico,* & fratri suo.

S. Non statueram ad te scribere, cùm in mentem veniret promissum literarum tuarum. Putabas te superiore iam Iunio nos subsecuturum. Itaque de meo statu ex doctore Humfredo certiorem te fieri iusseram. Verùm sic tibi non esset satisfactum. Itaque scribam ad te ijsdem ferè verbis, quia noua meditari & συνουμιζειν mihi hoc tempore non vacat, Vndecimo Iunij ex Anglia reuera tandem & seriò soluimus, portu & terra apud Plemuthum simul relictis. Classis quinque nauibus constabat, maxima, quam "frater Amiralij accommodauerat, ignotum quo cõsilio, statim tertio die à nobis se subduxit. Reliqui perpetuò coniunctim nauigauimus ad 23. Iulij, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aspectu alii aliam viam tenuimus: nobis seorsim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Augusti, ad gradum circiter 50. cùm vltrà 41. paucis antè diebus descendissemus spe Australium ventorum, qui tamen nobis suo tempore nunquam spirauêre. Insula est ea, quam vestri Penguin vocant, ab auium eiusdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aues vidimus, nec insulam accessimus ventis aliò vocantibus. Cæterùm conuenimus omnes in eundem locum paulò ante portum in quem communi consilio omnibus veniendum erat, idque intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate & nostro gaudio. Locus situs est in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. & 48. gradum, diuum Ioannem vocant. Ipse Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum, & angustiam nauis paulò afflictiorem comitatum habuit, & iam duos dysentericis doloribus amisit: de cæteris bona spes est. Ex nostris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoso iuueni me coniunxeram) duo etiam casu quodam submersi sunt. Cæteri salui & longè firmiores. Ego nunquam sanior. In hunc locum tertio Augusti appulimus: quinto autem ipse Admiralius has regiones in suam & regni Angliæ possessionem potestatemq; vendicauit, latis quibusdam legibus de religione & obsequio Reginæ Angliæ. Reficimur hoc tempore paulò hilarius & lautius. Certè enim & qualibus ventis vsi simus, & quàm fessi esse potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20. circiter naues Lusitanicas & Hispanicas nacti in hoc loco sumus: eæ nobis impares non patientur nos esurire. Angli etsi satis firmi, & à nobis tuti, authoritate regii diplomatis omni obsequio & humanitate prosequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, & populi. Cæterùm quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video? Piscium inexhausta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra vniuersa "montana & syluestris: arbores vt plurimùm pinus: eæ partim consenuêre, partim nunc adolescunt: magna pars vetustate collapsa, & aspectum terræ, & iter euntium ita impedit, vt nusquam progredi liceat. Herbæ omnes proceræ; sed rarò à nostris diuersę. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina, & spicas in similitudinem secales: & facilè cultura & satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in syluis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, & conficiuntur: sed albi sunt, vt mihi ex pellibus coniicere licuit, & minores quàm nostri. Populus an vllus sit in hac regione incertum est: Nec vllum vidi qui testari posset. (Et quis quęso posset, cùm ad longum progredi non liceat?) nec minùs ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus. Causa eadem est, etsi aspectus eorũ mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionẽ spaciũ pateret: nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnũ incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septẽnium totũ pisces non comparuisse, ex acerbata maris vnda ex terebynthina, quę cõflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est, vt nisi pisces, qui arefiunt ad solem, assidui inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm

"Dominus Ralegh.

"In the south side of Newe found land, there is store of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clark found.

The great heate of the sunne in summer.

quàm frigidum ſit, magnæ moles glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum eſt à comitibus menſe Maio ſexdecim totos dies interdum ſe inter tantam glaciem hęſiſſe, vt 60. orgyas altę eſſent inſulę: quarum latera ſoli oppoſita cum liqueſcerent, libratione quadam vniuerſam molem ita inuerſam, vt quod antè pronum erat, ſupinum euaderet, magno preſentium diſcrimine, vt conſentaneum eſt. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus eſt: ad orientem ſupra mare perpetuę nebulę: Et in ipſo mari circa Bancum (ſic vocant locum vbi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, & piſces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies abſque pluuia. Expeditis noſtris neceſſitatibus in hoc loco, in Auſtrum (Deo iuuante) progrediemur, tantò indies maiori ſpe, quò plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hęc de noſtris. Cupio de vobis ſcire: ſed meo ne incaſſum. Imprimis autem quomodo Vntonus meus abſentiam meam ferat, pręter modum intelligere velim: Habebit noſtrum obſequium & officium paratum, quamdiu vixerimus. Reuera autem ſpero, hanc noſtram peregrinationem ipſius inſtituto vſui futuram. Nunc reſtat, vt me tuum putes, & quidem ita tuum, vt neminem magis. Iuuet dei filius labores noſtros eatenus, vt tu quoque participare poſsis. Vale amiciſsime, ſuauiſsime, ornatiſsime Hakluyte, & nos ama. In Newfundlandia apud portum Sancti Iohannis 6. Auguſti 1583.

Stephanus Parmenius
Budeius, tuus.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

To the worſhipfull, Maſter Richard Hakluyt at Oxforde in *Chriſts church, Maſter of Art, and Philoſophie, his friend* and brother.

I had not purpoſed to write to you, when the promiſe of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June laſt to haue followed vs your ſelfe, and therefore I had left order that you ſhould be aduertiſed of my ſtate, by Maſter Doctor Humfrey: but ſo you would not be ſatiſfied: I will write therefore to you almoſt in the ſame words, becauſe I haue no leaſure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to varp or multiply words.

The 11. of June we ſet ſayle at length from Englande in good earneſt, and departed, leauing the hauen and lande behinde vs at Plymmouth: our Fleete conſiſted of fiue ſhippes: the greateſt, which the Admirals mother had lent vs, withdrew her ſelfe from vs the third day, wee knowe not vpon what occaſion: with the reſt wee ſayled ſtill together till the three and twentie of July: at which time our viewe of one another beeing intercepted by the great miſtes, ſome of vs ſayled one way, and ſome another: to vs alone the firſt lande appeared, the firſt of Auguſt, about the latitude of fiftye degrees, when as before wee had deſcended beyonde 41. degrees in hope of ſome Southerly windes, which notwithſtanding neuer blewe to vs, at any fitte time.

It is an Ilande which your men call Penguin, becauſe of the multitude of birdes of the ſame name. Yet wee neither ſawe any birdes, nor drewe neere to the lande, the windes ſeruing for our courſe directed to another place, but wee mett all together at that place a little before the Hauen, whereunto by common Counſell wee had determined to come, and that within the ſpace of two houres by the great goodneſſe of God, and to our great ioy. The place is ſituated in Newfound lande, betweene fortie ſeuen and fortie eight degrees, called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall him ſelfe by reaſon of the multitude of the men, and the ſmalneſſe of his ſhippe, had his company ſomewhat ſickly, and had all ready loſt two of the ſame company, which died of the Flixe: of the reſt wee conceiue good hope. Of our company (for I ioyned my ſelfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two perſons by a miſchance were drowned, the reſt are in ſafetie, and ſtrong, and for myne owne part I was neuer more healthy. Wee arriued at this place the third of Auguſt: and the fift the Admirall tooke poſſeſſion of the Country, for himſelfe and the kingdome of England: hauing made and publiſhed certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is ſomewhat better, and daintier, then it was before: for in good ſooth, the experience of ſo long time hath taught vs what contrary windes wee haue founde, and

what great trauell we may endure hereafter: and therefore we will take such order, that wee will want nothing, for we founde in this place, about twenty Portingale, and Spanishe shippes, besides the shippes of the Englishe: which being not able to matche vs, suffer vs not to be hunger starued: the Englishe although they were of them selues stronge ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our aucthoritie, by the Queenes letters patentes, they shewed vs all manner of dutie and humanitie.

The manner of this Countrey, and people remayne nowe to bee spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse? of fishe here is incredible abundance, whereby great gayne growes to them, that trauell to these partes: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne vp with some goodly fishe: the whole lande is full of hilles and woodes. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them beeing fallen by reason of their age, doth so hynder the sighte of the Lande, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to trauell, that they can goe no whither: all the grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fitt for corne: for I founde certayne blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easelie bee framed for the vse of man: here are in the woodes bushe berries, or rather strawe berries growing vp like trees, of great sweetenesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrie, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to be white, as I coniectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse then ours. Whether there bee any people in this Countrey I know not, neither haue I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither? In like sort it is vnknowne, whether any mettals lye vnder the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to haue some mynes in them: we moued the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so we might haue space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by verie credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fishe neuer came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeres after, by reason of the waters made bytter by the turpentyne, and rosen of the trees, which ranne into the ryuers vpon the firing of them. The weather is so hot this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dryed by the sunne, be euery day turned, it cannot possibly be preserued from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the middest of the Sea haue taught vs: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathomes thicke, the sides whereof which were towarde the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inuerted and turned in manner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward rose vppwarde, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason we may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towardes the East there is nothing els but perpetual mistes, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground at fourty leagues distant from the shoare, and where they began to fishe) there is no day without rayne. When we haue serued, and supplyed our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the help of God to passe towards the south, with so much the more hope euery day, by how much greater the thinges are, that are reported of those Countries, which we go to discouer. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone Master Henry Umpton doth take my absence: my obedience, and dutie shall alwaies be readie towardes him as long as I liue: but in deede I hope, that this iourney of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remayneth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound lande, at Saint Iohns Port, the sixt of August, 1583.

Steuen Parmenius of
Buda, yours.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, maſter of the ſhippe *called the Delight, going for the diſcouerie of Norumbega with Sir* Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuſe of that fault of caſting away the ſhippe and men imputed to his ouerſight.

DEparting out of Saint Iohns Harborough in the Newfound land the twentith of Auguſt vnto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our courſe vnto the Iſle of Sablon or the Iſle of Sande, which the generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert woulde willingly haue ſeene. But when wee came within twenty leagues of the Iſle of Sablon, wee fell to controuerſie of our courſe. The General came vp in his Frigot and demaunded of me Richard Clarke Maſter of the Admiral what courſe was beſt to keepe: I ſaid that weſt ſouthweſt was beſt: becauſe the wind was at ſouth & might at hand and vnknowen ſands lay off a great way from the land. The General commaunded me to go weſt northweſt. I tolde him agayne that the Iſle of Sablon was Weſt northweſt and but fifteene leagues off, and that he ſhoulde bee vpon the Iſland before day if hee went that courſe. The Generall ſayd my reckoning was vntrue and charged mee in her Maieſties name, and as I would ſhewe my ſelfe in her Countrey to followe him that night. I fearing his threatnings, becauſe hee preſented her Maieſties perſon, did followe his commaundement, and about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning the ſhippe ſtrooke on ground, where ſhee was caſt away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the courſe that I would haue had them gon before and ſawe the ſhippe caſt away men and all, and was not able to ſaue a man, for there was not water vpon the ſande for either of them much leſſe for the Admirall that drewe fourteene foote. Nowe as God woulde the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ſhippe had killed ſome foule with his piece, and ſome of the company deſired me that they might hoyſe out the boate to recouer the foule, which I graunted them: and when they came aboorde they did not hoyſe it in againe that night. And when the ſhippe was caſt away the boate was aſterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could ſwimme and recouered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they could: among the reſt they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Maſter: They happened on my ſelfe being the maſter, but could neuer ſee the Captaine: Then they hailed into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whoſe names hereafter I will rehearſe. And when the ſixteene were in the boate, ſome had ſmale remembrance, and ſome had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleaſed God, and looked euery moment of an howre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate being ſo litle and ſo many men in her, and ſo foule weather, that it was not poſſible for a ſhippe to brooke halfe a coarſe of Sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nightes, and that wee ſawe it pleaſed God our boate liued in the Sea, (although wee had nothing to helpe vs with all but one oare, which wee kept vp the boate withall vpon the Sea, and ſo went euen as the Sea would driue vs) there was in our companie one Maſter Hedly that put footh this queſtion to mee the maſter. I do ſee that it doth pleaſe God that our boate lyeth in the Sea, and it may pleaſe God that ſome of vs may come to the lande if our boate were not ouer laden. Let vs make ſixteene lottes, and thoſe foure that haue the foure ſhorteſt lottes wee will caſt ouer boord, preſeruing the Maſter among vs all. I replyed vnto him ſaying, no, wee will liue and dye together. Maſter Hedly aſked mee if my remembrance were good: I anſwered I gaue God prayſe it was good, and knewe howe farre I was off the lande, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three dayes, and ſayd they were but threeſcore leagues from the lande, (when they were ſeuenty) all to put them in comfort. Thus wee continued the third and fourth day without any ſuſtenance, ſaue onely the weedes that ſwame in the Sea, and ſalt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then we deſired all to die: for in all theſe fiue dayes and fiue nightes we ſawe the Sunne but once & the ſtarre but one night, it was ſo foule weather. Thus we did remaine the 6. day: then we were very weake and wiſhed all to die ſauing only my ſelfe which did comforte them and promiſed they ſhoulde come ſoone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were verie

20. Leagues from the Iſle of Sablon.

15. Leagues from the Iſle of Sablon.

Herein Clarke vntruely chargeth ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

The ſhip caſt away on thurſday being the 29 of Auguſt 1583.

Sixteene gate into the ſhip boate.

Maſter Hedlyes vngodly propoſition.

importunate, and were in doubt they should neuer come to land, but that I promised them the seuenth day they should come to shoare or els they shoulde cast me ouer boord: which did happen true the seuenth day, for at eleuen of the clocke we had sight of the land, and at three of the clocke at afternoone we came on lande. All these seuen dayes and seuen nights the wind kept continually South. If the winde had in the meane time shifted vpon any other point, we had neuer come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the winde came cleane contrary at North within halfe an howre after our arriuall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, yet with much a doo being come all on shoare we kneeled downe vpon our knees and gaue God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with vs. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes vnto a fresh brooke, where wee satisfied our selues with water and berries very well. There were of all sortes of berries plentie, and as goodly a countrey as euer I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre euery way: by the Sea side was here and there a litle wood with goodly trees as good as euer I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a litle house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I deuided the company three and three to goe euery way to see what foode they could find to sustayne themselues, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such food as they could get. As we went aboord we found great store of pease as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had ben sowed there. We rested there three daies and three nights and liued very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly riuer like the riuer of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When we had well rested our selues wee rowed our boate along the shoare, thinking to haue gon to the Grande Bay to haue come home with some Spaniards which are perely there to kill the Whale: And when wee were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus we rowed our boate along the shore fiue daies: about which time we came to a very goodly ryuer that renne farre vp into the countrey and sawe very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened vpon a ship of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ship brought vs into Biskay to an harborough called The Passage. The Master of the Shippe was our great friend or els we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboorde, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfoundland, and so the visitours inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put vs on land and bad vs shift for our selues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue myles into France, which we went that night, and then cared we for the Spaynard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.

They came on land the 7. day after their ship wracke.

The fruitfulnes of the south part of Newfound land.

Fourteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ship of S. Iohn de Luz.

A true Report of the late discoueries, and possession taken in the *right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant* and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.

Wherein is also briefely set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great & manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Aduenturers in particular, Together with the easines and shortnes of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe aduenturer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilbertes voyage to Newfound Land.

The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

Master Edward Hayes.

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this last iourney for the Westerne discoueries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

By

By him I did underſtand, that Sr Humfrey departed the coaſt of England the eleuenth of June laſt paſt, with fiue ſayle of ſhippes from Cauſhenbay neere Plymmouth, whereof one of the beſt loſtooke his companie, the thirteenth day of the ſame moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (though the aſſiſtance of Almightie God) did arriue at Saint Johns Hauen, in Newfound land, the third of Auguſt laſt. Upon whoſe arriuall all the Maſters and chiefe Mariners of the Engliſh Fleete, which were in the ſayd Hauen before, endeuouring to fraught themſelues with fiſh, repaired vnto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commiſſion: which being done, he promiſed to intreate them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Maieſties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the beſt ſoꝛt that they could, and ſhewed him and his, all ſuch courteſies as the place could affoꝛd oꝛ yeelde.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arriue at Saint Johns Hauen in Newfound land, the 3. of Auguſt. Anno 1583.

Then he went to viewe the Countrey, being well accompanied with moſt of his Captaines and ſouldiers. They found the ſame very temperate, but ſomewhat warmer then Englande at that ſeaſon of the yeere, repleniſhed with Beaſts and great ſtoꝛe of Foule of diuers kindes: And Fiſh of ſundry ſoꝛtes, both in the ſalt water and in the freſh, in ſo great plentie as might ſuffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very eaſily taken. What ſundry other commodities foꝛ this Realme right neceſſarie, the ſame doeth yeelde, you ſhall underſtand in this treatiſe hereafter, in place moꝛe conuenient.

Among theſe there was found the tract of a beaſt of 7. ynches and a halfe ouer.

On Sunday being the firſt of Auguſt, the Generall cauſed his tent to be ſet vpon the ſide of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of Engliſh men and ſtrangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie ſayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Maſters, Gentlemen and other ſouldiers, he cauſed all the Maſters, and yincipall Officers of the ſhips, aſwel Engliſhmen as Spaniards, Poꝛtingales, and of other nations, to repayꝛe vnto his tent: And then and there, in the preſence of them all, he did cauſe his Commiſſion vnder the great Seale of England to be openly and ſolempnely read vnto them, whereby were graunted vnto him, his heires, and aſſignes, by the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, many great and large royalties, liberties and yriuiledges. The effect whereof being ſignified vnto the ſtrangers by an Interpreter, he tooke poſſeſſion of the ſayd land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turfe and receiuing the ſame with an Haſel wande, deliuered vnto him, after the maner of the Lawe and cuſtome of England.

Sir Humfrey tooke poſſeſſion of the Newfound land in right of the Crowne of England.

Then he ſignified vnto the companie both ſtrangers and others, that from thenceforth, they were to liue in that land, as the Territoꝛies apperteining to the Crowne of England, and to be gouerned by ſuch Lawes as by good aduiſe ſhould be ſet downe, which in all points (ſo neere as might be) ſhould be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And foꝛ to put the ſame in execution, yreſently he oꝛdeined and eſtabliſhed three Lawes.

Three lawes eſtabliſhed there by Sir Humfrey.

Firſt, that Religion publiquely exerciſed, ſhould be ſuch, and none other, then is vſed in the Church of England.

The ſecond, that if any perſon ſhould be lawfully conuicted of any yractiſe againſt her Maieſtie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adiudged as traitoꝛs according to the Lawes of England.

The third, if any ſhould ſpeake diſhonourably of her Maiеſtie, the partie ſo offending, to looſe his eares, his ſhip and goods, to be confiſcate to the vſe of the Generall.

All men did very willingly ſubmit themſelues to theſe Lawes. Then he cauſed the Queenes Maieſties Armes to be ingraued, ſet vp, & erected, with great ſolemnitie. After this, diuers Engliſh men, made ſute vnto Sir Humfrey to haue of him by inheritance, their accuſtomed ſtages, ſtandings & vying places, in ſundry parts of that land foꝛ their fiſh, as a thing that they do make great accompt of, which he graunted vnto them, in fee farme. And by this meanes, he hath poſſeſſion maineined foꝛ him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, ſet, giue and diſpoſe of many things, as abſolute Gouerноꝛ there, by vertue of her Maieſties letters patents.

Sundry perſons became Tenants to Sir Humfrey, and doe maintaine poſſeſſion for him in diuers places there.

And after their ſhippes were repaired, whereof one bee was driuen to leaue behinde, both foꝛ want of men ſufficient to furniſh her, as alſo to carrie home ſuch ſicke perſons as were not able to proceede any further, He departed from thence the 20. of Auguſt, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly foꝛ England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden Hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edwarde Hay: and the little Frigat where the Generall himſelfe did goe, ſeeming to him moſt fit to diſcouer and approch the ſhoare.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfoundland, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coaſt Weſt, toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall ſent certaine men a ſhoare, to viewe the Countrey, which to them as

they ſayled along, ſeemed pleaſant. Whereof his men at their returne gaue great commendation, liking ſo well of the place, as they would willingly haue ſtayed and wintred there. But hauing the winde fayre and good, they proceeded on their courſe towardes the firme of America, which by reaſon of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere eſpecially, they could neuer ſee, till Cox Maſter of the Golden Hinde did diſcerne land, and preſently loſt ſight thereof againe, at what time they were all vpon a breach in a great & outragious ſtorme, hauing vnder 30. fathome water. But God deliuered the Frigat & the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the preſence of them all was loſt, to their vnſpeakeable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other neceſſary prouiſions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reaſon alſo that Winter was come vpon them, & foule weather increaſed with fogs and miſtes that ſo couered the land, as without danger of periſhing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert & M. Hayes, were compelled much againſt their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were afterwards by tempeſtuous weather, ſeparated the one from the other, the ninth of September laſt, ſince which time, M. Hayes with his Barke, is ſafely arriued, but of Sir Humfrey as yet, we heare no certaine newes.

Upon this report (together with my former intent, to write ſome briefe diſcourſe in the commendation of this ſo noble and worthy an enterpriſe) I did call to my remembrance, the Hiſtorie of Themiſtocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) ſignified vnto his Countrey men the citizens of Athens, that he had inuented a deuiſe for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of ſuch importance and ſecrecie, that it ought not to be reuealed, before priuate conference had with ſome particular prudent perſon of their choyſe. Plutarch.

The Athenians knowing Ariſtides the Philoſopher, to be a man indued with ſingular wiſedome and vertue, made choyſe of him to haue conference with Themiſtocles, and thereupon to peelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the ſayd deuiſe: which was, that they might ſet on fire the Hauie of their enemies, with great facilitie as he had layde the plot: Ariſtides made relation to the Citizens, that the ſtratageme (deuiſed by Themiſtocles) was a profitable practiſe for the common wealth but it was diſhoneſt. The Athenians (without further demaund what the ſame was) did by common conſent reiect and condemne it, preferring honeſt and vpright dealing before profite.

By occaſion of this Hiſtorie, I drewe my ſelfe into a more deepe conſideration, of this late vndertaken voyage, whether it were as well pleaſing to almighty God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it ſeemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages, as gainefull to the Chriſtians. And vpon mature deliberation, I found the action to be honeſt and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Ariſtides if he were nowe aliue, which being by me herein ſufficiently prooued, (as by Gods grace I purpoſe to doe) I doubt not but that all good minded, will endeuour themſelues to be aſſiſtants to this ſo commendable an enterpriſe, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and vndertaken.

English men.
Maiſter Iohn Hawkins.
Sir Francis Drake.
M. William Winter.
M. Iohn Chefter.
M. Martin Frobiſher.
Anthony Parkhurſt.
Will. Watts.
Iohn Lowel.
Dauid Ingram.
Strangers French.
Sir Iohn Riuault.
Iaques Carter.
Andrew Theuet.
Monſieur Gourgos.
Monſieur Popelinere.
Italians.
Chriſtopher Columbus.
Iohn Veraſanus.

Nowe whereas I doe vnderſtand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, aſſociates and friends doe meane with a conuenient ſupply (with as much ſpeede as may be) to maintaine, purſue and follow this intended voyage already in part perfourmed, and by the aſſiſtance of almighty God) to plant themſelues and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of ſeptentrionall latitude: (Within which degrees by computation Aſtronomicall and Coſmographicall are doubtleſſe to be found, all things that be neceſſarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The climate milde and temperate, neither too hote nor too colde, ſo that vnder the cope of heauen there is not any where to be found a more conuenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both of our owne nation and ſtrangers, (who haue bene trauailers) can teſtifie: and that thoſe Countries are at this day inhabited with Sauages (who haue no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I ſay) to be lamented, that theſe poore Pagans, ſo long liuing in ignorance & idolatrie, and in ſore thirſting after Chriſtianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of ſuch as haue trauailed in thoſe partes) that our hearts are ſo hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and applie themſelues to the reliefe of the miſerable and wretched eſtate of theſe ſillie ſoules.

Whoſe Countrey doeth (as it were with arme aduanced) aboue the climates both of Spaine and Fraunce, ſtretch out it ſelfe towards England only: In maner praying our aide & helpe, as it is not onely ſet forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is alſo found to be true by the diſcouerie of our nation, and other ſtrangers, who haue often times trauailed vpon the ſame coaſts.

Chriſtophe. Columbus of famous memorie, the firſt inſtrument to manifeſt the great glory and

and mercy of Almightie God in planting the Chriſtian fayth, in thoſe ſo long vnknowen regions, hauing in purpoſe to acquaint (as he did) that renoumed Prince, the Queenes Maieſties graundfather, King Henry the ſeuenth, with his intended voyage for the Weſterne diſcouries, was not onely derided and mocked generally euen here in England, but afterwarde became a laughing ſtocke to the Spaniards themſelues, who at this day (of all other people) are moſt bounden to laude and prayſe God, who firſt ſtirred vp the man to that enterpriſe.

God doeth not alwaies begin his greateſt workes by the greateſt perſons.

And while hee was attending there to acquaint the King of Caſtile (that then was) with his intended purpoſe, by howe many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some ſcorned the pildnes of his garments, ſome tooke occaſion to ieſt at his ſimple and ſilly lookes, others aſked if this were he, that lowts ſo lowe, which did take vpon him to bring men into a Countrey that abounded with Golde, Pearle, and Precious ſtones? If he were any ſuch man (ſayde they) hee would carry another maner of countenance with him, and looke ſomewhat loftier. Thus ſome iudged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the conſideration of the inward man.

His cuſtome was to bowe himſelfe very lowe in making of courteſie.

In the ende, what ſucceſſe his voyage had, who liſt to reade the Decades, the Hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, the conqueſt of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and thoſe of Franciſco Pizare in Peru about Caſamalcha and Cuſco, may knowe more particularly. All which their diſcouries, trauailes, and conqueſts, are extant to be had in the Engliſh tongue. This deuiſe was then accounted a fantaſticall imagination, and a drowſie dreame.

Hernando Cortes. Franciſco Pizare.

But the ſequel thereof, hath ſince awaked out of dreames thouſands of ſoules to knowe their Creator, being therefore before that time altogether ignorant: And hath ſince made ſufficient proofe, neither to be fantaſticke, nor vainely imagined.

Withall, howe mightily hath it inlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly enriched the ſubiects of the ſame, let all men conſider. Beſides, it is wel knowne, that ſithence the time of Columbus his firſt diſcouerie, through their planting, poſſeſſing, and inhabiting thoſe partes, there hath bene tranſported and brought home into Europe, greater ſtore of Golde, Siluer, Pearle, and Pretious ſtones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages, ſince the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore hartily wiſh, that ſeeing it hath pleaſed almightie God, of his infinite mercy at the length, to awake ſome of our worthy Countrey men, out of that drowſie dreame, wherein we all haue ſo long ſlumbered:

That wee may nowe not ſuffer it to quaile for want of maintenance, that by theſe valiant Gentlemen our Countrey men is ſo nobly begun and enterpriſed. For which purpoſe, I haue taken vpon me to write this ſimple ſhort treatiſe, hoping that it ſhalbe able to perſwade ſuch as haue bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this iourney, (by reaſon perhaps that they haue not deliberately and aduiſedly entred into the iudgement of the matter) that yet now vpon better conſideration they will become fauourable furtherers of the ſame. And that ſuch as are already well affected thereunto, will continue their good diſpoſition: And withall, I moſt humbly pray all ſuch as are no niggards of their purſes in buying of coſtly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in ſetting foorth of games, paſtimes, feaſtings and banquets, (whereof the charge being paſt, there is no hope of publique profite or commoditie) that hencefoorth they will beſtowe and employ their liberalitie (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of theſe ſo commendable purpoſed proceedings.

A reaſonable requeſt.

And to this ende haue I taken pen in hand, as in conſcience thereunto mooued, deſiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nouriſh, farre better able to handle this matter then I my ſelfe am, it would haue pleaſed ſome one of them to haue vndertaken the ſame. But ſeeing they are ſilent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeuour my ſelfe, and doe ſtand in good hope (though my ſkill and knowledge be ſimple, yet though the aſſiſtance of almightie God) to prooue that the voyage, late enterpriſed for trade, traffike, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maieſties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in general, profitable to the aduenturers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be attained without any great danger or difficultie.

The argument of the booke.

And laſtly (which moſt of all is) A thing likewiſe tending to the honour and glory of almightie God: And for that the lawfulneſſe to plant in thoſe Countries, in ſome mens iudgements ſeemeth very doubtfull, I will begynne the proofe of the lawfulneſſe of trade, traffike, and planting.

The

The ſeconde Chapter ſheweth that it is lawfull and neceſſarie to trade and traffike with the Sauages: And to plant in their Countries: And deuideth planting into two ſortes.

AND firſt for traffike, I ſay that the Chriſtians may lawfully trauell into thoſe Countries and abide there, whom the Sauages may not wiſely impugne and forbid in reſpect of the mutuall ſocietie and ſelowſhip betweene man and man preſcribed by the Lawe of Nations.

For from the firſt beginning of the creation of the world and from the renuing of the ſame after Noes flood, all men haue agreed, that no violence ſhould be offered to Ambaſſadours: That the Sea with his Hauens ſhould bee common: That ſuch as ſhould fortune to be taken in warre, ſhould be ſeruantes or ſlaues: And that ſtrangers ſhould not be driuen away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were ſo then, I demaund in what age, and by what Lawe is the ſame forbidden or denied ſince? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Chriſtians to vſe trade and traffike with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither ſuch commodities as they want, & bringing from thence ſome part of their plentie.

A thing ſo commonly and generally practiſed, both in theſe our dayes, and in times paſt, beyonde the memorie of man, both by Chriſtians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And for as much as the vſe of trade and traffike (be it neuer ſo profitable) ought not to bee preferred before the planting of Chriſtian fayth: I will therefore ſome what entreate of planting (without which, Chriſtian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer ſo careful and diligent) which I meane to deuide in two ſortes.

The principal cauſes why this voyage is vndertaken.

The firſt, when Chriſtians by the good liking and willing aſſent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet poſſeſſion.

The ſecond, when Chriſtians being vniuſtly repulſed, doe ſeeke to attaine and maintaine the right for which they doe come.

The firſt kinde of planting.

And though in regarde of the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion, either of both may bee lawfully and iuſtly exerciſed: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyſes and Joſua, and other Rulers before the birth of Chriſt, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings ſithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wiſh, that before the ſecond be put in practiſe, a proofe may be made of the firſt, ſauing that for their ſafetie as well againſt the Sauages, as all other forraigne enemies, they ſhould firſt well and ſtrongly fortifie themſelues: which being done, then by all fayre ſpeeches, & euery other good meanes of perſwaſion to ſeeke to take away all occaſions of offence.

As letting them to vnderſtand, howe they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongſt them, and to trade and traffike with them for their owne commoditie, without moleſting or grieuing them any way, which muſt not be done by wordes onely but alſo by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repel iniurie, be a iuſt cauſe of warre: yet muſt there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and fonde otherwiſe, the Chriſtians ſhould do their beſt endeuour to take away ſuch feare as may grow vnto them by reaſon of their ſtraunge apparel, Armour, and weapon, or ſuch like, by quiet and peaceable conuerſation, and letting them liue in ſecuritie, and keeping a meaſure of blameleſſe defence, with as little diſcommoditie to the Sauages as may be: for this kinde of warre would be onely defenſiue and not offenſiue.

And queſtionleſs there is great hope & likelyhode that by this kind of meanes, we ſhould bring to paſſe all effects to our deſired purpoſes: Conſidering that all creatures, by conſtitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and eaſier wonne for all aſſayes, by courteſie and mildneſſe, then by crueltie or roughnes: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reaſon, it is firſt to be put in vre.

For albeit as yet the Chriſtians are not ſo throughly furniſhed with the perfectneſſe of their language, either to expreſſe their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the preſent opportunitie, ſuch pollicie may bee vſed by friendly ſignes, and courteous tokens towardes them, as the Sauages may eaſily perceiue, (were their ſences neuer ſo groſſe) an aſſured friendſhip to bee offered them, and that they are encountered with ſuch a nation, as bringes them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquillity and ſafetie. To further this, and to accompliſh it in deedes, there muſt bee preſented vnto them gratis, ſome kindes of our petie marchandizes

chandises and trifles: As looking glasses, Bels, Beads, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Christall, Amber, Iet, or Glasse &c. For such be the things, though to vs of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutual society with vs.

Moreouer, it shal be requisite, either by speeche, if it be possible, either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie vnto them, that once league of friendship with all louing conuersation, being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thence forth will alwayes bee ready with force of Armes to assist & defende them in their iust quarrels, from all inuasions, spoyles and oppressions, offered them by any Tyrannes, Aduersaries, or their next borderers: and a benefit is so much the more to be esteemed, by howe much the person vpon whome it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a countreman of ours, namely Dauid Ingram, (who trauelled in those countries xi. moneths and more) That the Sauages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruel kinde of people, whose foode is mans flesh, and haue teeth like dogges, and to pursue them with rauenous mindes to eate their flesh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case iustly and lawfully ayde the Sauages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likelie, that by this meanes we shall not onely mightely stirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Christians, proffering vnto them both commodities, succour, and kindnes: But also by their franke consents shall easily enioy such competent quantity of Lande, as euery way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation, & contentation, considering the great abundance that they haue of Lande, and howe small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe dooth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most hartelie pray may take effect and place.

But if after these good and fayre meanes vsed, the Sauages neuertheless will not bee herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will go about to practise violence either in repelling the Christians from their Ports & safe landings or in withstanding them afterwards to enioy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themselues thither: The second kinde of planting.

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defende themselues, to pursue reuenge with force, and to do whatsoeuer is necessarie for the attayning of their safety: For it is allowable by al Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence: And for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of fortes, for auoyding the extremitie of iniurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnes to continue, there is no barre (as I iudge) but that in stoute assemblies, the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, (and in auoyding murtherous tyrannie) to vse the Lawe of Armes, as in like case among all nations at this day is vsed: and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, least happily after the departure of the Christians, such Sauages as haue bene conuerted, should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Iosua) and continue their wicked custome of most vnnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit at all transgresse the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie, for as much as in former ages, (yea before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundrye Kings and Princes, Gouernours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde: as also since the Natiuitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and Kings haue performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For proofe whereof, I will alleadge you examples of both kindes.

We reade in the olde Testament, howe that after Noes flood was ceased, restoration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to be saued in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplied to infinite numbers of Nations, which in diuers sortes deuided themselues to sundry quarters of the earth. And forasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude, a peculiar people to himselfe, to whome afterwards being vnder the gouernement of Moises in Mount Synay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries

cries were adioyning thereunto. Neuertheleſſe, before they came to poſſeſſion thereof, hauing bene afflicted with many greeuous punishments and plagues for their ſinnes they fell in diſpayre to enioy the ſame.

But being encouraged and comforted by their Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themſelues with all patience, to ſuffer whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe God to ſende: and at laſt attaining to the lande, they were encountered with great numbers of ſtrong people and mighty Kings.

Ioſua 4. Notwithſtanding Ioſua their leader replenished with the ſpirite of God, being aſſured of the iuſtneſſe of his quarrell, gathered the chiefe ſtrength of the children of Iſrael together, to the number of 40000. with whome he ſafely paſſed the huge riuer Iordan, and hauing before ſent

Ioſua 6. priuie ſpies for the diſcouerie of the famous citie Ierico, to vnderſtand the certaintie of the Citizens eſtate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it rounde about, with his whole power the ſpace of ſeuen dayes.

In which reſpite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles diſpoſed to yelde or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Iericho ſhould be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell ſhoulde bee deſtroyed onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, becauſe ſhe before had hid ſecretly the meſſengers of Ioſua, that were ſent thither as ſpies. As for all their golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, or veſſels of braſſe, they were reſerued and conſecrated to the Lords treaſurie.

Ioſua 8. In like maner hee burned the citie Hay, ſlew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged vp their King. But for ſo much as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Ioſua,

Ioſua 9. to intreate for grace, fauour, & peace: he commanded that all their liues ſhould be ſaued, and that they ſhould be admitted to the company of the children of Iſrael. Yet vnderſtanding afterwards they wrought this by a pollicie, he vſed them as ſeruants to hewe wood & to carie water, and other neceſſaries for his people. Thus began this valiant Captaine his conqueſt, which he

Iudg. 11. 13. purſued & neuer left till he had ſubdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, Pereſites, Heuites, and Iebuſites, with all their Princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, and diuers other ſtrange nations, beſides whoſe lands & dominions, he wholie deuided among Gods people.

After that Ioſua was deceaſed, Iuda was conſtituted Lord ouer the Armie, who receiuing like charge from God purſued the proceedings of the holie captaine Ioſua, and vtterly vanquiſhed

Iudg. 1. many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduerſaries to the children of Iſrael, with all ſuch Rulers or Kings, as withſtoode him, and namely Adonibezek, the moſt cruell tyraunt: whoſe thombes and great toes, he cauſed to be cut off, for ſo much as hee had done the like before vnto ſeuentie Kings, whome being his priſoners, he forced to gather vp their victuals vnderneath his Table. In this God ſhewed his iuſtice to reuenge tyranny. Wee reade likewiſe, that Gedeon a moſt

A good note for al Conquerors to be mercifull. Iudg. 6. 7. puiſſant and noble warriour, ſo behaued himſelfe in following the worthy acts of Ioſua & Iuda that in ſhort time he not only deliuered the children of Iſrael from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but alſo ſubdued them, and their Tyrants, whoſe landes he cauſed Gods people to poſſeſſe and inherite.

I could recite diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applied hereunto were it not I do endeuour my ſelfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge ſome few of Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtiographers, all tending to the like argument. And firſt to begin with all, we doe reade: That after our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt had ſuffered his paſſion, the Apoſtles being inſpired with ỹ holy ghoſt, and the knowledge of all ſtraunge languages, did immediatly diſpearſe themſelues to ſundry partes of the worlde, to the preaching of the Goſpel. Yet not in ſo generall a maner, but that there remained ſome farre remote countries vnviſited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the vttermoſt India, as yet had receiued no light of the worde. But it came to paſſe, that one Metrodorus, a verie learned and wiſe Philoſopher in that age, being deſirous to ſearch out vnknowne landes, did firſt diſcouer the ſame, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his returne being publiſhed, and for certaine vnderſtood, there was another graue Philoſopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a chriſtian, who did reſolue himſelfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a ſhort time aſſiſted but with a fewe, in a ſmall Veſſel arriued there, hauing in his company two young youthes, Edeſius, and Frumentius, whome (being his ſcholliers) hee had throughly inſtructed, both in liberall Sciences and chriſtian Religion. Howe after that Meropius ſomewhile ſtaying there, had (as he thought) ſufficient vnderſtanding of the Indians whole eſtate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whome he meant to exhort to the conqueſt of the ſame.

But

But by misfortune he was preuented, for being in the middest of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce droue him backe againe, to an vnknowne Port of the saide land: where he by the most cruel barbarous Indians on the suddaine was slaine with all his company, except the two young schollers aforesaid, whome the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeres by reason of their learning and ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her yong sonne to gouerne, and gaue free scope and lybertie to the two christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their natiue soyles, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured them was verie sorowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestlie intreated them to tarie and assist her in the gouernement of her people, till such time as her young sonne grewe to ripe yeres, which request they fulfilled.

Meropius slaine.

Edesius and Frumentius preferred by the Indians.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisedome, ruled both the Queene and her subiects at his discretion, whereby hee tooke occasion to put in practise priuily, that the foundation of christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whome hee thought his perswasion might best preuaile, and that soonest woulde giue eare vnto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, he then with his fellowe Edesius, tooke leaue of the Queene to returne to his natiue countrie. And so soone as he was arriued there, he reuealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those euents: who both commending his deedes and wholie allowing thereof, by the aduise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a conuenient power for the aide of Frumentius, in this his so godlie a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, vnto the possession of all the Indians countrie. The aucthor of this storie Rufinus, receiued the trueth hereof, from the verie mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

Frumentius in great fauour with ꝑ Queene of the Indians.

An other great work of God begun by a man of meane birth.

Ruffinus the Author of this storie.

Moreouer Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall in precise termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Constantine the great, not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeuoured by all meanes, to subiect all such remote Barbarous and heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the world. For (as it is written) the Emperour throughly aided with a puisant armie of valiaunt souldiers whom he had before perswaded to christian religion, in proper person himselfe, came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Island of Brittaines, bending from him full west, which he wholie conquered, made tributarie, and setled therein christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisedome seemed best. From thence he turned his force towardes the North coast of the world, and there vtterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, he reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwardes hee determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the vttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at last became victour ouer them all, euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Ethiopians, that nowe are the people of Presbyter Iohn, who yet till this day, continue and beare the name of christians.

Euseb. in his ecclesiasticall historie teillifieth how ꝑ Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations.

Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constant. Cap. 4. et cap. 9. Euseb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

In the East likewise, what Nation soeuer at that time hee coulde haue notice of, hee easily wonne and brought in subiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitaunts whereof being Gentiles, though vnknowne vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquished.

This worthie beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also diuers other Emperours afterward to their vttermost endeuour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large sette foorth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mencion how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour, employed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy gospel, vtterly subuerting the prophane Temples and abhominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such vsurping tyraunts, as with Paganisme withstood the planting of christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes, Honorius, and Arcadius, were created Emperours, the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all stout godlinesse, most carefully imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging their territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Theodoret in eccle. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

Moreouer, it is reported by the said aucthor, that Theodosius Iunior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great studie & zeale pursued,

and

and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants & countries, and vtterly destroyed all their idolatrie, conuerting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who so listeth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, & Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy liues of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of latter time (yea euen in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies, by the Kings of Spaine and Portingale, whereof there is particular mention made in the last Chapter of this booke. Herein haue I vsed more copy of examples, then otherwise I would haue done, sauing that I haue bene in place where this maner of planting the Christian faith, hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I ioyne many moe, but whosoeuer is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the Authours last aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I trust) prooued that we may iustly trade and traffike with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth shewe the lawfull title, which the *Queenes most excellent Maiestie hath vnto those Countries, which* through the ayde of almightie God are meant to be inhabited.

1170. Owen Gwyneth, was then Prince of Northwales. Nullum tempus occurrit Reg. This Iland was discouered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his last iourney.

AND it is very euident that the planting there shall in time right amply enlarge her Maiesties Territories and Dominions (or I might rather say) restore her to her Highnesse auncient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arriued and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterwarde returned himselfe into England leauing certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an auncient Welsh Chronicle, where hee then gaue to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Ilands of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

There is likewise a Foule in the said Countreys, called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth, the said foules haue white heads.

There is also in those Countries a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreouer, there are diuers other Welsh wordes at this day in vse, as Dauid Ingram aforesaid reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the said Prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mighty Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his subiects for the better partaking of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes, vsed these speeches following.

Mutezuma his Oration to his subiects in presence of Hernando Cortese. Which Oration was made about the yere, 1520.

My kinsmen, friends, and seruants, you doe well knowe that eighteene yeeres I haue bene your King, as my Fathers and Graundfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient subiects, and so I hope you will remaine vnto me all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your Fathers, or else our Diuines haue instructed you that we are not naturally of this Countrey, nor yet our Kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre Countrey, and their King and Captaine who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying, that he would send such as should rule and gouerne vs, if by chaunce hee himselfe returned not, &c.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma, set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being thoroughly considered, because they haue relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those Countries, doe all sufficiently argue, the vndoubted title of her Maiestie: Forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselues, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further proofe of her Highnes title sithence the arriuall of this noble Britton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Q. Maiesties graundfather, of worthy memory, King Henry the seuenth, Letters patents were by his Maiestie graunted to John Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanius, his three sonnes, to discouer remote, Barbarous and Heathen Countries, which discouerie, was afterwards executed to the vse of the Crowne of England, in ỳ said Kings time, by

by Sebastian and Sansius his sonnes, who were borne heere in England: In true testimony whereof, there is a fayre hauen in Newfound land, knowen, and called vntill this day by the name of Sansius hauen, which prooueth that they first discouered vpon that coast, from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades. M. Oliuer Dalbony. M. Edward Reow. M. R. H. M. J. A.

And this may stand for another title to her Maiesty: but any of the foresaid titles is as much or more then any other Christian prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obteined by the discouery of Christopher Columbus, & the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pysarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnesse of her Maiesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countryes, is likely to prooue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOw to shew how the same is likely to proue very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: It is very certaine, that the greatest iewell of this realme, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in martiall matter and maner is the multitude of shippes, maisters & mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall nauy of her Maiesty, which by reason of this voyage shall haue both increase & maintenance. And it is well knowne, that in sundry places of this realme ships haue beene built and set foorth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing only: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken & brought into England by the English nauie of fishermen, will not suffice for the expence of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men do not go so far Westerly, as the especiall fishing places do lie, both for plenty & greatnesse of fish, is for that they haue no succor and knowen safe harbor in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or nere therabouts: wheras they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish so long as pleased themselues, or rather at theyr comming finde such plenty of fish readie taken, salted & dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof Dauid Ingram (who trauelled in those countryes as aforesaid) saith that there is great plenty: & withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might aswell be made there by art, as it is both in Rochell & Bayon, or els where. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our ships and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing only: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found and had in great abundance. For the maister.

Moreouer, it is well knowen that all Sauages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall beginne but a little to taste of ciuillity, will take marvellous delight in any garment, be it neuer so simple: as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten cassocke, a cappe or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe haue heard this report made sundry times, by diuers of our countreymen, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelues yeeres together, and some of lesse time: that the people in those parts are easily reduced to ciuility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons & artificers whose names are coted in the margent, I do leaue to the iudgement of such as are discreet. Clothiers. Woolmen. Carders. Spinners. Weauers. Fullers. Sheermen. Diers. Drapers. Clothiers. Cappers. Hatters. &c. And many decayed townes repayred.

And questionlesse heereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages, as both haue beene, and now are vtterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes, more excessiuely then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to theyr pristinate wealth and estate, all which do like wise tend to the inlargement of our nauie, and maintenance of our nauigation.

To what end need I endeuor my selfe by arguments to prooue, that by this voyage our nauie and nauigation shalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest & late example of the neere neighbors to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portingall, who since the first discouery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily inlarged theyr dominions, greatly inriched themselues and theyr subiects: but haue also by iust account trebled the number of theyr shippes, maisters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance? The idle persons of this realme shall by occasion of this iourney be well imploed, and set on worke.

Besides this, it will prooue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & vnprofitable to this realme, shall heerby be set on worke, but also children of twelue or fourteene

peres of age, or vnder, may be kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand knues of trifling things, which will be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreouer, our idle women (which the realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, dying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countreyes most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselues in dragging for pearle, working for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and like wise in hunting the Whale for traine, and making casks to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying, salting, and barrelling the same, and selling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meet for those persons as are no men of art or science.

Hempe both grow neere S. Laurence riuer naturally.

Many other things may be found to the great reliefe and good imployments of no small number, of the naturall subiects of this realme, which do now liue heere idely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I heere omit the great hope and likelihood of a passage by the Grand bay, into the South seas, confirmed by sundry authors to be found leading to Catai, the Moluccaes and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefit to the realme, or greater then yet hath beene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconueniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doth minister.

Read the beginning of the booke intituled, Diuers voyages touching the discouery of America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowne to all men of sound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vse and trade amongst vs.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countryes is likely to prooue to the perticular profit of all aduenturers.

IMust now according to my promise shew forth some probable reasons, that the aduenturers in this iourney are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore conuenient that I do diuide the aduenturers into two sorts: the noblemen & gentlemen by themselues, and the merchants by themselues. For as I do heare, it is meant that there shall be one society of the noblemen and gentlemen, and another society of the merchants. And yet not so diuided, but that eth society may freely and frankly trade and traffike one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who do chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature, whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselues, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to be lords of that place and countrey: to them I say that all these things are very easy to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Ilands thereunto adioyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the elleuation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily coniecture: the rather because I do certainly vnderstand, that some of those which haue the managing of this matter, know it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reuele the same when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat and settle themselues in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as haue beene there, great plenty of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds, and fowles both for pleasure and necessary vse of man are to be found.

Beasts for pleasure.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Beaggres, Wilde boyes, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as haue delight in hawking, there are hawks of sundry kindes, and great store of game, both for land and riuer, as Fesants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast, much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eighteene foot long, of which one for a country man of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was vpon that coast, did for a truth report in the presence of diuers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one couragе about two hundred and forty hides, which they brought away and solde in France for forty shillings an hide: and with this agreeth Dauid Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe: there are likewise beasts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be diuers of good credit in this realme haue tasted: and there is also a kinde of graine called

Hides solde for forty shillings a piece.

Great grapes. Wine of the Palmetree.

Maize

Maize, Potato roots, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once setled, they shall need to take no great care for victuall.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed merchants, as haue a desire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will first say vnto them, as I haue done before to the noblemen and gentlemen, that within the degrees aboue said, is doubtlesse to be found the most wholesom and best temperature of ayre, fertility of soile, and euery other commodity or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we do trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portingall, France, Italie, Moscouie & Danske. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time, procured from thence with lesse danger then now we haue them. And yet to the end my argument shall not altogether stand vpon likelihoods and presumptions, I say that such persons as haue discouered and trauelled those parts, do testifie that they haue found in those countreys all these things following, namely:

Of beasts for furres.
Marterns.
Beauers.
Foxes, blacke and white.
Leopards.

Of Wormes.
Silke wormes great & large

Of Birds.
Hawkes.
Bitters.
Curlewes.
Herons.
Partridges.
Cranes.
Mallards.
Wilde geese.
Stocke dooues.
Margaus.
Blacke birds.
Parrots.
Pengwins.

Of Fishes.
Godde.
Salmon.
Seales.
Herrings.

Of Trees.
Palme trees yeelding sweet wines.
Cedars.
Firres.
Safafras.
Oake.
Elme.
Popler.

And sundry other strange Trees, to vs vnknown.

Of Fruites.
Grapes very large.
Muskemellons.
Limmons.
Dates great.
Orrenges.
Figges.
Proines.
Raisins great and small.
Pepper.
Almonds.
Citrons.

Of Mettals.
Golde.
Siluer.
Copper.
Lead.
Tinne.

Of Stones.
Turkies.
Rubies.
Pearls great & faire.
Marble, of diuers kindes.
Iasper.
Christall.

Sundry other commodities of all sorts.
Rosen.
Pitch.
Tarre.
Turpentine.
Frankensence.
Honny.
Waxe.
Rubarbe.
Oile Oliue.
Traine oile.
Muske codde.
Salt.
Tallow.
Hides.
Hempe.
Flaxe.
Cochenello & dies of diuers sorts.
Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Featherbeds.

And seeing that for small costs, the truth of these things may be vnderstood (whereof this intended supply will giue vs more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to aduenture some conuenient portion for the furtherance also so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall heereof, considering that in the articles of the society of the aduenturers in this voyage, there is prouision made, that no aduenturer shall be bound to any further charge then his first aduenture: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe, his children, his apprentises and seruants, his and their freedome for trade and traffike, which is a priuiledge that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the said articles it is likewise prouided, that none other then such as haue aduentured in the first voyage, or shall become aduenturers in this supply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say vnto all such according to the olde prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffike into other far countries, shall by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, & more safety: Lesse charge I say, by reason of the ample & large deepe riuers at the very banke, whereof there is many, whereby both easily & quietly they may transport frō þ innermost parts of the main land, all kinde of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burde, & that three times, or twise in the yere at the least. But let vs omit all presuppositions how to behemke ourselues, & dwell vpon þ certeinty of such cōmodities as were discouered by sir Humfry Gilbert, & his associats in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made, Pitch, Tar, Rosen,

Commodities found in Newfound land in August last.

Hope alhes, in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serue the whole realme of euery of these kindes: And of Trane oile such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which haue beene there, it would seeme incredible.

It is hereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were like wise discouered there) I doe holde it for some respects, more meet for a time to be concealed then vttered.

Of the fishing I do speake nothing, because it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Sauages do require in exchange of these commodities: pea, for pearle, golde, siluer, and pretious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffike of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the aboue specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister iust occasion to thinke all cost & labor well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherein these commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necessary things, and fish of farre greater size, and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serue our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine riuer doth thereunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I do not hereby meane the passage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeres past, certaine merchants of S. Mallowes in France, did hyre a shippe out of the Iland of Jersey, to the end that they would keepe that trade secret from their countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the said shippe, to go with them, which shippe was about 70 tunne. I do know the shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage proued very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already said, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition, to serue for a taste, vntill such time as it shall please almighty God throughout owne industrie, to send vs better tidings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this iourney, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the iudgement and liking of such of good calling and credit, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not necessary in this treatise, publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

The sixt chapter sheweth that the traffike and planting in those countries, shall be vnto the Sauages themselues very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOw to the end it may appeare, that this voyage is not vndertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selues, and our country (as generally other trades and iournies be) it shall fall out in proofe, that the Sauages shall hereby haue iust cause to blesse the houre, when this enterprise was vndertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladuome tidings of the most glorious Gospell of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to truth, from darkenesse to light, from the vile way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatry to sincere Christianity, from the deuill to Christ, from hell to heauen. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeeld vs (were they many more) that they should but receiue this only benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But hereunto it may be obiected, that the Gospell must be be freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alleged of Emperours, Kings, and Princes, aswell before Christes time as since, might sufficiently suffise: yet for further answere, we may say with S. Paul: If we haue sowen vnto you heauenly things, 1. Cor. 9. do you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is woorthie of his hire. These heauenly tidings which those labourers our countreymen (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present vnto them, are farre exceed they earthly riches. Moreouer, if the other (inferior) worldly & temporall things, which they shall receiue from vs, be waied in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equall iudgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receiue, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put their land to some vse: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to ciuility and knowledge, and

made

made them to vnderstand how the tenth part of their land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary vse of mans life, then the whole now doth: What iust cause of complaint may they haue? And in my priuate opinion, I doe verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry, yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receiue by the Christians: for, ouer and beside the knowledge how to till and dwell their grounds, they shall be reduced from vnsemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well gouerned common wealth, and withall shalbe taught mecanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most vpon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and bloud sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their liues shall be preserued. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shalbe preserued from the bloudy knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and euer heeretofore vsed amongst them. Many other things could I heere allege to this purpose, were it not that I do feare least I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

This bargein can not be vniust, where both parties are gainers.

The seuenth chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOw therefore for proofe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the aide of the princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons, who will neither be actors in any good action themselues, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that woorse is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Elops dogge, which neither would eat hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feed thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath prouided such meanes for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand vs in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to holde his mercifull hand ouer this realme, in preseruing the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or other wise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in such penury and want, as they could be contented to hazard their liues, and to serue one peere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like iourneys, of no small charge to the prince. Moreouer, thinges in the like iourneys of greatest price and cost, as victuall (whereof there is great plenty to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or coslets, are not needfull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a iourney may present: for a small quantity of all these to furnish the fort onely, will suffice vntill such time as diuers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought be well woorthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand vs in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we haue also, which in such like cases is a matter of maruellous cost, and will be in this iourney procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yearely as well our people, as all other necessaries needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yearely venture for fish in Newfound land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly go with empty vessels in effect, sauing some little fraught with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiors wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise haue giuen out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priuileges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, we may passe straight way thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countreys of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serueth to bring vs thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Ianuarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they haue in few or none of other iourneys. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, hauing but an indifferent winde, & returne continually in twenty or foure & twenty dayes at the most. And in the same our iourney, by reason it is in the Ocean, & quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countreys, we may safely trade and traffike without perill of pirats: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subiect to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heeretofore, sometimes vpon slender occasion in other parts, haue

ſtaped our ſhippes and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countreymen haue beene vtterly vndone, diuers put to ranſome, yea, and ſome loſt theyr liues: a thing ſo freſh in memory as it needeth no proofe, and well worthy of conſideration.

Beſides, in this voyage we do not croſſe the burnt line, whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we paſſe the frozen ſeas, which yeeld ſundry extreme dangers: but haue a temperate climate at all times of the yere, to ſerue our turnes. And laſtly, there need no delayes by the way, for taking in of freſh water and fewell, (a thing vſually done in long iournies) becauſe as I ſaid aboue, the voyage is not long, and the freſh waters taken in there, our men beere in England, at theyr returne home, haue found ſo wholeſom and ſweet, that they haue made choiſe to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Beholde heere, good countrey men, the manifolde benefits, commodities and pleaſures heere to fore vnknowne, by Gods eſpeciall bleſſing not onely reuealed vnto vs, but alſo as it were infuſed into our boſomes, who though hitherto like dormice haue ſlumbered in ignorance therof, being like the cats that are loth for theyr pray to wet theyr feet: yet if now therefore, at the laſt we would awake, and with willing mindes (leeting friuolous imaginations aſide) become induſtrious inſtruments to our ſelues, queſtionleſſe we ſhould not onely heere by ſet footh the glory of our heauenly father, but alſo eaſily attaine to the end of all good purpoſes, that may be wiſhed or deſired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good ſucceſſe in the countrey of theſe Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyd of the knowledge of the diſcipline of warre, ſeeing that a noble man, being but a ſubiect in this realme (in the time of our king Henrie the ſecond) by name Strangbowe, then earle of Chepſtow in South Wales, by himſelfe and his allies and affiliates, at theyr owne proper charges, paſſed ouer into Ireland, and there made conqueſt of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynſter, at which time it was very populous and ſtrong, which hiſtory our owne chronicles do witneſſe: And why ſhould we be diſmaped more then were the Spaniards, who haue beene able within theſe few yeeres to conquer, poſſeſſe and enioy ſo large a tract of the earth, in the Weſt Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne; not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47 degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820 Engliſh miles at the leaſt, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall poſſeſſion, beſides many goodly and rich Iſlands, as Hiſpaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other, which are both beautifull and full of treaſure, not ſpeaking any whit at all, how large the ſaid land is from Eaſt to Weſt, which in ſome places is accounted to be 1500 Engliſh miles at the leaſt, from Eaſt to Weſt, betweene the one ſea and the other.

2. Decad. lib. 5. fol. 77. of the Weſt Indies, in Engliſh. Canoas is a kinde of boat.

Or why ſhould our noble nation be diſmaid, more then was Vaſques Nunnes de Valboa, a priuate gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70 Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an ouerthrow vnto that mighty king Chemacchus, hauing an armie of an hundred canoas and 5000 men, and the ſaid Vaſques Nunnes not long after, with his ſmall number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

1. Decad. lib. 1. fol. 97. About the yere of our Lord 1511.

Likewiſe Hernando Cortes, being alſo but a priuate gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Iſlands of Cuba and Acuſamill, and entring into the firme of America, had many moſt victorious & triumphant conqueſts, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanyed with leſſe then 500 Spaniſh footmen, thirteene horſſemen, and ſixe pieces of ordinance onely he ouerthrew 40000 Indians. The ſame Cortes with his ſaid number of Spaniards, tooke priſoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his moſt chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that inſtant had in it aboue the number of 500000 Indians at the leaſt, and in ſhort time after obteined not onely the quiet poſſeſſion of the ſaid citie, but alſo of his whole Empire.

Conqueſt of the Weſt Indies. fol. 430 45 Engliſh.

And in like maner in the countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall poſſeſſion, Franciſco Pyſarro, with the onely aid of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but priuate gentlemen, was the principall perſon that firſt attempted diſcouerie and conqueſt of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayde of the almighty, be brought to paſſe and atchieued in the Tambo of Caſſiamalcha, (which is a large place of ground, enclo-
ſed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Attabalipa priſoner, a-
moſt the number of 60000 Indians his ſubiects, which were euer before that day accounted to
be a warlike kinde of people, which his great victory it pleaſed God to grant vnto him in the yere of our Lord God 1533, he not hauing in his company aboue the number of 210 Spaniards, whereof there were not paſt threeſcore horſſemen in all: after the taking of which prince Attaba-
lipa, he offered vnto Pyzarro for his ranſome, to fill a great large hall full of golde and ſiluer, and ſuch golde and ſiluer veſſels as they then vſed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme.

A memorable victory.

And

And the ſayd prince cauſed the ſame hall to be marked round about at the ſayd height, which raunſome Pyzarro granted to accepe. And after, whē as this mightie prince had ſent to his vaſſals and ſubiects to bring in gold and ſiluer for the filling of the hall, as afozeſaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cuſco, as alſo to the Caloa of Lima, in which towne as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire houſe, all ſlated and couered with gold: and when as the ſaid hall was not yet a quarter full, a mutinie aroſe amongſt the Spaniards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the ſaid prince had politikely offered this great raunſome vnder pretence to raiſe a much more mightie power, whereby the Spaniards ſhould be taken, ſlain and ouerthrowen: whereupon they grew to this reſolution, to put the ſayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and ſiluer alreadie brought in, which they preſently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inuentorie of the ſame, as well for the emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwiſe, there was found to be alreadie brought in into the ſayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of ſiluer and in gold the number of 1828125. pezoes, which was a riches neuer before that nor ſince ſeene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezoes, and for his fift part of ſiluer, 26485. pound waight, and to euery horſeman eight thouſand pezoes of gold, and 67. pound waight of ſiluer. Euery ſouldiour had 4550. pezoes of gold, and 280. pound waighe of ſiluer. Euery captain had, ſome 30000. ſome 20000. pezoes of gold and of ſiluer, proportionally anſwerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongſt them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his degree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the reſt, ouer and beſides the maſſie table of gold which Attabalipa had in his Litter, which waighed 25000. pezoes of golde: neuer was there before that day ſouldiours ſo rich in ſo ſmall a time, and with ſo litle daunger. And in this iourney for want of iron, they did ſhoe their horſes, ſome with golde, and ſome with ſiluer. This is to bee ſeene in the generall hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, & the conqueſt of Peru is more at large ſet forth.

To this may I adde the great diſcoueries and conqueſts which the princes of Portingall haue made round about the Weſt, the South, and the Eaſt partes of Affrica, and alſo at Calicute, and in the Eaſt Indies, and in America, at Braſile and elſe where in ſundry Iſlands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the ſaid coaſtes and Iſlands, euer as they diſcouered, which being rightly weied and conſidered, doeth miniſter iuſt cauſe of incouragement to our countrymen, not to account it ſo hard and difficult a thing for the ſubiects of this noble realme of England, to diſcouer, people, plant and poſſeſſe the like goodly lands and rich countries not farre from vs, but neere adioining and offering it ſelfe vnto vs (as is afozeſaid) which haue neuer yet heretofore, bene in the actuall poſſeſſion of any other Chriſtian prince, then the princes of this realme. All which (as I thinke) ſhould not a litle animate and encourage vs to looke out and to aduenture abroad, vnderſtanding what large countries and Iſlands the Portingals with their ſmall number haue within theſe few yeres diſcouered, peopled and planted, ſome part whereof I haue thought it not amiſſe, briefly in particular to name both the townes, countries and Iſlands, ſo neere as I could vpon the ſudden call them to remembrance: for the reſt I doe referre the Reader to the hiſtories, where more at large the ſame is to be ſeene. Firſt, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbarie the Iſland of Geiſera and towne of Arzilla, not paſt 140. mile diſtant from their Metropolitane & chiefe citie of Feſſe: and after that they wonne alſo from the ſaid princes the townes of Tangier, Ceuta, Mazigam, Azamore, and Azaffie, all alongſt the Sea coaſts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadamoſta a gentleman Venetian, was he that firſt diſcouered for their vſe Cape Verd, with the Iſlands adioining, of which he then peopled and planted thoſe of Bonauiſta and San Iago diſcouering alſo the riuer Senega, otherwiſe called Niger and Cape Rouge & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did diſcouer the coaſt of Guinea, and there peopled and built the caſtle of Mine: then diſcouered they further to the countries of Melegettes, Benin, and Manicongo, with the Iſlands of Principe, Anobon, S. Mathew, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled and built in the ſaid Iſland of S. Thomas, the haun towne or port of Pauoſan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was ſent forth, who was the firſt man that diſcouered and doubled that great and large Cape called Bon Eſperance, and paſſing the currants that run vpon the ſaid coaſt, on the South-eaſt part of Affrica, betweene the ſaid maine land and the Iſland of S. Lawrence, otherwiſe called of the ancients, Madagaſcar, he diſcouered to the harbor named the riuer of Infants. After that ſince the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the full accompliſhment of the yeere of Chriſt, 1510. though the trauails and diſcouerries of Vaſques de Game, Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopez, Andrew Corſale, Iohn de Empoli, Peter Sinter, Sancho Detoar, and that noble and worthy gentle-

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Ceffala accounted to be the place where the noble and wiſe king Salomon did fetch his gold.

man Alonſo de Albuquerque, they did diſcouer people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the Eaſt ſide of Affrica, in twentie degrees of latitude of the South pole, and diuers Weſt from the Iſland of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as alſo vpon the ſaid Eaſt ſide of Affrica, they did afterward diſcouer, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiloa, Monbaza and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and ſo vp to the ſtreight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red ſea, all vpon the Eaſt coaſt of Affrica, from whence they put off at the Cape of Garda Fu, and paſſ the great gulfe of Arabia, of Indian Sea Eaſt to Sinus Perſicus, and the Iſland of Ormus, and ſo paſſing the large and great Riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrion all latitude, they made their courſe againe directly towards the South, and began to diſcouer, people, and plant vpon the Weſt ſide of the hither India at Goa, Mangallor, Cananor, Calecute and Cochin, and the Iſland of Zeilam.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting vpon this coaſt, their forces grew ſo great that they were able to compell all the Hoords, the ſubiectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute vnto them, euer as they paſſed the gulfe of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the ſaid land, euer as they paſſed to and from the hauens of Cochin, Calecute and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of diſcipline practiſed in thoſe partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Perſians, and profeſſed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and vſe of the Caliuer ſhot, and to enterlace and ioyne footemen with his horſemen, ſithence which time the Perſians haue growen to that ſtrength and force, that they haue giuen many mightie and great ouerthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Chriſtendome.

Theſe are the furtheſt partes of the world from England. At theſe Iſlandes hath Sir Francis Drake bene, where the fame of the Muſcouia moſt excellent Maieſtie was renowmed.

And from the Iſland of Zeilam aforeſaid, they alſo diſcouered more Eaſt in paſſing the gulfe of Bengala, and ſo paſſed the notable and famous Riuer of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, vnder the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and vnto the great and large Iſlands of Sumatra, Iaua maior, Iaua minor, Mindano, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneio, Machian, Terrenate, and all other the Iſlands of Molucques and Spiceries, and ſo Eaſt alongſt the coaſts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinſay, and to the Iſland of Zipango and Iapan, ſituate in the Eaſt, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. Their noble and worthy diſcoueries here alſo is not to bee forgotten, that in the yeere of our Lord, 1501. that famous & worthy gentleman Americus Veſpucius, did diſcouer, people, and plant to their vſe the holds and forces which they haue in Braſill, of whom (he being but a priuate Gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the Weſt Indies, is commonly called and known by the name of America.

I doe greatly doubt leaſt I ſeeme ouertedious in the rehearſall of the particular diſcoueries and conqueſts of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, wherein I was the more bold to vrge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might moſt manifeſtly and at large appeare, to all ſuch as are not acquainted with the hiſtories, how the king of Portingal, whoſe countrey for popularitie and number of people, is ſcarce comparable to ſome three ſhires of England, and the king of Spaine likewiſe, whoſe naturall countrey doeth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by meanes of their diſcoueries within leſſe then 90. yeeres paſt, haue as it appeareth both mightily and maruelouſly enlarged their territories and dominions though their owne induſtrie by the aſſiſtance of the omnipotent, whoſe aide we ſhall not need to doubt, ſeeing the cauſe and quarell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Chriſtian faith.

To conclude, ſince by chriſtian dutie we ſtand bound chiefly to further all ſuch acts as doe tend to the encreaſing the true flocke of Chriſt by reducing into the right way thoſe loſt ſheepe which are yet aſtray: And that we ſhall therein follow the example of our righte vertuous predeceſſors of renowmned memorie, and leaue vnto our poſteritie a deuine memorial of ſo godly an enterpriſe: Let vs I ſay for the conſiderations alleaged, enter into iudgement with our ſelues, whether this action may belong to vs or no, the rather for that this voiage through the mightie aſſiſtance of the omnipotent God, ſhall take our deſired effect (whereof there is no iuſt cauſe of doubt). Then ſhall her Maieſties dominions be enlarged, her highneſſe auncient titles iuſtly confirmed, all odious idolatries from this our realme vtterly baniſhed, diuers decaied townes repaired, and many poore and needie perſons relieued, and eſtates of ſuch as now liue in want ſhall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Chriſt, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolicall cuſtome of ſacrificing humane creatures aboliſhed.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the ſight of our Sauiour Chriſt, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, ſay hee that cannot

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erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall be preached to all nations. Which good worke I trust is reserued for our nation to accomplish in these partes: Wherefore my deare countreymen, be not dismaied, for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the loue that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be lesse ready most mightily and miraculously to assist our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally vndertaken for the enlargement of the Christian faith abroad, and the banishment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vasques Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the West: & Vasques de Gama, Peter Aluares, and Alonso de Albuquerque in the East? Let vs therefore with cheerefull mindes and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the sequell to almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who be against vs? Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatsoeuer is in this treatise too much or too litle, or otherwise vnperfect, I take leaue, and so end.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant, and then Maior of the citie of Bristow, to the right hononrable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, concerning a Westerne voiage intended for discoueries in America.

RIght honourable, vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto mee and deliuered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steuenton, bearing date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in priuate, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our companie of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as conuenient speed as he could, he caused an assemblie of the merchants to be gathered, where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed vnto me priuatly, to be read in publike, & after some good light giuen by M. Hakluyt vnto thē that were ignorant of the country and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolued, the motion grew generally so well to bee liked, that there was eftsoones set down by mens owne hands then present, and apparantly knowen by their owne speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and vpward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Westerne discouerie, a ship of three score, and a barke of 40. tunne, to be left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we haue heard much good, if it shal stand with your honours good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to haue maiter Steeuenton your honors messenger, and one well knowen to vs, as captaine. And here in humble maner, desiring your honor to vouchsafe vs of your further direction by a general letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this citie, at your honors best and most conuenient leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voiage, any further then to the end of Aprill next comming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate, Bristow. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and summarie discourse vpon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America: written by captaine Carlill in Aprill, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscouian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demaund forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound fiue shillings.

WHen the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a peece of gold, which is newly offered vnto him, he presently bringeth the same to the Touchstone, where, by comparing the shew or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he foorthwith is able to iudge what the value is of that, which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make some briefe repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voiages and trades already frequented and knowen vnto vs, whereby you may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelyhood of good there is to be expected in the voiage, which is presently recommended vnto your knowledge and resolution.

And

Moscouia. And first to lay downe that of Moscouia, whose beginning is yet in the remembraunce of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discouerie, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, together with the lewd dealing of some of their seruaunts, who thought themselues safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the companie aboue fourre score thousand pounds, before it could bee brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very tickliſh termes, and to as slender likelyhood of any further goodnesse as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euery body vnderstood.

Dutchmen. Next, the Dutchmē are there so creepe in, as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that vncertaintie of the Emperors disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voiage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadours betweene that Prince and her Paleſtie, are alwayes borne by the merchants flocke.

Denmarke. And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on vs, hath likewise an aduantage vpon the ships in their voiage, either homewards or outwards whensoeuer he listeth to take the opportunitie.

Easterlings. The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen to bee such towards our merchaunts of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them manie iniuries ouer long to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to deprriue them wholy of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose haue of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and auncient priuiledges in all their great townes.

Turkie. The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to haue so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the daunger of many States, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with vs vpon sudden occasions, and the presents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, cost litle lesse then two thousand pounds.

Italie. As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may easilie be considered by euery one of iudgement, that the same stande in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our Shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Barbarie, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and trauell, are set at such excessiue raunsomes before they can bee freed of their slauerie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must bee paied two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or fiue hundred Duckers the man for some of them. And how enuiously they doe alreadie oppose themselues against our frequenting into their partes, may appeare by the late customs which they haue imposed as well vpon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also vpon such other merchandize which we fetch from them.

Barbarie. The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoeuer it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Spaine, Portingall. Touching Spaine and Portingall, with whom we haue very great trade, and much the greater, by means of their venting a good part of our wares into their Indies, as also of the prouision they haue from the same, where with are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoeuer the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons deprriue vs not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme agayne, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee shall take a quarell in hand, though it bee but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countries of Spaine and Portingall, as also all others which shall be bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoeuer hee bee that is but so meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieued in his heart to consider, that his children and seruaunts whom hee desireth to haue well brought vp, are in these trades of Spaine and Portingall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and made to acquaint themselues with that which the Parents and Maisters doe vtterlie

denie

denie and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America, shall find it hath as many points of good moment belonging vnto it, as may almost be wished for.

Commodities of this voyage in the Northerlie.

1 At first it is to be vnderstood, that it is not any long course, for it may be performed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discouerie thereof.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, where as most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. windes.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be performed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is vpon the high sea, whereby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those partes of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbors.

6 Sixtly, that it is to be accounted of no danger at all as touching ỳ power of any forren prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all the other voiages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their seruauntes or children, shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily shall bee at their free libertie of conscience, and shall finde the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable vnto their Parentes and Pastors.

Commodities of the country more then those of Moscouia.

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit, that for the present, wee are not certainely able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demaunded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscouia and other.

But when this of America shall haue bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be employed well, twise the yeere at the least. And if for the present time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting, but by that matter onely to serue halfe a dozen of your best sort of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

The generall merchandise.

But when it is asked what may bee hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to bee considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apte to gather the commodities either of those partes which stande to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may bee expected not onely an especiall good Fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne countreys doe yeeld vs nowe: as Pitche, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof Cordage, Makes, Losshe hides, riche Furres, and other such like, without beyng in any sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to commaund our ships at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their straight passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselues alreadie very faire and in great aboundance. Olives beyng once planted, will yeeld the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italie. The countrey people beyng made to know, that for Wares and money, we will giue them such trifling things as they desire of vs, and shewing them once the meanes how to prouide the same, the labour thereof beyng so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to haue the same in good quantitie for vs. Besides, what great likelyhood there is of good meanes to make Salte, which may serue for the fishing of those partes, may well enough appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

Salte of sale in Walgues this voyage.

Thus much for the beginning because they may bee had with an easie kind of trauell, but when it may haue pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may haue planted amongst the m[illegible] sundrie partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to [illegible]e what is better for them then they doe as yet vnderstand of, and that in so many sortes of occasions as were infinite to bee set downe. It is to bee assuredly hoped,

that

that they will daily by little and little forſake their barbarous and ſauage liuing, and growe to ſuch order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may bee well expected from thence no leſſe quantitie and diuerſitie of merchaundize then is now had out of Duthland, Italie, Fraunce or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the apteſt to fall out with vs, ſo theſe parties being ſomewhat remote, are the liker to take, or giue leſſe occaſion of diſquiet. But when it is conſidered that they are our owne kindred, and eſteemed our owne countrey nation which haue the gouernment, meaning by thoſe who ſhall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of moſt louing and moſt aſſured friends?

There are further to bee conſidered theſe two pointes of good importaunce, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good proſpering of this action, there muſt of neceſſitie fall out, a very liberall vtteraunce of our Engliſh Clothes into a maine Countrey, deſcribed to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, ſhall haue wonderfull great vſe of our ſayde Engliſh Clothes, after they ſhall once come to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will be alſo of many other things, ouermany to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of neceſſitie muſt bee prouided from hence.

The other is, if there bee any poſſible meanes to finde a Sea paſſage or other Freſh water courſe, which may ſerue in ſome reaſonable and conuenient ſort, to tranſport our merchandize into the Eaſt Indian Sea, though any of theſe Northerly partes of America, it ſhall be ſooneſt and moſt aſſuredly perfourmed by theſe who ſhall inhabite and firſt growe into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in ſuſpence, vntill ſome better knowledge, becauſe there bee many men, who hauing long ſince expected ſome profites herein, vpon the great promiſes that haue bene made them, and beyng as yet in no point ſatiſfied, doe thereupon conceiue that they bee but woordes purpoſely caſt out for the inducing of men to bee the more readie and willing to furniſh their money towardes the charge of the firſt diſcouerie.

But nowe to anſwere ſome others who begin with an other obiection, ſaying: That it is not for the merchaunts purſe to continue the charges of tranſporting and planting: and that ſince theſe hundred men which are now to bee planted, will coſt foure thouſand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee alſo a farre greater ſumme of money.

Whereunto I anſwere, that in all attempts vnknowen, eſpecially ſuch a one as is this, wherewith wee are preſently in hande, the firſt charges are commonly aduentured in more deſperate kinde, then thoſe that follow vpon ſome better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the firſt enterpriſe, an hundred for that one will of themſelues bee willing and deſirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer ſo litle more apparance, that the entended matter is by ſome knowledge of our owne, found true in ſome points of our firſt preſumption.

The ewer of mettall brought by M. Frobiſher, cauſed two ſeuerall ſupplies. the two peeres next following, wherof the latter was of fourteene tall ſhips.

The examples are many, and may eaſily be remembred by thoſe who bee merchants, euen in their ordinarie and daily trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres haue fallen into thoſe termes of ſome likelyhood, as is aboueſayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reportes ſhall be brought by them who directly come from thence, that ſuch a Countrey and people they haue themſelues ſeene, as is by vs ſpoken of, but that then there will come forward a greater number of thoſe, who now neither haue heard any thing of the matter, as alſo of others, who preſently make ſuch friuolous ſcruple, and will not otherwiſe be ſatiſfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I ſpeake not this by the merchaunts whom for their freedomes of trade I would not haue preſſed to any further charge then this firſt preparation, but rather by ſuch as haue great affection to hazard the changing of their eſtates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be aſſured that there is ſuch a countrey, and that their mony ſhould not be waſted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point muſt bee the contrary ſequell of the common Prouerbe that is vſed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: ſo on the other ſide by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale, and to thoſe eſpeciallie in priuate, who take on the hazarde of their life and trauell, or ſubſtaunce in the firſt attemptes: and therefore I would wiſhe that they, who (God bee thanked) are well able to ſpare that which is required of eache one towardes the vndertakyng of this aduenture, bee well content and willing to emploie the ſame, ſince the ſequell in good and ſubſtanciall reaſon

reason doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particuler to the marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite nomber of other, who presently liue in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discouerie, alter the same to a farre better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion vpon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth least this first disbursement, without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwardes hee might yet further be vrged to continue the like againe, as hath happened in the discouerie of the Moscouian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action, which concerneth onely the Marchants particulerly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall bee returned, as that it may be founde a matter worthy the folowing, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sincke, for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I haue bene throughly resolued, to crie my fortune in the matter, so is it more then time, the preparation were in hande already, and therefore no fitte time nowe, to make any nomber of ignorant men to vnderstande with reason, the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

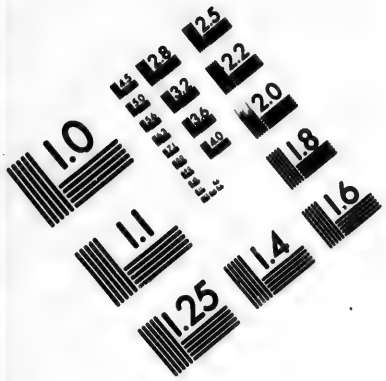
To those who haue any forwarde mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankinde, I say this much more, that Christian charitie doeth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may bee layed before vs, in as much as thereby, wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the sauage people to Christianitie and ciuilitie, but also in respect of our poore sort of people, which are very many amongst vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, howe by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great nomber being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction howe to get their liuings, after their parents decease, are driuen to some necessitie, whereby very often, for want of better education they fall into sundry disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselues ledde on, to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee founde some such kinde of imployment, as this woulde bee, no doubt but a greater part of them would bee withhelde, from falling into such vile deedes; and in steade thereof, proue greatly seruiceable in those affaires, where they might be so imployed.

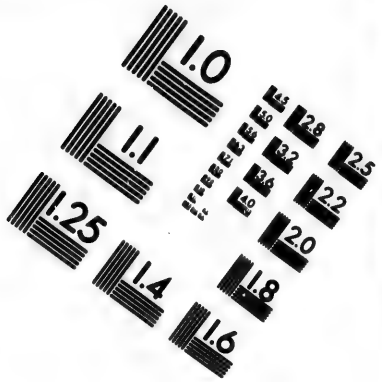
This I speake of mine owne experience, hauing seene diuers come ouer to the warres of the lowe Countreis, during my residence in the same, who here had bene very euill and idle liuers, and by some litle continuance with vs, haue growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing, then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse valew, in respect of their particuler recompence, then with an assured kinde of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in euery point, that may bee wished for, in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason ynough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater apparaunce, then hath bene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subiect wherewith I doe meane to entermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may vnderstande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. Iames Carthier of S. Malo, made his first discouerie of those partes of America, which lye to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backeside of Newfound land. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumed might haue bene founde out, into the East Indian sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathayo, but this yere he went no higher then the Islande of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into Fraunce.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouision into the Grand bay againe, where hee keeping the Northerly shoare, ranne vp the great Riuer that comes downe from Canada and other places, vntill at last with his small pinnasses, (hauing left his great shipping by the way, hee arriued at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which trauaile hee had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient, for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discouerie, to Winter it out in those partes, which hee did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This Winter fell out to be a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in these partes, and the sauage people, who for the most part





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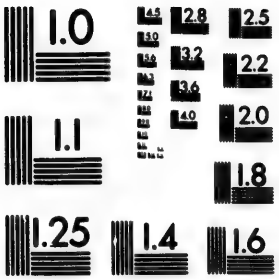

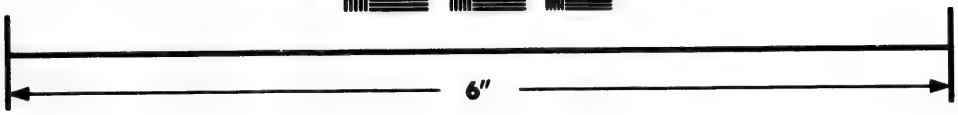

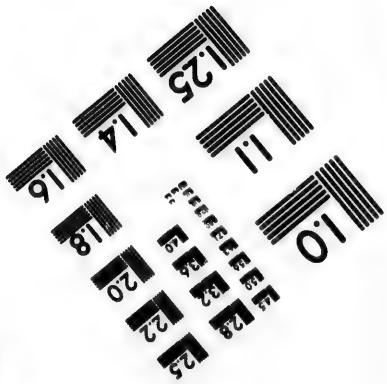

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make but a slender kinde of prouision, euen as it were from hande to mouth fell into some scarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuse to serue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the Winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towardes the ende, when the neede was most, as with our selues the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had had their wantes serued all the yeere, and that as yet they sawe not any apparance of their entended matter, which was the discouerie of the passage, & yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people, endeuoured to declare their knowledge in that point, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue bene well vnderstoode, they resolued with themselues, to take some of the sufficientest men of that Countrey home into Fraunce, and there to keepe them so long, as that hauing once atchieued the Frenche tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least trauaile, and of least hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themselues, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might be best enfourmed of such partes, as were some what remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further seruice, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discouerie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboarde the Frenche shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caried away into France, where hee lined foure yeeres, and then died a Christian there, as Theuet the French kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing, did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike with the French, as neuer since they would admit any conuersation, or familiaritie with them, vntill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to
The yeere 1581. growe out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by giftes of many trifling thinges, which were of great value with them, they are (as I saide) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since, was begonne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was founde so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Marchants, who meant to haue kept the trade secret vnto themselues, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of foure score tunnes out of the Isle of Iersey, but not any one Mariner of that place, sauing a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sort, as that this yeere they haue multiplied three shippes, to wit, one of nine score tunnes, an other of an hundreth tunnes, and a thirde of foure score tunnes: which report is giuen by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the saide shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of some of them.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Gernesey, Lewis de Vicke, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen gotte fourteene or fifteene hundreth for euery one hundreth: But howe soeuer it be, it carrieth good likelyhoode of some notable profite, in almuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and nomber of their shippes this present yeere.

Nowe, if in so litle as two yeeres times this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growne to such good passe as hath bene declared vnto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for, from the Southerne part: which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I doe verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commoditie, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no otherwise with you for your seuerall small summes, then I doe with my selfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and trauaile of my person, and the totall implopment of my poore credite, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and vnspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this betweene you and me.

Articles

Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscouian Marchants, to conferre with Master Carleil, vpon his entended discoueries and attempt into the hithermost partes of America.

The names of the Committies.

Master Alderman Hart.
Master Alderman Spencer.
Master Hoddesden.
Master William Burrough.
Master Slany.
Master Towerson.
Master Stapers.
Master Iohn Castelin.
Master Leake.

Iirst, the Committies are well perswaded that the Countrey whereunto this action pretendeth is very fruitfull, inhabited with sauage people of a milde and tractable disposition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the only most fitte and most commodious for vs to entermeddle withall.

The conueniencest maner of attempting this enterpryse, is thought to bee thus: That there should be one hundreth men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yere: who with friendly entreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular estate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or presently looked for.

The charge to transport these hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furnish them of munition and other needefull things, will not be lesse then foure thousand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Bristoll one thousande poundes, the residewe being three thousande pounds, remaineth to be furnished by this Citie of London: or any others who will aduenture their money in this first preparation.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a priuiledge should be procured by Master Carleil from her Maiestie, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following, may be effectually prouided for.

First, that they who shall disburse their money for the first preparation, shall be named Aduenturers, and shall haue the one halfe of all such landes, territories, townes, mines of golde and siluer, and other mettals whatsoeuer, that shall be found, gotten, obtained, and conquered by this discouerie: yeelding to her Maiestie the one fift part of all their part golde and siluer, as shall happen to be had out of any mines that so shall be found.

That those parties which doe employe themselues personally in the present discouerie, shall be named Enterpysers, and shall haue the other halfe of all the landes, territories, townes, mines of Golde and siluer, and other mettalles, yeelding to her Maiestie the fift part of the Golde and siluer, as the Aduenturers doe: The same to bee distributed by the Generall, with the consent of the greatest part of twelue discreete persons to bee chosen out of the whole nomber of Enterpysers.

Also, that all trade of marchandise which shall bee vsed to and from those partes, which by this discouerie shall be found out, shall appertaine onely to the Aduenturers which first shall disburse their money for this discouerie, with prohibition to all other her Maiesties subiects, and other Marchantes to deale in the saide partes, without the consente of the first Aduenturers, vpon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall aduenture in trade of marchandise: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure.

That no person shall hereafter aduenture in this discouerie, as Aduenturers for the profites mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disburse their money in this first preparation: and they shall not aduenture hereafter any greater summe, then ratably according to their proportion of this their first aduenture.

Alſo, the profite which by this diſcouerie ſhall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwiſe gotten: as alſo ſuch profite which by this diſcouerie ſhall bee obtained by mines, or otherwiſe gotten, that eche one ſhall haue his part take and rate like: according to the proportion of their firſt aduenture, and not otherwiſe.

The aduenturers in this firſt preparation, ſhall at their owne free will and libertie, chooſe whether they will ſupply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any ſuch occaſion to require the ſame. And yet withall ſhall for euer holde to them the freedome of the trade, which ſhall growe in any of theſe partes: Notwithſtanding their ſaide refuſall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to be obtained, bee graunted, that all her Maieſties ſubiects, may tranſport themſelues thither that ſhall be contented to goe. And that the patentee or his aſſignes may ſhippe thither from time to time, ſo many and ſuch perſons, men, women and children, as they ſhall thinke meete. And the ſame perſons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleaſure, any lawe to the contrary notwithſtanding, with expreſſe prohibition as is mentioned in the thirde article, againſt all others, which ſhall goe thither without the licence of the patentee or his aſſignes firſt obtained.

That it ſhall not be lawful for any of her Maieſties ſubiects, or any other to inhabite or trafique within two hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall ſhall haue ſettled his chiefeſt being or reſidence.

The letters patents, graunted by the Queenes Maieſtie *to M. Walter Ralegh now knight, for the diſcouering* and planting of new lands and Countreis, to continue the ſpace and time of 6. yeeres and no more.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, Fraunce and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whome theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Knowe yee that of our eſpecial grace, certaine ſcience, and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe giue and graunt to our truſtie and welbeloued ſeruant Walter Ralegh Eſquire, and to his heires and aſſignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to diſcouer, ſearch, finde out, and view ſuch remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, Countreis, and territories, not actually poſſeſſed of any Chriſtian Prince, nor inhabited by Chriſtian people, as to him, his heires and aſſignes, and to euery or any of them ſhall ſeeme good, and the ſame to haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and aſſignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iuriſdictions, royalties, priuiledges, franchiſes, and pehemineures, thereto or thereabouts both by ſea and land, whatſoeuer we by our letters patents may graunt, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore graunted to any perſon or perſons, bodies politique or corporate: and the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and all ſuch as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, ſhall goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the diſcretion of the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, the ſtatutes or acte of Parliament made againſt fugitiues, or againſt ſuch as ſhall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other ſtatute, acte, lawe, or any ordinance whatſoeuer to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And we do likewiſe by theſe preſents, of our eſpecial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may at all and euery time, and times hereafter, haue, [illegible]2, and leade in the ſaide voyage, and trauaile thither ward, or to inhabite there with him, or them, and euery or any of them, ſuch, and ſo many of our ſubiects as ſhall willingly accompanie him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom alſo we doe by theſe preſents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and alſo to haue, take and employ, and vſe ſufficient ſhipping and furniture for the tranſportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, ſo that none of the ſame perſons or any of them, be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be reſtrained by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors.

And further that the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and euery of them, ſhall haue,

haue, holde, occupie and enioye to him, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them for euer, all the ſoile of all ſuch landes, territories, and Countreis, ſo to bee diſcouered and poſſeſſed as aforeſaide, and of all ſuch Cities, caſtles, townes, villages, and places in the ſame, with the righte, royalties, franchiſes, and iuriſdictions, as well marine as other within the ſaide landes, or Countreis, or the ſeas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vſed, with full power to diſpoſe thereof, and of euery part in fee ſimple or otherwiſe, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the ſame conueniently may bee, at his, and their will and pleaſure, to any perſons then being, or that ſhall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors: reſeruing alwayes to vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, for all ſeruices, duties, and demaundes, the firſt part of all the oare of golde and ſiluer, that from time to time, and at all times after ſuch diſcouerie, ſubduing and poſſeſſing, ſhalbe there gotten and obtained: All which landes, Countreis, and territories, ſhall for euer be holden of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, by homage, and by the ſaid paiment of the ſaid fift part, reſerued onely for all ſeruices.

And moreouer, we doe by theſe preſents, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt licence to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall & may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulſe, repell and reſiſt as well by ſea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatſoeuer, all, and euery ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoeuer, as without the eſpeciall liking and licence of the ſaide Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and aſſignes, ſhall attempte to inhabite within the ſaid Countreis, or any of them, or within the ſpace of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within ſuch Countreis as aforeſaid (if they ſhall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforeſaide with the ſubiects of any Chriſtian Prince being in amitie with vs) where the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires, or aſſignes, or any of them, or his, or their or any of their aſſociats or company, ſhall within fiue yeeres (next enſuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy, either by ſea or lande, the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giuing, and graunting by theſe preſents further power and authoritie, to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and ſurpriſe by all maner of meanes whatſoeuer, all and euery thoſe perſon or perſons, with their ſhippes, veſſels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the ſaide Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or aſſignes, as aforeſaide, ſhalbe founde trafiquing into any harbour, or harbors, creeke, or creekes, within the limits aforeſaide, (the ſubiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other perſons in amitie with vs, traying to the Newfound lands for fiſhing as heretofore they haue commonly vſed, or being driuen by force of a tempeſt, or ſhipwracke onely excepted:) and thoſe perſons, and euery of them, with their ſhippes, veſſels, goods, and furniture to detaine and poſſeſſe as of good and lawfull prize, according to the diſcretion of him the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of ſuch Countreis, landes, and territories ſo to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſaide with our Realmes of Englande, and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to theſe enterpriſes: we do by theſe preſents, graunt and declare that all ſuch Countreis, ſo hereafter to be poſſeſſed and inhabited as is aforeſaide, from thenceforth ſhall bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours. And wee doe graunt to the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other perſon, and perſons being of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall bee noted or entred in ſome of our Courtes of recorde within our Realme of Englande, that with the aſſent of the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, ſhall in his iourneis for diſcouerie, or in the iourneis for conqueſt, hereafter trauaile to ſuch landes, countreis and territories, as aforeſaide, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being either borne within our ſaide Realmes of Englande, or Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter ſhall be inhabiting within any the lands, Countreis, and territories, with ſuch licence, (as aforeſaide) ſhall and may haue all the priuiledges of free Denizens, and perſons natiue of England, and within our allegiance in ſuch like ample maner and fourme, as if they were borne and perſonally reſident within our ſaid Realme of England, any lawe, cuſtome, or vſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And for aſmuch as vpon the finding out, diſcouering, or inhabiting of ſuch remote landes, countreis, & territories as aforeſaid, it ſhalbe neceſſary for the ſafetie of al men, that ſhal aduenture themſelues in thoſe iourneis or voyages, to determine to liue together in Chriſtian peace, & ciuil quietnes each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleaſure & profit enioy that whereunto they

shall attaine with great paine and perill, we for vs, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents do giue and graunt to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes for euer, that hee and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the said mentioned remote landes and Countreis in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall, or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects as shall from time to time adventure themselues in the said iourneis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such landes, countreis, or territories as aforesaide, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the saide place or places, where the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall bee by him the saide Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them deuised, or established, for the better gouernement of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be as neere as conueniently may be, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernement, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, now professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people of those landes or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God.

And further, wee doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt full power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloued counsailer Sir William Cicill knight, Lorde Burghley, our high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England, for vs, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the priuie Counsell of vs, our heires and successours, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that hee, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him, and by themselues, or by their, or any of their sufficient Atturneis, deputies, officers, ministers, factors, and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof all, or any of his, or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the saide Lorde Treasourer, or foure or more of the priuie Counsaile, of vs, our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaide) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better reliefe and suppportation of him the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any acte, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes and states, that if the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter, robbe or spoile by sea or by lande, or doe any acte of vniust or vnlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subiects of vs, our heires or successors, or to any of the subiects of any the Kings, Princes, Rulers, Gouernors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and successors, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Gouernour or estate, or their subiects, wee, our heires and successours, shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whome these our letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limitted, by such proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such iniuries done, So as both we and the said Princes, or other so complayning, may holde vs and themselues fully contented. And that if the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to bee limitted, that then it shall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and successors, to put the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discouered (as is aforesaide) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes and adherents, & others so to be put out, & the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shalbe out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others, to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subiects, nor by vs any way to be auowhed, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention of the cleere yerely value

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of the certaintie of the premiſſes, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our progenitors, or predeceſſors vnto the ſaid Walter Ralegh, before this time made in theſe preſents be not expreſſed, or any other grant, ordinance, mouiſion, proclamation, or reſtraint to the contrarye thereof, before this time, giuen, ordained, or prouided, or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoeuer, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witnes whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelues, at Weſtminſter the 25. day of March, in the ſixe and twentieth yeere of our Raigne.

The firſt voyage made to the coaſtes of America, with two barkes, wherein were Captaines Maſter Philip Amadas, and Maſter Arthur Barlowe, who diſcouered part of the Countrey, now called Virginia. Anno 1584: Written by one of the ſaid Captaines, and ſent to ſir Walter Raleigh, knight, at whoſe charge, and direction, the ſaid voyage was ſet foorth.

THe 27. day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584. we departed the weſt of England, with two barkes, well furniſhed with men and victuals, hauing receiued our laſt, and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former inſtructions, and commandements deliuered by your ſelfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnneceſſarie, for the manifeſt diſcouerie of the Countrey, as alſo for tediouſnes ſake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our courſe, ſailing thither, and returning: onely I haue preſumed to preſent vnto you this briefe diſcourſe, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to ſucceede, as well to your ſelfe, (by whoſe direction and charge, and by whoſe ſeruants this our diſcouerie hath beene performed) as alſo to her Highnes, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wiſedome will be ſatiſfied, conſidering, that as much by vs hath beene brought to light, as by thoſe ſmall meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue beene expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May, we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this preſent yeere, we were falſen with the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies, keeping a more ſouthearterly courſe then was needefull, becauſe we doubted that the current of the Baye of Mexico, vilbagging betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwards we found it to be. At which Iſlands we found the aire very vnwholſome, and our men greeue for the moſt part ill diſpoſed: ſo that hauing refreſhed our ſelues with ſweete water, and freſh victuall, we departed the twelfth daye after our arriuall there. Theſe Iſlands, with the reſt adioyning, are ſo well knowen to your ſelfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you, with the remembrance of them.

The ſecond of July, we found ſhole water, which ſmelt ſo ſweetely, and was ſo ſtrong a ſmell, as if we had bene in the midſt of ſome delicate garden, abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were aſſured, that the land could not be farre diſtant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but ſlacke ſaile, the fourth of the ſame moneth, we arriued vpon the coaſt, which we ſuppoſed to be a continent, and firme lande, and woe ſailed along the ſame, a hundred and twentie Engliſh miles, before we could finde any entrance, or riuer, iſſuing into the Sea. The firſt that appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without ſome difficultie, and caſt anker about three harquebuſhot within the hauens mouth, on the left hande of the ſame: and after thankes giuen to God for our ſafe arriuall thither, we manned our boates, and went to viewe the lande next adioyning, and to "take poſſeſſion of the ſame, in the right of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, as rightfull Queene, and Princeſſe of the ſame, and after deliuered the ſame ouer to your vſe, according to her Maieſties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highnes great Seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies vſed in ſuch enterpriſes, wee viewed the lande about vs, being whereas we firſt landed, very ſandie, and low towards the water ſide, but ſo full of grapes, as the very beating and ſurge of the Sea ouerflowed them, of which we founde ſuch plentie, as well there, as in all places elſe, both on the ſande, and on the greene ſalle on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little ſhubbe, as alſo climing towardes the toppes of the high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like aboundance is not to be founde: and my ſelfe hauing ſeene thoſe partes of Europe that moſt abound, finde ſuch difference, as were incredible to be written.

" July. 13. poſſeſſions taken.

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We paſſed from the Sea ſide, towardes the toppes of thoſe hils next adioyning, being but of meane height, and from thence wee beheld the Sea on both ſides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both waies. This lande laye ſtretching it ſelfe to the Weſt, which after wee founde to be but an Iſland of twentie leagues long, and not aboue ſixe miles broade. Under the banke or hill, whereon we ſtoode, we beheld the vallies replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing diſcharged our harquebuſhot, ſuch a flocke of Cranes (the moſt part white) aroſe vnder vs, with ſuch a crye redoubled by many Ecchoes, as if an armie of men had ſhowted all together.

This Iſland had many goodly woods, and full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middeſt of Summer, in incredible aboundance. The woods are not ſuch as you finde in Bohemia, Moſcouia, or Hyrcania, barren, and fruictleſſe, but the higheſt, and reddeſt Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Cedars of the Açores, of the Indias, or of Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Saſſaphras, the Lentiſk, or the tree that beareth the Maſticke, the tree that beareth the rinde of blacke Sinamon, of which Maſter Winter brought home from the Streights of Magellane, and many other of excellent ſmell, and qualitie. We remained by the ſide of this Iſland two whole daies, before we ſawe any people of the Countrey: the third daye we eſpied one ſmall boate rowing towards vs, hauing in it three perſons: this boate came to the landes ſide, foure harquebuſhot from our ſhippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the ſhoare ſide towards vs, and we being then all within boord, he walked vp and downe vppon the poinct of the lande next vnto vs: then the Maſter, and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my ſelfe, and others, rowed to the lande, whoſe comming this fellowe attended, neuer making any ſhewe of feare, or doubt. And after he had ſpoken of many things not vnderſtoode by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ſhippes, and gaue him a ſhirt, a hatte, and ſome other things, and made him taſte of our wine, and our meate, which he liked very well: and after hauing viewed both barkes, he departed, and went to his owne boate againe, which hee had left in a little Coue, or Creeke adioyning: aſſoone as he was two bowe ſhoote into the water, hee fell to fiſhing, and in leſſe then halfe an howre, hee had laden his boate as deepe, as it could ſwimme, with which he came againe to the point of the lande, and there he deuided his fiſhe into two partes, pointing one part to the ſhippe, and the other to the Pinneſſe: which after he had (as much as he might,) requited the former benefits receaued, he departed out of our ſight.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with foꝛtie or fiftie men, very handſome, and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly, and ciuill, as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the King is called Wingina, the Countrey Wingandacoa, (and nowe by her Maieſtie, Virginia,) the manner of his comming was in this ſoꝛte: hee left his boates altogether, as the firſt man did a little from the ſhippes by the ſhoare, and came along to the place ouer againſt the ſhippes, followed with foꝛtie men. When hee came to the place, his ſeruants ſpread a long matte vppon the grounde, on which he ſate downe, and at the other ende of the matte, foure others of his companie did the like: the reſt of his men ſtoode round about him, ſomewhat a farre off: when wee came to the ſhoare to him with our weapons, he neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer miſtruſted any harme to be offered from vs, but ſitting ſtill, he beckoned vs to come, and ſitte by him, which wee performed: and beeing ſette, hee makes all ſignes of ioy, and welcome, ſtriking on his head, and his breaſt, and afterwardes on ours, to ſhewe we were all one, ſmiling, and making ſhewe the beſt hee could, of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long ſpeech vnto vs, wee preſented him with diuers thinges, which hee receaued very ioyfully, and thankefully. None of his companye durſt to ſpeake one worde all the tyme: onely the foure which were at the other ende, ſpake one in the others eare very ſoftly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers, and children reuerenced: the King himſelfe in perſon was at our beeing there ſore wounded, in a fight which he had with the King of the next Countrey, called Wingina, and was ſhotte in two places through the bodye, and once cleane thorough the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reaſon wherof, and for that hee laye at the cheefe Towne of the Countrey, beeing fiue dayes iourneye off, wee ſawe him not at all.

After wee had preſented this his brother, with ſuch things as we thought he liked, we likewiſe gaue ſomewhat to the other that ſate with him on the matte: but preſently he aroſe, and tooke all from them, and put it into his owne baſket, making ſignes and tokens, that all

all things ought to be deliuered vnto him, and the rest were but his seruants, and followers. A daye or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some thinges that we had for Chammoys, Buffe, and Deere skinnes: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he saw, a bright tinne dishe most pleased him, which he presently tooke vp, & clapt it before his breast, & after made a hole in the brimme thereof, & hung it about his necke, making signes, that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne dishe for twentie skinnes, worth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie skinnes, worth fiftie Crownes. They offered vs very good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for knives, and would haue giuen any thing for swordes: but we would not depart with any. After two or three daies, the Kings brother came aboord the shippes, and dranke wine, and ate of our meate, and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few daies ouerpassed, he brought his wife with him to the shippes, his daughter, and two or three little children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane stature, and very bashfull: she had on her backe a long cloke of leather, with the furre side next to her bodie, and before her a peece of the same: about her forehead, she had a broad bande of white Coxrall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares she had braceletes of pearles, hanging downe to her middle, (whereof we deliuered your Worship a little bracelet) and those were of the bignes of good pease. The rest of her women of the better sorte, had pendantes of copper, hanging in euery eare, and some of the children of the Kings brother, and other Noble men, haue fiue or sixe in euery eare: he himselfe had vpon his head, a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being vnpolished, we knew not what mettall it should be, neither would he by any meanes suffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bowe very easily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their haire blacke for the most, and yet we sawe children that had very fine aburne, and chestnut colour haire.

After that these women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coxrall, diuers kindes of dies very excellent, and exchanged with vs: but when Granganimeo, the kings brother was present, none durst to trade but himselfe, except such as weare redde peeces of copper on their heades, like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the Noble men, and Gouernours of Countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderstood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde carry more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouernours, then these doe. The Kings brothers wife, when she came to vs, as she did many times, shee was followed with fortie or fiftie women alwaies: and when she came into the shippe, she left them all on lande, sauing her two daughters, her nurce, and one or two more. The Kings brother alwaies kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the shippes, so many fires would he make on the shoare a farre off, to the ende wee might vnderstand with what strength, and companie he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine, or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge tooles to make them withall: if they haue any, they are very fewe, and those it seemes they had twentie yeeres since, which as those two men declared, was out of a wracke which happened vpon their coast of some Christian shippe, being beaten that way by some storme, and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were saued, but onely the shippe, or some part of her, being cast vpon the lande, out of whose sides they drewe the nailes, and spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. Their manner of making their boates, is this: they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting mirrhe, and rosen vpon one side thereof, they sette fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollowe, they cutte out the coale with their shels, and euer where they would burne it deeper or wider, they laye on their gummes, which burneth away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they sette with long poles, as the depth serueth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a sworde, and diuers other things, which we had: and offered to laye a great bore of pearle in gage for them: but wee refused it for this time, because we would not make them knowe, that wee esteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderstoode in what places of the Countrey the pearle growe: which nowe your Worshippe doth very well vnderstand.

He was very full of his promise: for many times wee deliuered him merchandize vpon his worde, but euer he came within the daye, and performed his promise. Hee sent vs euery daye a brase or two of fatte Buckes, Conies, Hares, Fishe, the best of the worlde. Hee sent vs diuers kindes

kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Peale, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire, and well tasted, and groweth three times in fiue moneths: in May they sowe, in July they reape: in June they sowe, in August they reape: in July they sowe, in September they reape: onely they cast the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turfe with a woodden mattocke, or pickeaxe: our selues prooued the soile, and put some of our Peaze into the ground, and in tenne daies they were of foureteene inches high: they haue also Beanes very faire, of diuers colours, and wonderfull plentie: some growing naturally, and some in their gardens, and so haue they both wheat and oates.

The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull, and wholsome of all the world: there are aboue foureteene sterall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their vnderwoods are Bayes, and such like: they haue those Okes that we haue, but fawre greater, and better. After they had bene diuers times aboord our shippes, my selfe, with seuen more, went twentie mile into the Riuer, that runneth toward the Citie of Skicoake, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following, we came to an Iland, which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbour by which we entred, seuen leagues: and at the North ende thereof, was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially: when we came towards it, standing neere vnto the waters side, the wife of Grangyno, the Kings brother, came running out to meete vs very cheerefully, and friendly, her husband was not then in the village: some of her people she commanded to drawe our boate on the shoare, for the beating of the billoe: others shee appointed to carry vs on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house, for feare of stealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing fiue roomes in her house, she caused vs to sitte downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes, and washed them, and dried them againe: some of the women pulled off our stockings, and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all things ordered in the best manner shee could, making great haste to dresse some meate for vs to eate.

After we had thus dried our selues, shee brought vs into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted, fishe sodden, boyled, and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of diuers kindes, and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it all the yeere after, they drinke water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and diuers other wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue, and kindnes, and with as much bountie, after their manner, as they could possibly deuise. Wee found the people most gentle, louing, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as liued after the manner of the golden age. The earth bringeth foorth all things in aboundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour. The people onely care to defend them selues from the cold, in their short winter, and to feede themselues with such meate as the soile affordeth: their meate is very well sodden, and they make both very sweete, and sauorie: their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweete: their dishes are woodden platters of sweete timber: within the place where they feede, was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worship, of which they speake vncredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates, two or three men with their bowes, and arrowes, from hunting, whome when we espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moued, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes, and arrowes, and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorie, and gaue vs into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pots, and all, and brought vs to our boates side, in which wee laye all night, remouing the same a pretie distance from the shoare: shee perceiuing our iealousie, was much grieued, and sent diuers men, and thirtie women, to sitte all night on the bankes side by vs, and sent vs into our boates fiue mattes to couer vs from the rayne, vsing very many wordes to intreate vs to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscarried, the voyage had beene in very great daunger, wee durst not aduenture any thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde, and louing people, there can not be found in the world, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

Beyonde this Iflande, there is the maine lande, and ouer against this Iflande falleth into this

this ſpatious water, the great riuer called Occam, by the Inhabitants, on which ſtandeth a Towne called Pemeoke, and ſixe daies iourney further vpon the ſame is ſituate their greateſt citie, called Schycoake, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Wingnages were neuer at it, onely they ſpeake of it, by the report of their Fathers, and other men, whome they haue heard affirme it, to be about one daies iourney about.

Into this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo, in which there is found great ſtore of the Pulcels, in which there are pearles: likewiſe there deſcendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one ſide whereof ſtandeth a great Towne, called Chowanoake, and the Lord of that Towne and Countrey, is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not ſubiect to the King of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lorde. Beyonde this Countrey, is there another King, whome they call Menatoan, and theſe three Kinges are in league with eache other. Towards the Sunne ſet, foure daies iourney, is ſituate a Towne called Sequotan, which is the Weſternmoſt Towne of Wingandacoa, neere vnto which, ſixe and twentie yeeres paſt, there was a ſhippe caſt away, whereof ſome of the people were ſaued, and thoſe were white people, whom the Countrey people preſerued.

And after ten daies, remaining in an out Iſland vnhabited, called Wococan, they with the helpe of ſome of the dwellers of Sequotan, faſtened two boates of the Countrey together, and made maſtes vnto them, and ſailes of their ſhirtes, and hauing taken into them ſuch victuals as the Countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this our Iſland three weekes: but ſhortly after, it ſeemed they were caſt away, for the boates were found vppon the coaſt, caſt aland in another Iſland adioyning: other then theſe, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either ſeene, or heard of amongſt theſe people, and theſe aforeſaide were ſeene onely of the Inhabitants of Sequotan (which appeared to be very true, for they wondred meruelouſly when we were amongeſt them, at the whitenes of our ſkinnes, euer coueting to touch our breaſtes, and to view the ſame: beſides they had our ſhippes in maruelous admiration, and all things els was ſo ſtrange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer ſeene the like. When we diſcharged any peece, were it but a harquebuſh, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the ſtrangenes of the ſame: for the weapons which themſelues vſe, are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of ſmall canes, headed with a ſharpe ſhell, or tooth of a fiſhe ſufficiente enough to kill a naked man. Their ſwordes are of wood hardened: likewiſe they vſe woodden breaſtplates for their defenſe. They haue beſides a kinde of clubbe, in the ende whereof they faſten the ſharpe hornes of a ſtagge, or other beaſt. When they goe to warres, they carry with them their Idoll, of whome they aſke counſell, as the Romanes were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They ſing ſongs as they march towards the battell, in ſtreete of drummes, and trumpets: their warres are very cruell, and bloodie, by reaſon whereof, and of their ciuill diſſentions, which haue happened of late yeeres amongeſt them, the people are maruelouſly waſted, and in ſome places, the Countrey left deſolate.

Adioyning vnto this Towne aforeſaide, called Sequotan, beginneth a Countrey called Ponouike, belonging to another King, whome they call Piemacum, and this King is in league with the next King, adioyning towardes the ſetting of the Sunne, and the Countrey Neioſioke, ſituate vppon the ſide of a goodly Riuer, called Neus: theſe Kings haue mortall warre with Wingina, King of Wingandacoa, but about two yeeres paſt, there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lorde of Sequotan, as theſe men which we haue brought with vs into England, haue made vs vnderſtande: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Sequotanes, for many iniuries and ſlaughters done vppon them by this Piemacum. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women, of the beſt of his Countrey, to their Towne to a feaſt: and when they were altogether merrie, and playing before their Idoll, which is nothing elſe, but a meere illuſion of the Deuill: the Capeatne or Lorde of the Towne came ſuddenly vpon them, and ſlewe them euery one, reſeruing the women, and children: and theſe two haue oftentimes ſince perſwaded vs to ſurpriſe Piemacum his Towne, hauing promiſed, and aſſured vs, that there will be founde in it great ſtore of commodities. But whether their perſwaſion be to the ende they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the triall hereafter.

Beyonde this Iſland, called Croonoake, are many Iſlands, very plentifull of fruites, and other naturall increaſes, together with many Townes, and villages, along the ſide of the continent, ſome bounding vpon the Iſlands, and ſome ſtretching vp further into the land.

When we firſt had ſight of this Countrey, ſome thought the firſt lande we ſawe, to be the continent: but after wee entred into the Hauen, wee ſawe before vs another mightie long ſea: for

there

there lieth along the coaſt a tracte of Iſlands, two hundreth miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean ſea, and betweene the Iſlands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (theſe Iſlands being very narrowe, for the moſt part, as in moſt places ſixe miles broad, in ſome places leſſe, in fewe more.) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in breedth in ſome places, fortie, and in ſome fiftie, in ſome twentie miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this incloſed Sea, there are about a hundreth Iſlands of diuers bigneſſes, whereof one is ſixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it to be a moſt pleaſant, and fertile ground, repleniſhed with goodly Cedars, and diuers other ſweete woods, full of Currans, of ſtaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leaſure to view. Beſides this Iſland, there are many, as I haue ſaide, ſome of two, of three, of foure, of fiue miles, ſome more, ſome leſſe, moſt beautifull, and pleaſant to behold, repleniſhed with Deere, Conies, Hares, and diuers beaſtes, and about them the goodlieſt and beſt fiſhe in the world, and in greateſt aboundance.

Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our diſcouerie, made this preſent voyage, as farre forth, as the ſhortneſs of the time we there continued, would afford vs to take view of: and ſo contenting our ſelues with this ſeruice at this time, which we hope hereafter to inlarge, as occaſion and aſſiſtance ſhall be giuen, we reſolued to leaue the Countrey, and to apply our ſelues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued ſafely in the Weſt of England, about the middeſt of September.

And whereas we haue aboue certified you of the Countrey, taken in poſſeſſion by vs, to her Maieſties vſe, and ſo to yours, by her Maieſties grant, were thought good for the better aſſurance thereof, to recorde ſome of the particular Gentlemen, and men of accompt, who then were preſent, as witneſſes of the ſame, that thereby all occaſion of cauill to the title of the Countrey, in her Maieſties behalfe, may be preuented, which otherwiſe, ſuch as like not the action may vſe, and pretend, whoſe names are:

Maiſter Philip Amadas, } Captaines.
Maiſter Arthur Barlowe, }

William Greeneuile, }
Iohn Wood, }
Iames Browewich, }
Henrie Greene, } Of the companie.
Beniamin Wood, }
Simon Ferdinando, }
Nicholas Petman, }
Iohn Hewes, }

The voyage made by Sir Richard Greenuile, for Sir Walter *Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere, 1585.*

THe 19. day of Maye, in the yeere aboue ſaide, wee departed from Plymmouth, our fleete conſiſting of the number of ſeuen ſailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of ſeuen ſcore tunnes: a Flie boate called the Roe Bucke, of the like burden: the Lyon of a hundred tunnes, or thereabouts: the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a ſmall barke, whereunto were alſo adioyned for ſpeedie ſeruices, 2. ſmall Pinneſſes. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were, Maiſter Ralfe Lane, Maiſter Thomas Candiſhe, Maiſter Iohn Arundell, Maiſter Raimund, Maiſter Stukely, Maiſter Bremige, Maiſter Vincent, and Maiſter Iohn Clarke, and diuers others, whereof ſome were Captaines, and other ſome Aſſiſtants for counſell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill, we fell with Lançacota, and Forte Ventura, Iſles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our courſe for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the Weſt India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of Maye, and the 10. day following, we came to an anker at Coteſa, a little Iſland ſituate neere to the Iſland of S. Iohn, where wee landed, and refreſhed our ſelues all that day.

The 15. day of Maye, we came to an anker, in the Baye of Muskito, in the Iſland of S. Iohn, within a Fawlcon ſhot of the ſhoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greenuill, and the moſt part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie, very neere to the ſea ſide: the riuer ranne by the one ſide of our forte, and the other two ſides were enuironed with woods.

The

The 13. day we began to builde a new pinnelle within the Fort, with the timber that we then felled in the countrey, some part whereof we fet three myle vp in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniards not daring to make or offer refiſtance.

The 16. day, there appeared vnto vs out of the woods 8. horſemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a myle from our Fort, ſtaying about halfe an howre in viewing our forces: but as ſoone as they ſaw 5. of our ſhot marching towards them, they preſently retyred into the woodes.

The 19. day, Maſter Candiſh, who had bene ſeperated from our fleete in a ſtorme in the Bay of Portugal arrived at Coreſa, within the ſight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to haue ben either a Spaniard or French man of warre thought it good to waigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tyger did, and diſcerned him at laſt to be one of our Conſorts, for ioy of whoſe comming, our ſhips diſcharged their ordinance, and ſaluted him, according to the manner of the Seas.

The 22. day, 20. other Spaniſhe horſemen ſhewed them ſelues to vs vpon the other ſide of the riuer: who being ſeene, our General diſpatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horſemen of ours, mounted vpon Spaniſh horſes, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they ſhewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made ſignes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the ſands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offred very great ſalutations to our men, but began according to their Spaniſh proud humors, to expoſtulate with them, about their arrival, and forbidding in their countrie, who notwithſtanding by our mens diſcrete anſwers were ſo cooled, that whereas they were told, that our principal intention was onely to furniſh our ſelues with water, and victuals, and other neceſſaries whereof we ſtood in neede, which we craued might be yelded vs with faire, and friendly means, otherwiſe our reſolution was to practiſe force, and to releeue our ſelues by the ſwordes the Spaniards in concluſion, ſeeing our men ſo reſolute, yelded to our requeſtes with large promiſes of all curteſie, and great fauor, and ſo our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinneſſe was finiſhed, and lanched, which being done, our Generall with his Captaines, and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Country about the ſpace of 4. myles, where in a plaine marſh, they ſtayed expecting the comming of the Spanyards according to their promiſe, to furniſh vs with victuals: who keeping their old cuſtome for periurie and breache of promiſe came not, whereupon our General fired the woods thereabout, and ſo retired to our Fort, which the ſame day was fired alſo, and each man came aboord to be ready to ſet ſaile the next morning.

The 29. day we ſet ſaile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs ſtoong before vpon ſhoare with the Muſkitoes: but the ſame night we tooke a Spaniſh Frigat, which was forſaken by the Spanyards vpon the ſight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early, wee tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and diuers Spaniards of accompt in her, which afterwards we ranſomed for good round ſummes, and landed them in Saint Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Maſter Ralfe Lane, went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay vpon the Southweſt ſide of Saint Iohns, to fetch ſalt, being thither conducted by a Spaniſh Pilot: as ſoone as he arriued there, he landed with his men, to the number of 20. and intrenched him ſelfe vpon the ſandes immediatly, compaſſing one of their ſalt hils within the trench: who being ſeene of the Spanyards, there came downe towards him two or three troopes of horſemen, and footemen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durſt not come neere him to offer any reſiſtance, ſo that Maſter Lane mauger their troopes, caried their ſalt aboord and laded his Frigat, and ſo returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at Saint Germans Bay. The ſame day we all departed, and the next day arriued in the Iland of Hiſpaniola.

Iune.

THe 1. day of Iune we ankered at Iſabella, in the North ſide of Hiſpaniola.

The 3. day of Iune, the Gouernor of Iſabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of ſundry Spanyards, who had bene well intertained aboord our ſhippes by our General, that in our fleete were many braue, and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly deſired to ſee the Gouernor aforeſaid, he thereupon ſent gentle commendations to our Generall, promiſing within few dates to come to him in perſon, which he performed accordingly.

The 5. day the foreſaid gouernor, accompanied with a luſty Frier, & 12. other Spaniards, with their ſeruants, & Negroes, came downe to the ſea ſide, where our ſhips road at anker, who being ſeene, our General manned immediatly the moſt part of his boats with the chiefe men of our fleete, euery man appointed, and furniſhed in the beſt ſort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spaniſhe Gouernor receiued him very curteouſly, and the Spaniſh Gentlemen ſaluted our Engliſh Gentlemen, and their inferiour ſort did alſo ſalute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our

men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first, they seemed to stand in feare of vs, and of so many of our boats, whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the curtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spanyardes part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Gouernor discoursed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the state of the Country, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men prouided two banquetting houses couered with greene boughs, the one for the gentlemen, the other for the seruants, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in serued by vs all in Plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musick wherewith the Spanyards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spanyardes in recompense of our curtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne, to be brought together from the Mounteines, and appointed for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to be hunted by horsemen after their manner, so that the pastime grew very pleasant, for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were giuen and bestowed on both parties, and the next day we plaied the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange for diuers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kyne, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bul hydes, sugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spanyardes from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort do impute this greate shew of friendship, and curtesie vsed towardes vs by the Spanyards rather to the feare that we were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnes that was amongst vs, then to any hearty good will, or sure freindly intertainment: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, we might haue looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master Iohn Hawkins receiued at saint Iohn de Vllua, of Iohn Oxnam neere the streights of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day we ankred at a small Iland to take Seales which in that place were vnderstood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse, were in very great danger to haue bene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hazard, and returned aboord the Admirall in safetie.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Ile of Caycos, in which Islande we searched for salt ponds, vpon the aduertisment, and information of a Portingall: who in deede abused our General and vs, deseruing a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased vs.

The 12. we ankered at Guanema, and landed.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Sygateo.

The 20. we fell with the mayne of Florida.

The 23. wee were in great danger of a Wracke on a breache called the Cape of Feare.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbor where we caught in one tyde so much fishe as would haue yelded vs 50. pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee waighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the vnskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on grounde, and sunke.

Iuly.

The 3. we sent word of our arriuing at Wococon, to Wingino at Roanocke.

The 6. M. Iohn Arundell was sent to the mayne, and Manteio with him: and Captayne Aubry, and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there, with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. daies before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry, and Captaine Boniten returned with two of our men found by them to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master Iohn Arundell, Master Stukelye, and diuers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Harriot, and 20. others in the newe pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with tenne others in a ship boate, Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ship boate passed ouer the water from Ococon to the mayne land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discouered the townes of Pomioke, Aquascogoc and Secoca, and also the great lake called by the Sauages Paquype, with

with diuers other places, and ſo returned with that diſcouery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeioke.

The 13. we paſſed by water to Aquaſcococke.

The 15. we came to Secotan and were well intertayned there of the Sauages.

The 16. we returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was ſent to Aquaſcococke to demaund a ſiluer cup which one of the Sauages had ſtolen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promiſe, we burnt, and ſpoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people beeing fledde.

The 18. we returned from the diſcouery of Secotan, and the ſame day came aboord our fleete ryding at Wocokon.

The 21. our fleete ankering at Wokocon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our fleete ankered at Hatoraske, and there we reſted.

The 29. Grangino, brother to king Wingino, came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

Auguſt.

THe 2. The Admirall was ſent to Weapemeoke.

The 5. Maſter Iohn Arundell was ſent for England.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and ſet ſaile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spaniſh ſhip of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of cheſts, which fell a ſunder, and ſunke at the ſhippes ſide, alloone as euer hee and his men were out of it.

September.

THe 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then ſhipped in the pyſke loſt ſight of the Tyger.

October.

THe firſt the Tyger fell with the Iſlands ende, and the ſame day came to an anker at Falmouth.

The 18. the Generall came with the pyſke to Plymmouth, and was courteouſly receiued by diuerſe of his worſhipfull friends.

The names of all thoſe as well Gentlemen as others, *that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, vnder the Gouernement of Maſter Ralfe Lane.*

Maſter Philip Amades, Admirall of the countrie.
Maſter Hariot.
Maſter Acton.
Maſter Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Maſter Maruyn.
Maſter Gardyner.
Captaine Vaughan.
Maſter Kendall.
Maſter Prideox.
Robert Holecroft.
Riſe Courtney.
Maſter Hugh Rogers.
Maſter Thomas Harule.
Maſter Snelling.
Maſter Anthony Ruſſe.
Maſter Allyne.
Maſter Michel Polyſon.
Iohn Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Geffery Churchman.
William Farthowe.
Iohn Taylor.
Philppe Robyns.
Thomas Phillippes.
Valentine Beale.

Thomas Foxe.
Edward Nugen.
Darby Glande.
Edward Kelle.
Iohn Gostigo.
Erasmus Clefs.
Edward Ketcheman.
Iohn Linsey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane.
Iohn Harris
Frauncis Norris.
Mathewe Lyne.
Edward Kettell.
Thomas Wisse.
Robert Biscombe.
William Backhouse.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Ioseph Borges.
Doughan Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Myll.
Richard Gilbert.
Steuen Pomarie.
Iohn Brocke.
Bennet Harrye.
Iames Steuenson.
Charles Steuenson.
Christopher Lowde.
Ieremy Man.
Iames Mason.
Dauid Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookeuer.
William Philippes.
Randall Mayne.
Iames Skinner.
George Efeuen.
Iohn Chaundeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Constable.
Thomas Hesket.
William Wasse.
Iohn Feuer.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
Iohn Wright.
Gabriell North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
Iames Lasie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert
Iohn Euans.
Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Frauncis Whitton.
Rowland Griffyn.
William Millard.
Iohn Twyt.
Edwarde Seklemore.
Iohn Anwike.
Christopher Marshall.
Dauid Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Syluester Beching.
Vincent Cheyne.
Haunce Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
William Walters.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Master Raise Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August, 1585. vntill the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrie: sent, and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.

THat I may proceed with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to deuide it into two partes. The first shall declare the particularities of such partes of the Country within the mayne, as our weake number, and supply of things necessary did inable vs to enter into the discouery thereof.

2. Parts of this discourse.

The second part, shall set downe the reasons generally mouing vs to resolue on our departure at the instant with the General Sir Frauncis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners ment by him to bee left in the Countrie for the supply of such, as for a further time ment to haue stayed there were caried away with tempest, and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shalbe declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the mayne to haue cutt vs off &c.

The

The firſt part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of Virginia.

FIrſt therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you ſhal vnderſtand our diſcouery of the ſame hath bene extended from the Iland of Roanoak, (the ſame hauing bene the place of our ſettlement or inhabitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northweſt, and into the Weſt.

The vttermoſt place to the Southward of any diſcouerie was Secotan, being by eſtimation foure ſcore miles diſtant from Roanoak. The paſſage from thence was thorowe a broad ſound within the mayne, the ſame being without kenning of land, and yet full of flats and ſhoales: we had but one boate with foure oares to paſſe thorough the ſame, which boat could not carry aboue fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for ſeuen dayes at the moſt: and as for our Pinneſſe, beſides that ſhe drewe too deepe water for that ſhalow ſound, ſhe would not ſtirre for an oare: for theſe and other reaſons (winter alſo being at hand) we thought good wholy to leaue the diſcouery of thoſe partes vntill our ſtronger ſupplie.

To the Northwarde our furtheſt diſcouerie was to the Cheſepians, diſtant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the paſſage to it was very ſhalow and moſt dangerous, by reaſon of the breadth of the ſound, and the litle ſuccour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and ſoyle of the Cheſepians (being diſtant fifteene miles from the ſhoare) was for pleaſantnes of ſeate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of ſoyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, beſides multitude of beares (being an excellent good victuall, with great woods of Saſſafras, and Wall nut trees) is not to be excelled by any other whatſoeuer. The excellency of the ſeate of Cheſepeth.

There be ſundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countries of great fertilitie adioyning to the ſame, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opoſſians, which all came to viſit the Colonie of the Engliſh, which I had for a time appointed to be reſident there.

To the Northweſt the fartheſt place of our diſcouerie was to Choanoke diſtant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our paſſage thither lyeth thorough a broad ſound, but all freſh water, and the chanell of great depth, nauigable for good ſhipping; but out of the chanell full of ſhoales.

The Townes about the water ſide ſituated by the way, are theſe following: Pyſſhokonnok, The womans Towne, Chipanum, Weopomiok, Muſcamunge, and Mattaquem: all theſe being vnder the iuriſdiction of the king of Weopomiok, called Okiſco: from Muſcamunge we enter into the Riuer, and iuriſdiction of Choanoke: There the Riuer beginneth to ſtraighten vntill it come to Choanoke, and then groweth to be as narrowe as the Thames betweene Weſtminſter, and Lambeth.

Betweene Muſcamunge and Choanoke vpon the left hand as we paſſe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called the blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it Ooanoke, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging vnto it: it is ſubiect to Choanoke.

Choanoke it ſelfe is the greateſt Prouince and Seigniorie lying vpon that Riuer, and the very Towne it ſelfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, beſides the forces of the Prouince it ſelfe. The Towne of Choanoke able to make 700. men of warre.

The King of the ſayd Prouince is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwiſe for a Sauage, a very graue and wiſe man, and of very ſingular good diſcourſe in matters concerning the ſtate, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the diſpoſition of his owne men, but alſo of his neighbours round about him as wel farre as neere, and of the commodities that eche Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him priſoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue me more vnderſtanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the ſearches and ſalwages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March laſt paſt 1586. Amongſt other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a canoa vp his Riuer of Choanoke, and then deſcending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to paſſe ouer land Northeaſt to a certaine Kings countrey, whoſe Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greateſt ſtrength is an Iland ſituate as he deſcribed vnto me in a Bay, the water rounde about the Iland very deepe. An Iland in a Bay.

Out of this Bay hee ſignified vnto mee, that this King had ſo great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth ſo ordinarily take the ſame, as that not onely his owne ſkins that he weareth, and the better ſort of his gentlemen and followers, are full ſet with the ſayd Pearle, but alſo his beds, and houſes are garniſhed with them, and that hee hath ſuch quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to ſee. Pearles in exceeding quantitie.

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Choanoak two yeeres before, and brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was hee faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought: He gaue me a rope of the same Pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a fewe amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shalowe water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to mee by his speech, that the sayde king had traffike with white men that had clothes as we haue for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that he would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same Countrey.

The king of Choanoak promised to giue me guides to goe ouer land into that kings Countrey whensoeuer I would: but he aduised me to take good store of men with mee, and good store of victuall, for he sayd, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the fielde, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolued with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the end of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boats, or men, to haue had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men, and victuals to haue found vs vntill the new corne were come in, I woulde haue sent a small Barke with two Pinnesses aboue by Sea to the Northwarde to haue found out the Bay he spake of, and to haue sounded the barre if there were any, which shoulde haue ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boats I could make, and with two hundreth men would haue gone vp to the head of the Riuer of Choanoak, with the guides that Menatonon would haue giuen, which I would haue bene assured should haue bene of his best men, (for I had his best beloued sonne prisoner with me) who also should haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest foote by foote all the voyage ouer land.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my descent where I would haue left my boates to haue raysed a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the garde of my boates I would haue left fiue and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue carried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my marche vpon some conuenient plot would I haue raysed another sconse according to the former, where I would haue left 15. or 20. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I woulde haue raised my sayd sconse vpon some coorne fielde, that my companie might haue liued vpon it.

Whether Master Ralph Lane meant to remoue.

And so I would haue holden this course of insconsing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arriued at the Bay or Porte he spake of: which finding to be worth the possession, I would there haue raised a mayne forte, both for the defence of the harboroughs, and our shipping also, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and porte there (which by proofe is very naught) vnto this other before mentioned, from whence, in the foure dayes marche before specified could I at all times returne with my companie backe vnto my boats ryding vnder my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable Riuer, and in all those partes most famous, called the Riuer of Morotico. This Riuer openeth into the broad sound of Weopomiok: And whereas the Riuer of Choanoak, and all the other sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no currant in the world in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Morotico hath so violent a currant from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarse be nauigable: it passeth with many creeks and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich, and the Ile of dogges, in some place more, and in some lesse: the currant runneth as strong being entred so high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a vale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Sauages of Morotico themselues doe report strange things of the head of that Riuer, and that from Morotico it selfe, which is a principall Towne vpon that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rocke standeth neere vnto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from ỳ Sea) the waues thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish:

I tooke

I tooke a resolution with my selfe, hauing dismissed Menatonon vpon a ransome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could haue victuall to carrie vs, vntill we could meete with moze either of the Moratics, or of the Mangoaks which is another kinde of Sauages, dwelling moze to the Westwarde of the sayd Riuer: but the hope of recouering moze victuall from the Sauages made me and my company as narowly to escape starning in that discouerie before our returne, as euer men did that missed the same.

Wingina changeth his name

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina vpon the death of his brother Granganimo, had giuen both the Choanists, & Mangoaks word of my purpose touching them, I hauing bin inforced to make him priuie to ꝑ same, to be serued by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet he did neuer rest to solicite continually my going vpon them, certifying me of a generall assembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Choanoak of all his Weroances, & allyes to the number of 3000. bowes preparing to come vpon vs at Roanoak and that the Mangoaks also were ioyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselues to bring as many moze to the enterprise: And true it was, that at that time the assembly was holden at Choanoak about vs, as I found at my comming thither, which being vnlooked for did so dismay them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie against vs of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed vnto me, who sent them continuall worde that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he tolde me that they had the like meaning towards vs.

Hee in like sort hauing sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe vp into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he sayd) both they and the Moratiks, with whome before we were entred into a league, and they had euer dealt kindely with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retyred themselues with their ‖ Crenepoes, and their corne within the mayne: insomuch as hauing passed three dayes voyage vp the Riuer, we could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of corne in any their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe, that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrarie windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Sauages in the discouerie of our voyage intended, though we had no intention to be hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to haue had corne of them: I at night vpon the corps of garde, before the putting foorth of centinels, aduertised the whole companie of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them, vpon vaine hope to be in the ende starued, seeing all the Countrey fledde before vs, and therefore while we had those two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homewarde, and that it were necessarie for vs to get the other side of the sound of Weopomiok in time, where we might be relieued vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womans Towne, although the people were fled. ‖ Their wordes

Thus much I signified vnto them, as the safest way: neuertheless, I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether we should aduenture the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to meete with some better hap, or otherwise to retyre our selues backe againe. And for that they might be the better aduised, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aboyde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholly was (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left one halfe pinte of corne for a man, that we should not leaue the search of that Riuer, and that there were in the companie two mastiues, vpon the portage of which with sassafras leaues (if the worst fell out) the companie would make shift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the currant to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the sound, and in two dayes moze at the farthest they hoped to crosse the spunde and to bee relieued by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee, since it came of them selues, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to haue some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to haue had one or two of them prisoners, was, for ꝑ is it a thing most notorious to all ꝑ countrey, that there is a Prouince to the which the sayd Mangoaks haue recourse and traffike vp that Riuer of Morattico, which hath a maruellous and most strange Mineral. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling vp the sayde riuer, A maruellous Mineral in the countrey of Chaunis Temoatan.

riuer, and also to the Sauages of Choanoke, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the mayne: the countries name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The mineral they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador euery mettall whatsoeuer: they say it is of the couler of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the sayd mettall out of a riuer that falleth very swift from hie rocks, and hils, and they take it in shallowe water: the manner is this. They take a great bowle by their discription as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skinne ouer the hollowe part thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the currant, and the change of the couler of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the sayd bowle with the skin, and receiue into the same as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and boyleth perfect in 5. partes, at the first melting, two parts of mettall for three partes of oare. Of this mettall the Mangoaks haue so great store, by report of all the sauages adioyning, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the country, and particularly by yong Skiko, the king of Choanokes sonne my prisoner, who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to mee before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himselfe: for he says, it was twentie dayes iourney ouerlande from the Mangoaks, to the saide minerall country, and that they passed though certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

Vpon report of the premisses, which I was very inquisitiue in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the sauages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised mee guides of his owne men, who should passe ouer with mee, euen to the sayde country of Chaunis Temoatan, (for ouer lande from Choanok to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from sunne rysing to sunne setting, whereas by water it is 7. dayes with the soonest:) These things I say, made me verie desirous by all meanes possible to recouer the Mangoaks, to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrarie to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victual spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could neuer see man, onely fires wee might perceiue made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and vp into the countrie vntill the very last day. In the euening whereof, about three of the clocke we heard certaine sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with mee in boate, whereof we all being verie glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song, as we thought in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his peece, and told mee that they ment to fight with vs: which word was not so soone spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a volley of their arrowes amongst them in the boate, but did no hurt God be thanked to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to land vpon, which was presently done, although the lande was very high and steepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselues to flight: we landed, and hauing fayre and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselues we know not where: the sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day, if wee would pursue them, though wee might happen to meete with them, yet we should bee assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of, therefore choosing for the companie a conuenient grounde in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of garde, and putting out good centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sunne to be going backe againe, if possibly wee might recouer the mouth of the riuer into the broade sownde, which at my first motion I found my whole companie ready to assent vnto: for they were nowe come to their dogs porredge, that they had bespoken for them selues, if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the riuers mouth within 4. or 5. miles of the same, hauing rowed in one day downe the currant, as much as in 4. dayes we had done against the same: we lodged vpon an Iland, where wee had nothing in the worlde to eate but portage of sassafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer vsed before as I thinke. The broad sownde wee had to passe, the next day all fresh and fayling: that day the winde blewe so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was vpon Easter eue, which

A conflict begun by the Sauages.

The great currant of the River of Choanoke.

which was faſted very truly. Upon Eaſter day in the morning the wind comming very calme, wee entred the ſownde, and by 4. of the clocke we were at Chipanum, where all the Sauages that wee had left there were fled, but their wears did yeelde vs ſome fiſh, as God was pleaſed not vtterly to ſuffer vs to be loſt: for ſome of our companie of the light horſemen were far ſpent. The next morning we arriued at our home Roanoake.

I haue ſet downe this voyage ſomewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the moſt to the leaſt amongſt vs, to haue perfited this diſcouerie of the mines: for that the diſcouery of a good mine, by the goodneſſe of God, or a paſſage to the Southſea, or ſomewhat to it, and nothing els can bring this country in requeſt to be inhabited by our nation. And with the diſcouery of any of the two aboue ſpoken, it muſt be the moſt ſweete, and healthfulleſt climate, and therewithall the moſt fertile ſoyle, being manured in the world: and then will Saſſafras, and many other roots & gummes there found make good Marchandiſe and lading for ſhipping, which otherwiſe of themſelues will not bee worth the fetching.

Prouided alſo, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which muſt bee to the Northward, if any there be, which was mine intention to haue ſpent this ſummer in the ſearch of, and of the mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I ſhould haue had of S. Francis Drake, by his honorable curteſie, had not bene driuen away by ſtorme: the other if your ſupply of more men, and ſome other neceſſaries had come to vs in any conuenient ſufficiencie. For this riuer of Moratico promiſeth great things, and by the opinion of M. Harriots the heade of it by the deſcription of the country, either riſeth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the ſame, that openeth out into the South ſea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doth M. Vaughan affirme that though it be but copper, ſeeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richeſt Minerals in the worlde.

Wherefore a good harborough founde to the Northward, as before is ſayd, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the riuer of Choanoak ſconſes being rayſed, from whence againe ouerlande through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the firſt towne of the Mangoaks by the riuer of Moratico by the way, as alſo vpon the ſayd riuer for the defence of our boates like ſconſes being ſet, in this courſe of proceeding you ſhall cleare your ſelfe from all thoſe dangers and broad ſhallowe ſownds before mentioned, and gayne within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the mayne 200. myles at the leaſt, and ſo paſſe your diſcouerie into that moſt notable, and to the likelieſt partes of the mayne, with farre greater felicitie then otherwiſe can bee performed.

Thus ſir, I haue though ſimply, yet truely ſet downe vnto you, what my labour with the reſt of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company, (not without both payne, and perill which the lorde in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeelde vnto you, which might haue bene performed in ſome more perfection, if the lorde had bene pleaſed that onely that which you had prouided for vs had at the firſt bene left with vs, or that he had not (of his eternall prouidence now at the laſt) ſet ſome other courſe in theſe things, then the wiſedome of man could looke into, which truely the carying away, by a moſt ſtrange, & vnlooked for ſtorme all our proviſion, with barks, maſter, Marryners, and ſundrie alſo of mine owne company, all hauing bene ſo curteouſly ſupplyed by the Generall S. Francis Drake, the ſame hauing bene moſt ſufficient to haue performed the greateſt part of the premiſſes, muſt euer make me to thinke, the hand of God only, for ſome his good purpoſe to my ſelfe yet vnknowne, to haue bene in the matter.

The ſecond part touching the conſpiracy of Pemiſapan, the diſcouerie of the ſame, and at the laſt, of our requeſt to depart with S. Francis Drake for England.

ENſenore a ſauage father to Pemiſapan being the only friend to our nation that we had amongſt them, and about the king, died the 20. of Aprill, 1586. but alone, had before oppoſed himſelfe in their conſultations againſt all matters propoſed againſt vs, which both the king, and all the reſt of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to ſaue vs from hurt, as practiſings and ſuch like, but alſo to doe vs very great good, and ſingularly in this.

The king was aduiſed and of himſelfe diſpoſed, as a ready meane to haue aſſuredly brought vs

vs to ruine in the moneth of March, 1586. himselfe also with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Island vnsowed, which if he had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hand of God) that we could haue bene preserued from staruing out of hand. For at that time wee had no weares for fishe, neither could our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of corne for seede to put into the ground.

In mine ablence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a bruite among themselues, that I and my company were part slayne, and part starued by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starued, but the other false.

Neuertheleſſe vntill my returne, it tooke such effect in Pemisapans heart, and in those against vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the almightie God of heauen, and Iesus Christ, whome wee serue and worship, whome before they woulde acknowledge and confesse the onely God:) nowe they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lord God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name, all the inhabitants of the whole mayne, of what prouince soeuer. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, coulde for his sake haue no more credite for vs: and it came so farre that the King was resolued to haue presently gone away as is aforesaid.

But euen in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee saw contrarie to his expectation, and the aduertisement that he had receiued: that not only my selfe, and my company were al safe, but also by report of his owne 3. sauages, which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cosine, that the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, (whose name, and multitude besides their valour is terrible to al the rest of the prouinces) durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and that those that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loued to Roanoak with me, it did not a little asswage all deuises against vs: on the other side, it made Ensenors opinions to be receiued againe with greater respects. For hee had often before told them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to be destroyed by them: but contrariwise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should finde their owne, and not be able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we coulde do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their olde men, as also, that they haue bene in the night, beeing 100. myles from any of vs in the ayre shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sickneſſe had dyed among them: and many of them holde opinion, that wee be dead men returned into the worlde againe, and that we doe not remayne dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grew in ful credite with them, the King and all touching vs, when hee saw the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible vnto them: but that which made vp the matter on our side for that time, was an accident, yea rather, (as all the rest was) the good prouidence of the Almightie for the sauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the said iourney, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather as Pemisapan told me, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending them, was to signifie vnto me, that hee had commaunded Okisko king of Weopomiok, to yelde himselfe seruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Ralegh: to performe which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the sayd Okisko ioyntly with this Menatonons messenger, sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were readie to performe the same, and so had sent those his men to let me knowe, that from that time forwarde hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maiestie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforesayde.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Sauages in counsel then with him, it did for the time, thoroughly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward vs: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore wan this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, & withall, to cause his men to set vp weares forthwith for vs: both which he, at that present went in hand withal & did so labour the expedition of it, that

that in the end of April, he had sowed a good quantitie of ground, so much as had bene sufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God blessing the grouth) and that by the belly for a whole yere: besides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of grounde for our selues to sowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could passe from Aprill, vntill the beginning of July, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their haruest,) that then a newe supplie out of Englande or els our owne store would well inough maintayne vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, i. which meane space, if the Sauages should not helpe vs with Cassada, and Chyna, and that our weares should fayle vs, (as often they did,) wee might very well starue, notwithstanding the growing corne, like the staruing horse in the stable, with the growing grasse as the prouerbe is, which we very hardlye had escaped but onely by the hande of God, as it pleased him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is sayde Ensenore our friende dyed, who was no sooner dead, but certaine our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osocan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand again to put their old practises in vre against vs, which were readily imbraced, & al their former deuises against vs renewed, & new brought in question.

The beginning of their haruest in Iulie.

But that of staruing vs, by their forbearing to sowe, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by hauing made the king all at one instant to sowe his grounde not onely in the Islande but also at Addesmocopeia in the mayne, within two leagues ouer against vs. Neuerthelesse there wanted no store of mischeuous practises among them, and of all they resolued principally of this following.

First that Okisko, king of Weopomiok, with the Mandoages, should bee moued, and with great quantitie of copper intertayned to the number of seuen, or 800 bowes to the enterprise the matter thus to be ordred. They of Weopomiok should be inuited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they do vse to solemnise in their Sauage maner for any great personage dead, and should haue bene for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people with the Chesepians, and their friends to the number of 700. of them to be armed at a day appoynted to the mayne of Addesmocopeio, and there lying close at the signe of fyers, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, whē Pemisapan w̄ his troup aboue named should haue executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the mayne forces of the rest should haue come ouer into the Iland where they ment to haue dispatched the rest of the company, whome they did imagine to finde both dismayed and dispersed abroade in the Islande seeking of crabs, and fish to liue withall. The manner of their enterprise was this.

The conspiracie of Pemisapan.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemisapan, and very lustie fellowes with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my person to see an order taken for the same, which they ment should in this sort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beset my house, and put fire in the reedes, that the same was couered with: meaning (as it was likelye) that my selfe woulde haue come running out of a sudden amazed in my shirt without armes, vpon the instant whereof they woulde haue knocked out my braynes.

The same order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Herriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is sayde, and that as well for them of the forte, as for vs at the towne. Now to the end that we might be the fewer in number together, and so be the more easilie dealt withall (for in deede ten of vs with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the best sort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practise, that they should not for any copper, sell vs any victuals whatsoeuer: besides that in the night they should send to haue our weares robbed, and also to cause them to be broken and once being broken neuer to be repayred againe by them. By this meanes the King stood assured, that I must bee enforced for lacke of sustenance, there to disband my company into sundry places to liue vpon shell fishe, for so the Sauages themselues doe, going to Ottorasko, Crotoan, and other places fishing and hunting, while their grownds be in sowing, and their corne growing, which fayled not his expectation. For the famine grewe so extreeme among vs, our weares fayling vs of fish, that I was enforced to send captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Crotoan my lord Admirals Island to serue two turnes in one, that is to say to feede himselfe, and his company, and also to keepe watch, if any shipping came vpon the coast to warne vs of the same. I sent master Pridiox with the Pynnesse to Otterasco, and ten with him, with the Prouost Marshal to liue there, and also to wayte for shipping: also I sent euery weeke 16. or 20. of the rest of the companie to the mayne ouer against vs, to liue of Casada, and oysters.

The sufficiencye of our men to deale against the Sauages, 10. to 100.

The sauages liue by fishing, and hunting, till haruest.

In the meane while Pemisapan went of purpose to Addesmocopeio for 3. causes, the one, to see his grounds there broken vp, and sowed for a second croppe: the other to withdrawe himselfe

selfe from my daily sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afrayde to denye me any thing, neither durst he in my presence but by colour, and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to haue relyed my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in truth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there, had giuen many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomiok for making him beleeue such tales of vs.

The third cause of his going to Addesmacopeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid, al which he did with great impyesse of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoyle.

The answere within fewe dayes after, came from Weopomiok, which was deuided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denyed to be of ꝑ partie for himselfe, or any of his especial followers, and therefore did immediatly retyre himselfe with his force into the mayne: the other was concerning the rest of the sayd prouince who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags receiued the impyesse.

The day of their assembly aforesayd at Roanoak, was appoynted the 10. of July: all which the premises were discouered by Skyco, the king Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatning to cut off his head, whome I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon he being perswaded that he was our enemie to the death, he did not only feede him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himself as well vsed at my hand, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my companie made much of him, he flatly discouered al vnto me, which also afterwards was reuealed vnto me by one of Pemisapans owne men, ꝑ night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being al instantly vpon mee, and my companie to be put in execution, stood mee in hand to study how to preuent them, and also to saue all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his heade, that I ment presently to goe to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrival of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good aduenture,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes prouision to serue for my voyage.

He sent mee word that he would himselfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day hee deferred, only to bring the Weopomioks with him, and the Mandoags, whose time appoynted was within 8. dayes after. It was the last of May, 1586. when all his owne sauages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad vnto them, and I resolued not to stay longer vpon his comming ouer, since he ment to come with so good company, but thought good to go, and visite him with such as I had, which I resolued to do the next day: but that night I ment by the way to giue them in the Iland a Canuisado, and at the instant to seaze vpon all the Canoas about the Iland to keepe him from aduertisements.

But the towne tooke the allarum, before I ment it to them: the occasion was this. I had sent the Master of the light horsemen with a few with him, to gather vp all the Canoas in the setting of the sunne, ⁊ to take as many as were going from vs to Adesmocopeio, but to suffer any that came from thence to land: he met with a Canoa, going from the shoare, and ouerthrew the Canoa, and cut off 2. sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but hee was discouered from the shoare, whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, priuie to their owne villanous purposes against vs, held as good espial vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The slaughter, and furyes of the Sauages.

The allarum giuen, they tooke themselues to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slayne with our shot, the rest fled into ꝑ woods: The next morning with the light horseman, ⁊ one Canoa, taking 25. with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Seriant maior, I went to Adesmocopeio, and being landed sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne sauages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and ment to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Osocon, who the night past was conueying away my prisoner, whom I had there presently tied in an handlocke: hereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my selfe amidst 7. or 8. of his principal Weroances, ⁊ followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gaue the watchword agreed vpon, (which was Christ our victory,) and immediatly those his chiefe men, and himselfe, had by the mercie of God for our deliuerance,

uerance, that which they had purposed for vs. The king himselfe being shot through by the Colonell with a pistoll lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the sauing of Mangeos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he ouerran all the companie, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my Petronell. In the end an Irish man seruing me, one Augent and the deputie prowost undertooke him, and following him in the woods ouertooke him, and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king, and my man by our owne negligence to haue bene intercepted by the Sauages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand. Pemisapan slaine.

This fell out the first of June, 1586. and the 8. of the same came aduertisement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Island, that he had discouered a great Fleete of 23. sailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discerne, he aduised me to stand vpon as good gard as I could.

The 9. of the said moneth, he himselfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, and that same day trauelled by land 20. miles, and I must truly report of him from the first to the last, he was the gentleman that neuer spared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any seruice committed vnto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall sir Francis Drake, with a most bountifull and honourable offer for the supplie of our necessities to the performance of the action, we were entered into, and that not onely of victuals, munition and clothing, but also of barkes, pinnaces and boates, they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentation. A letter from sir Francis Drake.

The 10. day hee arriued in the road of our bad harborough, and comming there to an anker, the 11. day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to performe that which in writing and message he had most curteously offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his Fleete, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deserued, but as I could both for my companie and my selfe, I (being aforehand) prepared what I would desire, craued at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England a number of weake, and vnfit men for my good action, which I would deliuer to him, and in place of them to supply me of his company, with oare men, artificers, and others. 1

That he would leaue vs so much shipping and victuall, as about August then next following, would carry me and all my companie into England, whē we had discouered somwhat that for lacke of needfull prouision in time left with vs as yet remained vndone. 2

That it would please him withall to leaue some sufficient masters not onely to carry vs into England when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harborow if there were any, and especially to helpe vs to some small boats and oare men. 3

Also for a supplie of calieuers, handweapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and such like. 4

He hauing receiued these my requests according to his vsuall commendable maner of gouernement (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counsell, the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my companie, as I vsed in such matters, with their notes to goe aboord with him, which were the master of the victuals, the keeper of the store, and the Viceтreasurer, to whom he appointed foorthwith for me the Francis, being a very proper barke of 70. tunnes, and tooke present order for bringing of victuall aboord her for 100. men for foure moneths withall my other demaunds whatsoeuer, to the vttermost.

And further appointed for me two fine pinnaces, and 4. small boats, and that which was to performe all his former liberalitie towards vs, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented masters as were any in his fleete, by iudgement of them that knewe them, with very sufficient gings to take with mee, and to employ themselues most earnestly in the action, as I should appoynt them, vntill the terme which I promised of our returne into England agayne. The names of one of those masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Werne.

While these things were in hand, the prouision aforesayd being brought, and in bringing aboord, my sayd masters being also gone aboord, my sayd barkes hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers with others in like sort of my company with them, all which was dispatched by the said Generall the 12. of the said moneth: the 13. of the same there arose such an vnwonted storme, and continued foure dayes that had like to haue driuen all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the generall very prouidently foreseene the worst himselfe, then about my dispatch putting himselfe aboord: but in the ende hauing driuen sundry of the Fleete to

put to ſea the Frenchs alſo with all my prouiſions, my two maſters, and my companie aboord, ſhee was ſeene to be free from the ſame, and to put cleare to ſea.

This ſtorme hauing continued from the 13. to the 16. of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforeſayd, the Generall comming a ſhore, made a new proffer to me, which was a ſhippe of 170. tunnes, called the Barke Bonner, with a ſufficient maſter and guide to carie with mee the time appointed, and victualled ſufficiently to carie mee and my companie into England with all prouiſions as before: but hee tolde mee that hee would not for any thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore hee was to leaue her in the roade, and to leaue the care of the reſt vnto my ſelfe, and aduiſed mee to conſider with my companie of our caſe, and to deliuer preſently vnto him in writing, what I would require him to doe for vs: which being within his power, hee did aſſure me as well for his Captaines, as for himſelfe ſhould be moſt willingly performed.

Herevpon calling ſuch Captaines and Gentlemen of my companie as then were at hand, who were all as priuie as my ſelfe to the Generals offer, their whole requeſt was to mee, that conſidering the caſe that we ſtood in, the weakeneſſe of our companie, the ſmall number of the ſame, the carying away of our firſt appointed barke, with thoſe two eſpeciall maſters, with our principall prouiſions in the ſame, by the very hand of God as it ſeemed, ſtretched out to take vs from thence: conſidering alſo, that his ſecond offer, though moſt honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, inſomuch as there was no poſſibilitie for her with any ſafetie to be brought into the harbour: Seeing further more our hope for ſupplie with ſir Richard Greenuill ſo vndoubtedly promiſed vs before Eaſter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere conſidering the doings in England for Flaunders, as alſo for America, that therefore I would reſolue my ſelfe, with my companie to goe into England in that Fleete, and accordingly to make requeſt to the Generall in all our names, that he would bee pleaſed to giue vs preſent paſſage with him. Which requeſt of ours by my ſelfe deliuered vnto him, hee moſt readily aſſented vnto, and ſo hee ſending immediately his pinnaces vnto our Iſland for the fetching away of ſewe that there were left with our baggage, the weather was ſo boyſterous, and the pinnaces ſo often on ground, that the moſt of all wee had, with all our Cardes, Bookes and writings, were by the Saylers caſt ouer boord, the greater number of the Fleete being much agrieued with their long and daungerous abode in that miſerable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almightie, waying his ankers (hauing beſtowed vs among his Fleete) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that ſtorme ſuſtained more perill of wracke then in all his former moſt honourable actions againſt the Spaniards, with praiſes vnto God for all, ſet ſaile the 19. of June, 1586. and arriued in Portſmouth, the 27. of Julie the ſame yeere.

The third voyage made by a Ship, ſent in the yeere 1586.

to the reliefe of the Colonie planted in Virginia, at the ſole charges of Sir Walter Raleigh.

IN the yeere of our Lord, 1586. ſir Walter Raleigh at his owne charge prepared a ſhip of 100. tunnes, fraighted with all maner of things in moſt plentiful maner for the ſupplie and relief of his Colonie then remaining in Virginia: but before they ſet ſaile from England, it was after Eaſter, ſo that our Colonie halfe diſpaired of the comming of any ſupplie, wherefore euery man prepared for himſelf, determining reſolutely to ſpend the reſidue of their life time in that countrey, and for the better performance of this their determination, they ſowed, planted, and ſet ſuch things as were neceſſarie for their reliefe in ſo plentifull a manner, as might haue ſuffiſed them two yeeres without any further labor: thus truſting to their owne harueſt they paſſed the ſummer till the tenth of June, at which time their corne which they had ſowed was within one fortnight of reaping, but then it happened, that Sir Francis Drake in his proſperous returne from the ſacking of Saint Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Auguſtines determined in his way homeward to viſit his countrymen the Engliſh Colonie then remayning in Virginia: ſo paſſing along the coaſtes of Florida, he fell with the partes, where our Engliſh Colony inhabited, and hauing eſpyed ſome of that company, there he ankered, and went alande where he conferred with them of their ſtate and welfare, and howe thinges had paſt with them: they anſwered him that they liued all, but hitherto in ſome ſcarſitie, and as yet coulde here of no ſupplye out of England: therefore they requeſted him that he would leaue with them ſome two or three ſhippes, that if in

ſome

ſame reaſonable time they heard not out of England, they might then return themſelues: which bee agreed to: whileſt ſome were then writing their letters to ſend into England, and ſome others making reportes of the accidentes of their trauels each to other, ſome on lande, ſome on boord, a great ſtorme aroſe, and droue the moſt of their fleete from their ankers to Sea, in which ſhippes, at that inſtant were the chiefeſt of the Engliſh Colony: the reſt on land perceiuing this, haſted to thoſe three ſayles which were appointed to be left there, and for feare they ſhould be left behinde, left all thinges ſo confuſedly, as if they had bene chaſed from thence by a mightie armie, and no doubt ſo they were, for the hande of God came vpon them for the cruelties, and outrages committed by ſome of them againſt the native inhabitantes of that Countrie.

Immediatly after the departing of our Engliſh Colonie out of this paradiſe of the worlde, the ſhippe aboue mentioned ſent, and ſet forth at the charges of Sir VValter Ralegh, and his direction, arriued at Hatoraſk, who after ſome time ſpent in ſeeking our Colony vp in the Countrie, and not finding them, returned with all the aforeſayd prouiſion into England. June.

About fourteene or fifteene daies after the departure of the aforeſayd ſhippe, Sir Richard Grindfield Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three ſhippes well appointed for the ſame voyage arriued there, who not finding the aforeſaid ſhip according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our Engliſh Colony, there ſeated, and left by him, Anno 1585. him ſelfe trauailing vp into diuers places of the Countrey, as well to ſee if he could here any newes of the Colony left there by him the yere before, vnder the charge of Maſter Lane his deputie, as alſo to diſcouer ſome places of the Countrie: but after ſome time ſpent therein not hearing any newes of them, and finding the place which they inhabited deſolate, yet vnwilling to looſe the poſſeſſion of the Countrie, which Engliſhmen had ſo long beide: after good deliberation he determined to leaue ſome men behinde to retaine poſſeſſion of the Country: whereupon he landed 15. men in the Ile of Roanoake furniſhed plentifully with all maner of prouiſion for two yeeres, and ſo departed for England. Sir Richard Grindfield his voyage.

Not long after he fell with the Iſles of Açores, on ſome of which Ilandes he landed, and ſpoyled the Townes of all ſuch thinges as were worth cariage, where alſo he tooke diuers Pampardes: with theſe, and many other exploytes done by him in this voyage, as well outwarde as homeward, he returned into England.

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the *commodities there found and to be raiſed, as well merchantable as others*:

Written by Thomas Harriot, ſeruaunt to Sir Walter Raleigh, a member of the Colonie, and there imployed in diſcouering, a full twelue moneth.

Rafe Lane one of her Maieſties Equieres and Gouernour of the Colonie in Virginia aboue mentioned for the time there reſident, To the gentle Reader, wiſheth all happineſſe in the Lord.

ALbeit (gentle Reader) the credite of the reports in this treatiſe contained, can litle be furthered by the teſtimonie of one as my ſelfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without deſert: Neuertheleſſe, forſomuch as I haue bene requeſted by ſome my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the ſame, not onely for the ſatisfying of them, but alſo for the true information of any other who ſoeuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: Thus much vpon my credite I am to affirme, that things vniuerſally are ſo truely ſet downe in this treatiſe by the authour thereof, an Actor in the Colonie and a man no leſſe for his honeſtie then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouche, it may very well paſſe with the credite of trueth-euen amongſt the moſt true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am readie any way with my worde to acknowledge, ſo alſo (of the certaintie thereof aſſured by mine owne experience) with this my publique affertion, I doe affirme the ſame. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the enterpriſe for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

SInce the firſt vndertaking by ſir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of diſcouering of that Countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voiages hauing bene thither made at ſundry times to his great charge, as firſt in the yeere 1584. and afterwards in the yeeres 1585, 1586. and now of late this laſt yeere of 1587. There haue bene diuers and variable reportes, with ſome ſlaunderous and ſhamefull ſpeaches bruited abroad by many that returned from thence. Eſpecially of that diſcouerie which was made by the Colonie tranſported by Sir Richard Greenuill in the yeere 1585. being of all the others the moſt principall and as yet of moſt effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yeere, when as in the other voiage before they ſtaied but ſixe weekes, and the others after were onely for ſupplie and tranſportation, nothing more being diſcouered then had bene before. Which reportes haue not done a litle wrong to many that otherwiſe would haue alſo fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefite of our nation, beſides the particular profite and credite which would redound to themſelues the dealers therein, as I hope by the ſequell of euents to the ſhame of thoſe that haue auouched the contrary ſhall be manifeſt, if you the aduenturers, fauourers and welwillers doe but either increaſe in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing bene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the worthineſſe thereof already found, and as you ſhall vnderſtand hereafter to be requiſite. Touching which worthineſſe though cauſe of the diuerſitie of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the mindes of ſome that are well diſpoſed, be ſetled in any certaintie.

I haue therefore thought it good beyng one that haue bene in the diſcouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitaunts ſpecially imployed: and hauing therefore ſeene and knowen more then the ordinarie, to impart ſo much vnto you of the fruites of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriouſly the enterpriſe is ſlaundered, and that in publique maner at this preſent, chiefly for two reſpects.

Firſt, that ſome of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the ſtate thereof, may ſee that there is ſufficient cauſe why the chiefe enterpriſer with the fauour of her Maieſtie, notwithſtanding ſuch reportes, hath not onely ſince continued the action by ſending into the countrey againe, and replanting this laſt yeere a new Colonie, but is alſo readie, according as the times and meanes will afforde, to follow and proſecute the ſame.

Secondly, that you ſeeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon conſider how your dealing therein if it proceed, may returne you profite and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwiſe in furthering thereof.

And leaſt that the ſubſtance of my relation ſhould be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reaſon of their diuerſitie, I will firſt open the cauſe in a few words wherefore they are ſo different, referring my ſelf to your fauourable conſtructions, and to be aduanced of as by good conſideration you ſhall find cauſe.

Of our companie that returned ſome for their miſdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey, haue bene there worthily puniſhed, who by reaſon of their bad natures, haue maliciouſly not onely ſpoken ill of their Gouernours, but for their ſakes ſlaundered the countrey it ſelfe. The like alſo haue thoſe done which were of their conſort.

Some being ignorant of the ſtate thereof, notwithſtanding ſince their returne amongſt their friends and acquaintance, and alſo others, eſpecially if they were in companie where they might not be gaineſayd, would ſeeme to know ſo much as no men more, and make no men ſo great trauellers as themſelues. They ſtoode ſo much, as it may ſeeme, vpon their credite and reputation, that hauing bene a twelue moneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great diſgrace vnto them as they thought, if they could not haue ſayd much whether it were true or falſe. Of which ſome haue ſpoken of more then euer they ſawe, or otherwiſe knewe to be there: Other ſome haue not bene aſhamed to make abſolute denial of that, which although not by them, yet by others is moſt certainly and there plentifully knowen, and other ſome make difficulties of thoſe things they haue no ſkill of.

The cauſe of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many, that were neuer out of the Iſland where wee were ſeated, or not farre, or at the leaſt wiſe in few places els, during the time of our abode in the countrey, or of that many, that after golde and ſiluer was not ſo ſoone found,

found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies, or of that many which had litle vnderſtanding, leſſe diſcretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requiſite.

Some alſo were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or ſuch as neere (as I may ſay) had ſeene the world before. Becauſe there were not to be found any Engliſh cities, nor ſuch faire houſes, nor at their owne with any of their old accuſtomed daintie food, nor any ſoft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miſerable, and their reports thereof according.

Becauſe my purpoſe was but in briefe to open the cauſe of the varietie of ſuch ſpeeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious and ſlanderous reports and deuiſes elſe, by our owne countreymen beſides, as trifles that are not woorthie of wiſe men to bee thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withal, but will paſſe to the commodities, the ſubſtance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The treatiſe whereof for your more readie view and eaſier vnderſtanding, I will diuide into three ſpeciall partes. In the firſt I will make declaration of ſuch commodities there already found or to bee raiſed, which will not onely ſerue the ordinarie turnes of you which are and ſhall be the planters and inhabitaunts, but ſuch an ouerplus ſufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of ſkill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchaunge with our owne nation of England, will enrich your ſelues the prouiders: thoſe that ſhall deale with you, the enterpriſers in generall, and greatly profite our owne countrymen, to ſupplie them with moſt things which heretofore they haue bene faine to prouide either of ſtrangers or of our enemies, which commodities for diſtinction ſake, I call Merchantable.

In the ſecond, I will ſet downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it ſelfe for victuall and ſuſtenance of mans life, ſuch as is vſually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countreys, as alſo by vs during the time we were there.

In the laſt part I will make mention generally of ſuch other commodities beſides, as I am able to remember, and as I ſhall thinke behouefull for thoſe that ſhall inhabite, and plant there to know of, which ſpecially concerne building, as alſo ſome other neceſſarie vſes: with a briefe deſcription of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The firſt part of Marchantable commodities.

Silke of graſſe, or graſſe Silke. There is a kinde of graſſe in the countrey, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good Silke in forme of a thinne glittering ſkinne to bee ſtript off. It groweth two foote and an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foote in length, and halfe inche broad. The like groweth in Perſia, which is in the ſelfe ſame climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke workes that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Perſia, it cannot in reaſon bee otherwiſe, but that there will riſe in ſhort time great profite to the dealers therein, ſeeing there is ſo great vſe and vent thereof as well in our countrey as elſewhere. And by the meanes of ſowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithſtanding there is great ſtore thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which alſo by proofe here in England, in making a piece of ſilke Grogram, we found to be excellent good.

Worme Silke. In many of our iourneys wee found Silke wormes faire and great, as big as our ordinarie Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our happe to haue found ſuch plentie as elſewhere to be in the countrey wee haue heard of, yet ſeeing that the countrey doeth naturallie breed and nourith them, there is no doubt but if Arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourithing, and ſome of them carefully gathered and huſbanded in that ſort, as by men of ſkill is knowen to be neceſſarie: there will riſe as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doeth now to the Perſians, Turkes, Italians and Spaniards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The truth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great ſtore in any one place together, by reaſon it is not planted but as the ſoyle doeth yeeld of it ſelfe: and how ſoeuer the leafe and ſtemme or ſtalke doe differ from ours, the ſtuffe by iudgement of men of ſkill is altogether as good as ours. And if not, as further proofe ſhould finde otherwiſe, we haue that experience of the ſoyle, as that there cannot bee ſhewed any reaſon to the contrary, but that it will growe there excellent well, and by planting will bee yeelded plentifully, ſeeing there is ſo much ground whereof ſome may well bee applied to ſuch purpoſes. What benefite

hereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily vnderstand.

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of foxie or fiftie miles, whereof by the iudgement of some that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roche Allum. The richnesse of such a commoditie is so well knowen, that I needs not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doeth also yeeld White Copperesse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Phisitions and Chirurgions, to bee of the same kind of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants vse it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plentie, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kindes of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Iland where we were seated, being fifteene miles of length, and fiue or six miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kind, the whole Iland being full.

Sassafras. Called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kinde of wood of most pleasaunt and sweete smell, and of most rare vertues in phisike for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to bee farre better and of more vse then the Wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of vsing, and the manifold vertues thereof, I referre you to the Booke of Monardus, translated and entituled in English, The ioyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweete wood and fine timber, whereof if nesties of chestes be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweete and fine bedsteads, tables, deskes, lutes, virginals and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make vp fraight with other principal commodities, will yeeld profite.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doeth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowre of the ordinarie bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweete. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commoditie of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sorts of Wainuts both holding oyle, but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuises for the purpose, a commoditie of them may be raised because there are infinite store. There are also three seuerall kindes of Berries in the fourme of Okeakornes, which also by the experience and vse of the inhabitants, wee finde to yeeld very good and sweete oyle. Furthermore, the Beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse because it is so liquid, may well bee termed oyle, and hath many speciall vses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weires and other engines made for the purpose, will yeeld good profite. We hope also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the country there are store, although there were but two skins that came to our hands. Luzarnes also wee haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deere skinnes dressed after the maner of Chamoes or vndressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yeerely by way of traffique for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bene killed by a saluage or inhabitant, and in another place the smell where one or more had lately bene before, whereby wee gather besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the countrey: good profite will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, and the other fiue score miles from the Fort or place where wee dwelt, wee founde neere the water side the ground to bee rockie, which by the triall of a Minerall man, was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the countrey els, I know nothing to the contrarie, but that it may bee allowed for a good merchauntable commoditie, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men: the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and deerenesse thereof in England, and the necessitie of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fiftie miles into the maine, in two townes we found with the inhabitaunts diuers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as wee vnderstoode by the inhabitaunts that dwell further into the Countrey, where as they say are mountaynes and Riuers

that

that yeeld also white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed siluer. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arriuall in the country, I saw with some others with me, two small pieces of siluer grossly beaten, about the weight of of a testrone, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or Chiefe Lord that dwelt about foure score miles from vs: of whome through enquiry, by the number of dayes & the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or neere, where I after vnderstood the copper was made, and the white graines of mettall found. The aforesaid copper we also found by triall to holde siluer.

Pearle: Sometimes in feeding on muscles we found some pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet discouered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the Sauage people about fiue thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a fayre chaine, which for theyr likenesse and vniformity in roundnesse, orientnesse, and pidenesse of many excellent colours, with equalitie in greatnesse, were very fayre and rare: and had therefore beene presented to her Maiesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storme lost them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Sweet gummes of diuers kindes, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make speciall mention, when we shall receiue it from such men of skill in that kinde, that in taking reasonable paines shall discouer them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things by casualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kindes: There is Shoemake well knowne, and vsed in England for blacke: the seed of an herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which Dies are for diuers sorts of red: theyr goodnesse for our English clothes remaine yet to be proued. The inhabitants vse them only for the dying of hayre, and colouring of theyr faces, and mantles made of Deere skinnes: and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works withall in theyr mats and baskets: hauing no other thing besides that they account of, apt to vse them for. If they will not proue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall finde apt vses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of so great vent and vses amongst English Diers, which can not be yeelded sufficiently in our owne countrey for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof needeth not to be doubted, when as in the Ilands of the Azores it groweth plentifully, which is in the same climate. So likewise of Madder.

We carried thither Suger canes to plant, which being not so well preserued as was requisite, and besides the time of the yeere being past for theyr setting when we arriued, we could not make that proofe of them as we desired. Notwithstanding, seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for Orenges and Limmons: there may be planted also Quinses. Whereby may grow in reasonable time if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in Sugers, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leaue to your discreet and gentle considerations: and many also may be there, which yet we haue not discouered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certainty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised, and in short time to be prouided and prepared, I might haue specified. So likewise of those commodities already set downe, I might haue said more: as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion: but because others then well willers might be there withall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to those that are well disposed, I haue vttered according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowen to yeeld, for victuall and sustenance of mans life, vsually fed vpon by the naturall inhabitants: as also by vs, during the time of our aboad. And first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

PAgatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayze: English men call it Guinney wheat, or Turkie wheat, according to the names of the countries from whence the like hath been brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweete flowre: being vsed according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some mault, whereof was brued as good ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of hops, thereof may be made as good beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase: of a thousand, fifteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen and twelue weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in fourteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks, some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and two: euery head conteining fiue, sixe, or seuen hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pappe.

Okindgier, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, saving that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the beanes for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in forme they little differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are farre better then our English peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in tenne weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be soft, and begin to breake, as is vsed in England, either by themselues, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruise or punne them in a morter, and there of make loaues or lumps of dowish bread, which they vse to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their seuerall formes, called by vs Pompions, Mellions, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those kindes in England. In Virginia such of seuerall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it vnto, take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fiue foot high: of the seed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many vse sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We our selues vsed the leaues also for potherbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a span in breadth. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the afore said commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and seuerally by themselues, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner therof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note vnto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, doong, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few dayes before they sowe or set, the men with woodden instruments, made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with shoot peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a foot long and about fiue inches in breadth, doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground to raise vp the weedes, grasse, and olde stubbes of corne stalkes with their roots. The which after a day or twoes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt vp into many small heaps, to saue them labour for carrying them away, they burne into ashes. (And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better

better the ground: I ſay that then they would either diſperſe the aſhes abroad, which we obſerued they do not, except the heaps be too great: or els would take ſpeciall care to ſet their corne where the aſhes lie, which alſo we finde they are careleſſe of.) And this is all the huſbanding of their ground that they vſe.

Then their ſetting or ſowing is after this maner. Firſt for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with that care they touch not one another (about an inch aſunder) and couer them with the moulde againe: and ſo throughout the whole plot, making ſuch holes, and vſing them after ſuch maner: but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, euery ranke differing from other halfe a fathome or a yard, and the holes alſo in euery ranke, as much. By this meanes there is a yard ſpare ground betweene euery hole: where according to diſcretion heere and there, they ſet as many beanes and peaze: in diuers places alſo among the ſeeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta ſolis.

The ground being thus ſet according to the rate, by vs experimented, an Engliſh acre conteining foxtie pearches in length, and foure in breth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne, beanes and peaze, at the leaſt two hundreth London buſhels: beſides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta ſolis: when as in England foxtie buſheis of our wheat yeelded out of ſuch an acre, is thought to be much.

I thought alſo good to note this vnto you, that you which ſhall inhabite, and plant there, may know how ſpecially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: Beſides, the manifolde wayes in applying it: to victuall, the increaſe is ſo much, that ſmall labor and paines is neerſtill in reſpect that muſt be vſed for ours. For this I can aſſure you, that according to the rate we haue made proofe of, one man may prepare and huſband ſo much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with leſſe then foure and twentie houres labour, as ſhall yeeld him victuall in a large proportion for a twelue moneth, if he haue nothing elſe but that which the ſame ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before ſpoken of: the ſayd ground being alſo but of fiue and twentie yards ſquare. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raiſed out of one and the ſelfeſame ground two haruells or ofcomes: for they ſow or ſet, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midſt of March vntill the end of June: ſo that they alſo ſet when they haue eaten of their firſt croppe. In ſome places of the countrey notwithſtanding they haue two haruells, as we haue heard, out of one and the ſame ground.

For Engliſh corne neuertheleſſe, whether to vſe or not to vſe it, you that inhabite may do as you ſhall haue further cauſe to thinke beſt. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for barly, oats, and peaze, we haue ſeene proofe of, not being purpoſely ſowen but fallen caſually in the worſt ſort of ground, and yet to be as fayre as any we haue euer ſeene here in England. But of wheat, becauſe it was muſty, and had taken ſalt water, we could make no triall: and of rie we had none. Thus much haue I digreſſed, and I hope not vnneceſſarily: now will I returne againe to my courſe, and intreat of that which yet remaineth appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is ſowed apart by it ſelfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: In the Weſt Indies it hath diuers names, according to the ſeuerall places and countries where it groweth, and is vſed: the Spanyards generally call it Tobacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder: they vſe to take the fume or ſmoke thereof, by ſucking it through pipes made of clay, in to their ſtomacke and head: from whence it purgeth ſuperfluous ſteame and other groſſe humors, and openeth all the pores and paſſages of the body: by which meanes the vſe thereof not onely preſerueth the body from obſtructions, but alſo (if any be, ſo that they haue not beene of too long continuance) in ſhort time breaketh them: whereby their bodyes are notably preſerued in health, and know not many grieuous diſeaſes, wherewithall we in England are often-times afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of ſo precious eſtimation amongſt them, that they thinke their gods are maruellouſly delighted therewith: whereupon ſometime they make hallowed fires, and caſt ſome of the powder therein for a ſacrifice: being in a ſtorme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they caſt ſome vp into the ayre and into the water: ſo a weare for fiſh being newly ſet vp, they caſt ſome therein and into the ayre: alſo after an eſcape of danger, they caſt ſome into the ayre likewiſe: but all done with ſtrange geſtures, ſtamping, ſometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and ſtaring vp into the heauens, bettering there withall, and chattering ſtrange words and noiſes.

We our ſelues during the time we were there, vſed to ſucke it after their maner, as alſo ſince our returne, and haue found many rare and wonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it ſelfe: the vſe of it by ſo many of late, men and

women

women of great calling as elſe, and ſome learned Phyſicians alſo, is ſufficient witneſſe.

And theſe are all the commodities for ſuſtenance of life that I know and can remember they vſe to husband: all elſe that follow are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, ſome of the bigneſſe of walnuts, ſome farre greater, which are found in moiſt and marſh grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, or as though they were faſtened with a ſtring. Being boiled or ſodden they are very good meat.

Okeepenauk are alſo of round ſhape, found in drie grounds: ſome are of the bigneſſe of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground, for by reaſon of their drineſſe they will neither roſte nor ſeethe. Their taſte is not ſo good as of the former roots, notwithſtanding for want of bread, and ſometimes for variety the inhabitants vſe to eat them with fiſh or fleſh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the houſholde bread made of rie heere in England.

Kaiſhucpenauk a white kinde of roots about the bigneſſe of henne egges, and neere of that forme: their taſte was not ſo good to our ſeeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing, not ſo much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithſtanding vſed to boyle and eat many.

Tſinaw a kinde of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the Eaſt Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the ſame kinde. Theſe roots grow many together in great cluſters, and do bring forth a hier ſtalke, but the leafe in ſhape farre vnlike: which being ſupported by the trees it groweth neereſt vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the higheſt. From theſe roots while they be new or freſh, being chopt into ſmall pieces, and ſtampt, is ſtrained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and alſo being boyled, a very good ſpoonemeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taſte if it be tempered with oile. This Tſinaw is not of that ſort, which by ſome was cauſed to be brought into England for the China root, for it was diſcouered ſince, & is in vſe as is aforeſaid: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to ſerue for any vſe or purpoſe, although the roots in ſhape are very like.

Coſcuſhaw, ſome of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the Weſt Indies call Caſſauy, whereupon alſo many called it by that name: it groweth in very mudie pooles, and moiſt grounds. Being dreſſed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and alſo a good ſpoonemeat, and is vſed very much by the inhabitants: the iuice of this root is poiſon, and therefore heed muſt be taken before any thing be made there withall: either the roots muſt be firſt ſliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being pounded into floure, will make good bread: or elſe while they are greene they are to be pared, cut into pieces, and ſtampt: loaues of the ſame to be laid neere or ouer the fire vntill it be ſowre, and then being well punned againe, bread, or ſpoonemeat very good in taſte and wholeſome may be made thereof.

Habaſcon is a root of hote taſte, almoſt of the forme and bigneſſe of a parſnip, of it ſelfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe being boiled together with other meats.

There are alſo Leeks, differing little from ours in Engl[illegible], that grow in many places of the countrey, of which, when we came in places where they [illegible] gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

Of Fruites.

CHeſtnuts, there are in diuers places great ſtore: ſome they vſe to eat raw, ſome they ſtampe and boile to make ſpoonemeat, and with ſome being ſodden, they make ſuch a maner of doun bread as they vſe of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts: there are two kindes of walnuts, and of them infinite ſtore: in many places where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are walnut trees. The one kinde is of the ſame taſte and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker ſhelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard ſhell: but the kernell great, very oily and ſweet. Beſides their eating of them after our ordinarie maner, they breake them with ſtones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they vſe to put into ſome ſorts of their ſpoonemeat: alſo among their ſod wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions which maketh them haue a farre more pleaſant taſte.

Medlars,

Medlars a kinde of very good fruit, ſo called by vs chiefly for theſe reſpects: firſt in that they are not good vntill they be rotten: then in that they open at the head as our medlars, and are about the ſame bignelle: otherwiſe in taſte and colour they are farre different: for they are as red as cherries, and very ſweet: but whereas the cherie is ſharpe ſweet, they are luſcious ſweet.

Mutaqueſunnauk, a kinde of pleaſant fruit almoſt of the ſhape and bignelle of Engliſh peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whoſe leaues are very thicke, & full of prickles as ſharpe as needles. Some that haue bin in the Indies, where they haue ſeene that kinde of red die of great price, which is called Cochinele, to grow, do deſcribe his plant right like vnto this of Metaqueſunnauk, but whether it be the true Cochenile or a baſtard or wilde kinde, it can not yet be certified: ſeeing that alſo as I heard, Cochenile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for ſuch matter we haue not ſo ſpecially obſerued.

Grapes there are of two ſorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Straberies there are as good and as great as thoſe which we haue in our Engliſh gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, ſuch as we haue in England.

Sacquenummener a kinde of berries almoſt like vnto capers, but ſomewhat greater, which grow together in cluſters vpon a plant or herbe that is ſolid in ſhallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde are very good meat and wholeſome, otherwiſe if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely ſicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a ſeed almoſt like vnto our rie or wheat, and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in ſome places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were leſſe, which are alſo good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

THere is a kinde of berrie or acorne, of which there are fiue ſorts that grow on ſeuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the ſecond Oſamener, the third Pummuckoner. Theſe kinde of acornes they vſe to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almoſt after the maner as we dry malt in England. When they are to be vſed, they firſt water them vntill they be ſoft, and then being ſod, they make a good victuall, either to eat ſo ſimply, or els being alſo pounded to make loaues or lumps of bread. Theſe be alſo the cheefe kindes, of which I ſaid before the inhabitants vſed to make ſweet oile.

Another ſort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taſte like vnto chefnuts. They ſometime alſo make bread of this ſort.

The firſt ſort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of the ſame kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the firſt ſorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their ſeruants, or ſometime the chiefe themſelues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fiſh or fleſh.

Of Beaſts.

DEere, in ſome places there are great ſtore: neere vnto the ſea coaſt they are of the ordinarie bignelle as ours in England, and ſome leſſe: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the ſnags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies, Thoſe that we haue ſeene, and all that we can heare of are of a grey colour like vnto hares: in ſome places there are ſuch plenty that all the people of ſome townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the ſkinnes of thoſe they vſually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kindes of ſmall beaſts, greater then conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our ſelues, but ſometime eat of ſuch as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirels which are of a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Beares which are all of blacke colour. The beares of this country are good meat: the inhabitants in time of winter do vſe to take and eat many, ſo alſo ſometime did we. They are taken commonly in this ſort. In ſome Illands or places where they are, being hunted for, as ſoone as they haue ſpiall of a man, they preſently runne away, and then being chaſed, they climbe and get vp the next tree they can, from whence with arrowes they are ſhot downe ſtarke dead, or with thoſe woods

that

that they may after easily be killed: we sometime shot them downe with our caliuers.

I haue the names of eight and twenty seuerall sorts of beasts, which I haue heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine: of which there are only twelue kindes that we haue yet discouered, and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lyon, & eat him: and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluish dogges, which I haue not set downe for good meat, least that some would vnderstand my iudgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could allege the difference in taste of those kindes from ours, which by some of our company haue beene experimented in both.

Of Foule.

TVrkie cocks and Turkie hennes: Stockdoues: Partridges: Cranes: Hernes: and in winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of foule I haue the names in the country language, of foure score and fiue, of which number, besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, and haue the pictures as they were there drawen, with the names of the inhabitants of seuerall strange sorts of water foule eight, and seuenteene kindes more of land foule, although we haue seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose, could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored vpon further discouery, with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shall be also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vsed for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons: And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eighteene, twentie inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kindes of fish in those moneths are most plentifull, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts: Porpoises: Rayes: Oldwiues: Mullets: Plaice: & very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we haue taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue of twelue sorts more the pictures, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

The inhabitants vse to take them two maner of wayes, the one is by a kinde of weare made of reedes, which in that countrey are very strong. The other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kindes which follow:

Sea crabbes, such as we haue in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are far better then the other are in our countrey.

Also Muscles: Scalops: Periwinkles: and Creuises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shell fish, which is good meat, about a foot in breadth, hauing a crustie taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shoare.

There are many Tortoyses both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke, their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venemous beasts: but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their egges. Some haue beene found of a yard in breadth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially worthy to be remembred.

The

The third and laſt part of ſuch other things as are behouefull for thoſe which ſhall plant and inhabite to know of, with a deſcription of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

Of commodities for building and other neceſſary vſes.

THoſe other things which I am moꝛe to make rehearſall of, are ſuch as concerne building, and other mechanicall neceſſarie vſes, as diuers ſoꝛts of trees foꝛ houſe and ſhippe timber, and other vſes els: Alſo lime, ſtone, and bricke, leaſt that being not mentioned ſome mighe haue bene doubted of, oꝛ by ſome that are malitious repoꝛted the contrary.

Okes, there are as faire, ſtraight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and alſo great ſtoꝛe, and in ſome places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue ſaid beſoꝛe very many, ſome haue bene ſeene excellent faire timber of foure and fiue fathome, and aboue foureſcoꝛe foote ſtreight without bough.

Firre trees fit foꝛ maſts of ſhips, ſome very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees ſo called that are ſweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates oꝛ Canoes of the foꝛme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of ſtones, and ſhels: we haue knowen ſome ſo great being made in that ſoꝛt of one tree that they haue carried well 20. men at once, beſides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, ſtreight, ſoft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (beſides other vſes) to be fit alſo foꝛ maſts of ſhips.

Cedar, a ſweete wood good foꝛ ſeelings, cheſts, boxes, bedſteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue alſo ſaid beſoꝛe. Some of our companie which haue wandered in ſome places where I haue not bene, haue made certaine affirmation of Cyprus which foꝛ ſuch and other excellent vſes, is alſo a wood of ꝓice and no ſmall eſtimation.

Maple, and alſo Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vſe to make their bowes.

Holly a neceſſary thing foꝛ the making of birdlime.

Willowes good foꝛ the making of weares and wheles to take fiſhe after the Engliſh maner, although the inhabitants vſe onely reedes, which becauſe they are ſo ſtrong as alſo flexible, do ſerue foꝛ that turne very well and ſufficiently.

Beech and Aſhe, good foꝛ caſke hoopes: and if neede require, plowe worke, as alſo foꝛ many things els.

Elme,

Saſſafras trees.

Aſcopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrel, the barke is hot in taſte and ſpicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardus deſcribeth to be Caſſia Lignea of the Weſt Indies.

There are many other ſtrange trees whoſe names I know not but in ꝓ Virginian language, of which I am not nowable, neither is it ſo conuenient foꝛ the preſent to trouble you with particular relation: ſeeing that foꝛ timber and other neceſſary vſes I haue named ſufficient. And of many of the reſt, but that they may be applied to good vſe, I know no cauſe to doubt.

Now foꝛ ſtone, bricke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coaſt where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of ſtones to be found (except a fewe ſmall pebbles about foure miles off) but ſuch as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In ſome of our voyages wee haue ſeene diuers hard raggie ſtones, great pebbles, and a kinde of grey ſtone like vnto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleeue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all ſoꝛtes very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vſe of any ſtone whereupon they ſhould haue occaſion to ſeeke any. Foꝛ if euery houſhold haue one oꝛ two to cracke nuts, grinde ſhels, whet copper, and ſometimes other ſtones foꝛ hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vſe they any digging, but onely foꝛ graues about three foote deepe: and therefoꝛe no marueile that they knowe neither quarries, noꝛ lime ſtones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntil there be diſcouerie of ſufficient ſtoꝛe in ſome place oꝛ other conuenient, the want of you which are ꝓ ſhalbe the planters therin may be as well ſupplied by bricke: foꝛ the

making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vse in the Iles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie enough: for besides diuers other particuler places where are abundance, there is one shallowe sounde along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, & two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

Thus much can I say further more of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hil, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stones, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

TRetteth I speake a worde or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leauing large discourse thereof vntill time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre forth, as that you may knowe, howe that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting & planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as we in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withal, neither knowe they howe to make any: those weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witchhazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged timber heads also of wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themselues but targets made of barks, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, and neere the sea coast but fewe, some containing but tenne or twelue houses: some 20. the greatest that wee haue seene, hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in rounde forme after the maner as is vsed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes couered with barkes, and in some with artificial matts made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12, and 16. yards long, and in other some we haue seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lorde, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more, the greatest Wiroans that yet we had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, & able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundreth fighting men at the most. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselues, is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone light, or els by ambushes, or some subtile deuises. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue some hope of defence, after the deliuerie of euery arrowe, in leaping behinde some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and deuises els, especially ordinance great and small, it may easily be imagined, by the experience we haue had in some places, the turning vp of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before thinges of greater value: Notwithstanding, in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as wee haue,) they seeme very ingenious. For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and artes as wee, yet in those thinges they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit. And by howe much they vpon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts, to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendships and loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may

be

be hoped, if meanes of good gouernement be vsed, that they may in short time be brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true religion.

Some religion they haue alreadie, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They beleeue that there are many Gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the worlde, made first other gods of a principall order, to bee as meanes and instruments to be vsed in the creation and gouernement to followe, and after the Sunne, Moone, and starres, as petrie gods, and the instruments of the other order more principall. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diuersitie of creatures that are visible or inuisible.

For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the wooring of one of the goddes, conceiued and brought forth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning.

But how many yeeres or ages haue passed since, they say they can make no relation, hauing no letters nor other such meanes as we to keepe records of the particularities of times past, but onely tradition from father to sonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomucke, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offering vnto them. In some Machicomuck wee haue seene but one Kewas, in some two, and in other some three. The common sort thinke them to bee also gods.

They beleeue also the immortalitie of the soule, that after this life as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heauen the habitacle of gods, there to enioy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest partes of their part of the world towarde the Sunne set, there to burne continually: the place they call Popogusso.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde mee two stories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but fewe yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being seene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his soule had bene, that is to say, very neere entring into Popogusso, had not one of the gods saued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teache his friendes what they shoulde doe to auoyde that terrible place of torment.

The other happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was threescore miles from vs, and it was tolde mee for strange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the first, shewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his soule was alive, and had trauailed farre in a long broade way, on both sides whereof growe most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruites, then euer hee had seene before, or was able to expresse, and at length came to most braue and faire houses, neere which hee mette his father, that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and shewe his friends what good they were to doe to enioy the pleasures of that place, which when hee had done he should after come againe.

What subtilitie soeuer be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them haue great respect to their Gouernours, and also great care what they doe, to auoyde torment after death, and to enioy blisse, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordeined for malefactours, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatnesse of the factes.

And this is the summe of their Religion, which I learned by hauing special familiaritie with some of their priestes. Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gaue such credite to their traditions and stories, but through conuersing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expresse.

Most things they sawe with vs, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the loadstone in drawing yron, a perspective glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wilde fireworkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spying clockes that

seeme to goe of themselues, and many other things that wee had, were so strange vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the least wise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knewe not the trueth of God and religion alreadie, it was rather to bee had from vs, whome God so specially loued then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that we spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set forth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was conteined the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe pointes of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I tolde them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet would many bee glad to touche it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heades, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to shewe their hungrie desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whome we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with vs at our prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grieuously sicke that hee was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking he was in such danger for offending vs and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would please him either that hee might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs, many would come to vs and desire vs to pray to our God of England, that hee would preserue their corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruite.

There could at no time happen any strange sickenesse, losses, hurtes, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they would impute to vs the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing vs.

One other rare and strange accident, leauing others, will I mention before I ende, which moued the whole Countrey that either knewe or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where we had any subtile deuise practised against vs, we leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a fewe dayes after our departure from euery such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one sixe score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their nombers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bene, where they vsed some practise against vs, and after such time. The disease also so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs, as also by the natural inhabitants themselues.

Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had obserued such effects in foure or fiue townes to follow their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, & that we by him might kil and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them.

And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate vs that wee would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die, alleadging how much it would be for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although we shewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that in deede all thinges haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as hee had ordained: and that we to shewe our

selues

ſelues his true ſeruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his truech and ſerue him in righteouſneſſe, but notwithſtanding in ſuch ſore, that wee referre that as all other things, to bee done according to his diuine will and pleaſure, and as by his wiſedome he had ordained to be beſt.

Yet becauſe the effect fell out ſo ſuddeinly and ſhortly after according to their deſires, they thought neuertheleſſe it came to paſſe by our meanes, and that wee in vſing ſuch ſpeaches vnto them, did but diſſemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thankes in their maner, that although wee ſatisfied them not in promiſe, yet in deedes and effect wee had fulfilled their deſires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought ſo ſtrange opinions of vs, that ſome people could not tel whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather becauſe that all the ſpace of their ſickenes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was ſpecially ſicke: they noted alſo that we had no women amongſt vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that wee were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that wee were men of an olde generation many yeeres paſt, then riſen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewyſe ſeeme to prophecie, that there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places, as ſome thought the purpoſe was, by that which was alreadie done.

Thoſe that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the ayre, yet inuiſible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that ſort as they did, by ſhooting inuiſible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phiſitions (to excuſe their ignorance in curing the diſeaſe,) would not bee aſhamed to ſay, but earneſtly make the ſimple people beleeue, that the ſtrings of blood that they ſucked out of the ſicke bodies, were the ſtrings wherewithall the inuiſible bullets were tied and caſt.

Some alſo thought that we ſhotte them our ſelues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any ſuch towne that had offended vs as we liſted, how farre diſtant from vs ſoeuer it were.

And other ſome ſaide, that it was the ſpeciall worke of God for our ſakes, as wee our ſelues haue cauſe in ſome ſort to thinke no leſſe, whatſoeuer ſome doe or may imagine to the contrary, ſpecially ſome Aſtrologers, knowing of the Eclipſe of the Sunne which we ſawe the ſame yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And alſo of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the ſaide ſickeneſſe. But to exclude them from being the ſpeciall cauſes of ſo ſpecial an accident, there are further reaſons then I thinke fit at this preſent to be alleadged.

Theſe the opinions I haue ſet downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through diſcreete dealing and gouernement to the imbracing of the truech, and conſequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although ſome of our companie towards the ende of the yeere, ſhewed themſelues to fierce, in ſlaying ſome of the people, in ſome townes, vpon cauſes that on our part, might eaſily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe it was on their part iuſtly deſerued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the moſt part concerning vs is the leſſe to be doubted. And whatſoeuer els they may be, by carefulneſſe of our ſelues needs nothing at all to be feared.

The beſt neuertheleſſe in this, as in all actions beſides is to bee endeuoured and hoped, and of the worſt that may happen notice to bee taken with conſideration, and as much as may bee eſchewed.

The Concluſion.

NOwe I haue (as I hope) made relation not of ſo fewe and ſmall things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well diſpoſed) may bee ſufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I haue mentioned, which doubtleſſe and in great reaſon is nothing to that which remaineth to bee diſcouered, neither the ſoyle, nor commodities. As wee haue reaſon ſo to gather by the difference wee founde in our trauailes, for although all which I haue before ſpoken of, haue bene diſcouered and experimented not farre from the Sea coaſt, where was our abode and moſt of our

our trauailing: yet sometimes as wee made our iourneis further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to growe thinner, the grounde more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as euer we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hillie ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may we not then looke for in good hope from the inner partes of more and greater plentie, as well of other thinges, as of those which wee haue alreadie discouered? Vnto the Spaniards happened the like in discouering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreth of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kindes of excellent commodities, which we in our discouerie haue not yet seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the climate, being answerable to the Iland of Iapan, the land of China, Persia, Iury, the Ilands of Cyprus & Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy, and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreis, because I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and neuer so vehemently hot, as sometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen vnto you without further relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I needs to say but thus much: that for all the want of prouision, as first of English victual, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drinking water, and by the victual of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such sort, as to haue brought vs into some grieuous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fish, and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes, could not be so suddenly and easily prouided for vs, nor in so great nomber and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also wee had of clothes. Furthermore, in all our trauailes which were most speciall and often in the time of winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole companie (being one hundreth and eight) that died all the yeere and that but at the latter ende thereof and vpon none of the aforesaide causes. For all foure, especially three were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before euer they came thither, and those that knewe them, much maruelled that they liued so long being in that case, or had aduentured to trauaile.

Seeing therefore the ayre there is so temperate and holsome, the soile so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented, to be performed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh so liberall in large giuing and graunting lande there, as is alreadie knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath graunted hath bene fiue hundreth acres to a man only for the aduenture of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant, be but reasonably prouided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe vse but that diligence and care, as is requisite, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt, but for the time following, they may haue victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sortes of cattell also hereafter, as some haue bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some haue bene alreadie, and prooue well: And in short time also they may raise of those sortes of commodities which I haue spoken of, as shall both enriche themselues, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruite of our labours, that I haue thought necessary to aduertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the nomber with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as haue bene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discouerers of the Countrey: of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Greinuile, and after his departure of our Gouernour there Master Rafe Lane, with diuers other directed and imployed vnder their gouernement: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation, of the Gouernour and assistants of those already transported,

ted, as of many perſons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a diſcourſe by it ſelfe, in manner of a Chronicle, according to the courſe of times: and when time ſhall be thought conuenient, ſhall be alſo publiſhed.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable conſtructions, expecting good ſucceſſe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the author and gouernour, not onely of this, but of all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of Febꝛuarie, 1588.

The fourth voyage made to Virginia, with three ſhippes, in *the yeere, 1587. Wherein was tranſported the ſecond Colonie.*

IN the yeere of our Lorde, 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to perſeuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundꝛed and fiftie men to be ſent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom he appointed Gouernour, and alſo appointed vnto him twelue Aſſiſtants, vnto whome he gaue a Charter, and incoꝛpoꝛated them by the name of Gouernour, and Aſſiſtants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

Aprill.

OVr Fleete being in number thꝛee ſaile, viz. the Admirall, a ſhippe of one hundꝛed and twentie tunnes: a Flie boate, and a Pinneſſe, departed the ſixe and twentieth of Aprill from Porteſmouth, and the ſame day came to an anker at the Cowes, in the Iſle of Wight, where wee ſtaied eight daies.

Maye.

THe 5. of Maye, at nine of the clocke at night, we came to Plymmouth, where we remained the ſpace of two daies.

The 8, we waied anker at Plymmouth, and departed thence foꝛ Virginia.

The 16. Simon Ferdinando Maſter of our Admirall, lewdly forſooke our Flie boate, leauing her diſtreſſed in the Baye of Portingall.

Iune.

THe 19. we fell with * Dominica, and the ſame euening we ſailed betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21. the Flie boate alſo fell with Dominica.

* One of the Iſles of the Indias, inhabited with Sauages.

The 22. we came to an anker at an Iſle, called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were ſet on land, ſtaying there till the 25. of the ſame moneth. At our firſt landing on this Iſland, ſome of our women, and men, by eating a ſmall fruite, like greene apples, were fearefully troubled with a ſudden burning in their mouthes, and ſwelling of their tongues ſo bigge, that ſome of them could not ſpeake. Alſo a child by ſucking of one of thoſe womens breaſt, had at that inſtant his mouth ſet on ſuch a burning, that it was ſtrange to ſee how the infant was tormented foꝛ the time: but after 24. houres, it ware away of it ſelfe.

Alſo the firſt night of our being on this Iſland, we toke fiue great Tortles, ſome of them of ſuch bignes, that ſixteene of our ſtrongeſt men were tired with carrying of one of them but from the Sea ſide, to our cabbins. In this Iſland we found no watring place, but a ſtanding ponde, the water whereof was ſo euill, that many of our companie fell ſicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but waſh their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had dꝛawen away the coꝛruption, their faces did ſo burne, and ſwell, that their eies were ſhut vp, and could not ſee in fiue oꝛ ſixe daies, oꝛ longer.

The ſecond day of our abode there, we ſent foꝛth ſome of our men to ſearch the Iſland foꝛ freſh water, thꝛee one way, and two another way. The Gouernour alſo, with ſixe others, went vp to the coppe of an high hill, to view the Iſland, but could perceaue no ſigne of any men, oꝛ beaſtes, noꝛ any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our Cabbins another way, he found in the deſcent of a hill, certaine potſheards of ſauage making, made of the earth of that Iſland: whereupon it was iudged, that this Iſland was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had tolde vs foꝛ certaine, the contrarie. The ſame day at night, the reſt of our compa-

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nie very late returned to the Gouernour. The one companie affirmed, that they had seene in a valley, eleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they staied. The other companie had found running out of a high rocke, a very faire spring of water, whereof they brought three bottles to the companie: for before that time, wee drunke the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night, Captaine Stafford, with the pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Iland, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohns, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there finde great plentie of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25. of June, we waied anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the pinnesse riding, at our comming.

The 28. we waied anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Muskets Bay, where we spent three daies vnprofitably, in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more heere, then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

"Muskets Baye, is a harbour vpon the South side of S. Johns Iland, where we take in fresh water.

The first we waied anker at "Muskitoes Baye, where were left behind two Irish men of our companie, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Iohns, till euening, at which time we fell with Rosse Baye. At this place Fernando had promised wee should take in salt, and had caused vs before, to make and moulde as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouernour also, for that he vnderstoode there was a Towne in the bottome of the Baye, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirtie shotte, ten pikes, and ten targets, to man the pinnesse, and to goe a land for salt. Fernando perceauing them in a readines, sent to the Gouernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that he knewe not well, whether that the same were the place or not: also, that if the pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to be cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fathome, and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in peeces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

"A pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, lying on the west ende of S. Johns Iland where groweth plentie of Dynges, Lemmons, Plantans, and Pynes.

The next day, sailing along the West ende of S. Iohns, the Gouernour determined to goe a land in S. Germans "Baye, to gather yong plants of Dynges, Pines, Mameas, and Platonos, to set at Virginia, which we knewe might easily be had, for that they growe neere the shoare, and the places where they grewe, well knowen to the Gouernour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, and there lande the Gouernour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whome he hoped to be furnished both of cattell, and all such thinges as wee would haue taken in at S. Iohns: but hee meant nothing lesse, as it plainely did appeare to vs afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of Iulie, wee sawe Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Fernando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we sawe no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4. of Iulie, sailing along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Fernando was asked by the Gouernour, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered, that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day, we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone.

The first of Iulie, wee came to the Iflande Caycos, where in Fernando saide were two litle pondes, affirming vs if they were drie, wee might finde salt to shift with, vntill the next

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ſupplie, but it prooued as true as the finding of cheepe at Beake. In this Iſland, whileſt Ferdinando ſolaced himſelfe a ſhoare, with one of the company, in part of the Iſland, others ſpent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Iſland, ſome to ſeeke the ſalt ponds, ſome fowling, ſome hunting Swannes, whereof we caught many. The next daye, earely in the morning, we waied anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, the firſt lande that wee ſawe next, ſhould be Virginia.

About the 16. of July, we fell with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Fernando tooke to be the Iſland of Croatoan, where we came to an anker, and rode there two or three daies: but finding himſelfe deceaued, he waied, and bare along the coaſt, where in the nighe, had not Captaine Stafforde bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Fernando, wee had beene all caſt away vpon the breache, called the Cape of Feare, for wee were come within two cables length vpon it: ſuch was the careleſnes, and ignorance of our Maſter.

The two and twentieth of Julie, we arriued ſafe at Hatoraske, where our ſhippe and pinneſſe ankered: the Gouernour went aboord the pinneſſe, accompanied with foxtie of his beſt men, intending to paſſe vp to Roanoake forthwith, hoping there to finde thoſe fifteene Engliſhmen, which Sir Richard Greenuill had left there the yeere before, with whome he meant to haue conference, concerning the ſtate of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had ſo done, to returne againe to the fleete, and paſſe along the coaſt, to the Baye of Cheſepiok, where we intended to make our ſeate and foxte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but aſſoone as we were put with our pinneſſe from the ſhippe, a Gentleman by the meanes of Fernando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the ſailers in the pinneſſe, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but leaue them in the Iſland, except the Gouernour, and two or three ſuch as he appooued, ſaying that the Summer was farre ſpent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the ſailers, both in the pinneſſe, and ſhippe, perſwaded by the Maſter, wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them, but paſſed to Roanoake, and the ſame nighe, at Sunne ſet, went a land on the Iſland, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any ſigne, that they had bene there, ſauing onely we found the bones of one of thoſe fifteene, which the Sauages had ſlaine long before.

The 23. of July, the Gouernour, with diuers of his companie, walked to the North ende of the Iſland, where Maſter Ralfe Lane had his foxte, with ſundry neceſſarie and decent dwelling houſes, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to finde ſome ſignes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, wee found the foxte raſed downe, but all the houſes ſtanding vnhurt, ſauing the neather roomes of them, and alſo of the foxte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers ſortes, and Deere within them, feeding on thoſe Melons: ſo we returned to our companie, without hope of euer ſeeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The ſame day order was giuen, that euery man ſhould be imployed for the repairing of thoſe houſes, which we found ſtanding, and alſo to make other newe Cottages, for ſuch as ſhould neede.

The 25. our Flie boate, and the reſt of our planters arriued all ſafe at Hatoraske, to the great hope, and comfort of the whole companie: but the Maſter of our Admirall, Fernando grieued greatly at their ſafe comming: for he purpoſely left them in the Baye of Portingall, and ſtole away from them in the night, hoping that the Maſter therof, whoſe name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had beene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in ſo dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of ſo many men of warre, as at that time were aboord, they ſhould ſurely be taken, or ſlaine: but God diſappointed his wicked pretenſes.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelue Aſſiſtants was ſlaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoake, either of purpoſe to eſpie our companie, and what number we were, or els to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Iſland. Theſe Sauages beeing ſecretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they finde the Deere aſleepe, and ſo kill them, eſpied our man waying in the water alone, almoſt naked, without any weapon, ſaue onely a ſmall forked ſticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and alſo being ſtraied two miles from his companie, ſhotte at him in the water, where they gaue him ſixteene wounds with their arrowes: and after they had ſlaine him with their woodden ſwordes, beat his head in peeces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Julie, Maſter Stafford, and twentie of our men, paſſed by water to the Iſland of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kinred, dwelling in

in that Iſland, of whome we hoped to vnderſtande ſome newes of our fifteene men, but eſpecially to learne the diſpoſition of the people of the Countrey towards vs, and to renew our olde friendſhippe with them. At our firſt landing, they ſeemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceauing vs begin to marche with our ſhot towards them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countreyman, called to them in their owne language, whom, aſſoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes, and arrowes, and ſome of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, deſiring vs not to gather or ſpill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We anſwered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, ſhould be diminiſhed by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the olde loue, that was betweene vs, and them, at the firſt, and to liue with them as brethren, and friendes: which anſwere ſeemed to pleaſe them well, wherefore they requeſted vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feaſted vs after their manner, and deſired vs earneſtly, that there might be ſome token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friendes, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Iſland. They tolde vs further, that for want of ſome ſuch badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, being founde out of the Iſland by Maſter Lane his companie, whereof they ſhewed vs one, which at that very inſtant laye lame, and had lien of that hurt euer ſince: but they ſaid, they knewe our men miſtooke them, and hurt them in ſteede of Winginoes men, wherefore they held vs excuſed.

Auguſt.

THe next day, we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secota, Aquaſcogoc, & Pomiock, willing them of Croatoan, to certifie the people of thoſe townes, that if they would accept our friendſhip, we would willingly receaue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings paſt on both partes, ſhould be vtterly forgiuen, and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan anſwered, that they would gladly doe the beſt they could, and within ſeuen daies, bring the Weroances, and chiefe Gouernours of thoſe townes with them, to our Gouernour at Roanoak, for their anſwere. We alſo vnderſtoode of the men of Croatoan, that our man Maſter Howe, was ſlaine by the remnant of Winginoes men, dwelling then at Daſamongueponke, with whome Winchefe kept companie: and alſo was vnderſtood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15. Engliſhmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Greenuill, were ſuddenly ſet vpon, by 30. of the men of Secota, Aquaſcogoc, and Daſamongueponke, in manner following. They conueied themſelues ſecretly behind the trees, neere the houſes, where our men carelefly liued: and hauing perceaued that of thoſe 15. they could ſee but 11. onely, two of thoſe Sauages appeared to the 11. Engliſhmen, calling to them by friendly ſignes, that but two of their chiefeſt men ſhould come vnarmed to ſpeake with thoſe two Sauages, who ſeemed alſo to be vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefeſt of our Engliſhmen, went gladly to them: but whileſt one of thoſe Sauages traitorouſly embraced one of our men, the other with his ſworde of wood, which he had ſecretly hidden vnder his mantell, ſtroke him on the head, and ſlewe him, and preſently the other eight and twentie Sauages ſhewed themſelues: the other Engliſhman perceauing this, fled to his companie, whome the Sauages purſued with their bowes, and arrowes, ſo faſt, that the Engliſhmen were forced to take the houſe, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages forthwith ſet the ſame on fire, by meanes whereof, our men were forced to take vp ſuch weapons as came firſt to hand, and without order to runne forth among the Sauages, with whome they ſkirmiſhed aboue an houre. In this ſkirmiſh, another of our men was ſhotte into the mouth with an arrowe, whereof he died: and alſo one of the Sauages was ſhot into the ſide by one of our men, with a muſket fire arrowe, whereof he died preſently. The place where they fought, was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themſelues, and ſo offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being ſome of them hurt, retired fighting to the water ſide, where their boate lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they eſpied their foure fellowes comming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to ſeeke Oyſters: theſe foure they receaued into their boate, leauing Roanoake, and landed on a litle Iſland on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remained a while, but afterward departed, whither, as yet we knowe not.

Hauing nowe ſufficiently diſpatched our buſines at Croatoan, the ſame day wee departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboord the fleete at Hatoraske.

The

The eight of Auguſt, the Gouernour hauing long expected the comming of the Weroanſes of Pomioake, Aquaſcogoc, Secota, and Daſamongueponke, ſeeing that the ſeuen daies were paſt, within which they promiſed to come in, or to ſend their anſwers by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly alſo informed by thoſe men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingino his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Daſamongueponke, were they which had ſlaine George Howe, and were alſo at the driuing of our eleuen Engliſhmen from Roanoake, he thought to differre the reuenging thereof no longer. Wherefore the ſame night, about midnight, he paſſed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24. men, whereof Manteo was one, whome wee tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where thoſe Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himſelfe toward vs as a moſt faithfull Engliſh man.

The next day, being the ninth of Auguſt, in the morning ſo earely, that it was yet darke, wee landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, and very ſecretly conueyed our ſelues through the woods, to that ſide, where we had their houſes betweene vs and the water: and hauing eſpied their fire, and ſome ſitting about it, we preſently ſette on them: the miſerable ſoules herewith amazed, fledde into a place of thicke reedes, growing faſt by, where our men perceauing them, ſhotte one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith wee entred the reedes, among which wee hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but wee were deceaued: for thoſe Sauages were our friendes, and were come from Croatoan, to gather the corne, and fruite of that place, becauſe they vnderſtoode our enemies were fledde immediatly after they had ſlaine George Howe, and for haſte had left all their corne, Tabacco, and Pompions ſtanding in ſuch ſorte, that all had beene deuoured of the birdes, and Deere, if it had not beene gathered in time: but they had like to haue paide deerely for it: for it was ſo darke, that they beeing naked, and their men and women apparelled all ſo like others, we knewe not but that they were all men: and if that one of them, which was a Weroans wife, had not had her childe at her backe, ſhe had beene ſlaine in ſteede of a man, and as happe was, another Sauage knewe Maſter Stafford, and ranne to him, calling him by his name, whereby he was ſaued. Finding our ſelues thus diſappointed of our purpoſe, wee gathered all the corne, Peaſe, Pumpions, and Tabacco, that we found ripe, leauing the reſt vnſpoiled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong childe, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the miſtaking of theſe Sauages ſomewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne follie, ſaying to them, that if their Weroans had kept their promiſe in comming to the Gouernour, at the day appointed, they had not knowen that miſchance.

The 13. of Auguſt, our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was chriſtened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Daſamongueponke, in reward of his faithfull ſeruice.

The 18. Elenora, daughter to the Gouernour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Aſſiſtants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the ſame was chriſtened there the Sunday following, and becauſe this childe was the firſt Chriſtian borne in Virginia, ſhe was named Virginia. By this time our ſhippes had vnlanded the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and freſh water, and to newe calke and trimme them for England: the planters alſo prepared their letters, and tokens, to ſend backe into England.

Our two ſhippes, the Lyon, and the Flieboate, almoſt ready to depart, the 21. of Auguſt, there aroſe ſuch a tempeſt at northeaſt, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to Sea, where he laye beating off and on, ſixe dayes before hee coulde come to vs againe, ſo that wee feared hee had beene caſt away, and the rather, for that at the tyme that the ſtorme tooke them, the moſte, and beſt of their Saylers, were left aland.

At this time ſome controuerſies roſe betweene the Gouernour, and Aſſiſtants, about chooſing two out of the twelue Aſſiſtants, which ſhould goe backe as factors for the companie into England: for euery one of them refuſed, ſaue onely one, which all the other thought not ſufficient: but at length, by much perſwading of the Gouernour, Chriſtopher Cooper onely agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perſwaſion of diuers of his familiar friendes, he changed his minde, ſo that now the matter ſtoode as at the firſt.

The next day, the 22. of Auguſt, the whole companie, both of the Aſſiſtants, and planters, came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requeſted him to returne himſelfe into England, for the better and ſooner obtaining of ſupplies, and other neceſſaries for them: but he refuſed it, and alleaged many ſufficient cauſes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not ſo ſuddenly returne backe againe, without his great diſcredite, leauing the action, and ſo many, whome he partly had

procured

procured through his perswasions, to leaue their native Countrey, and vndertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him, and the action at his returne into England, would not spare to slander falsely both him, and the action, by saying he went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other ende, but to leaue so many into a Countrey, in which he neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seing they intended to remoue 50. miles further vp into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe, and goods, might be both spoiled, and most of it pilfered away in the carriage, so that at his returne, hee should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all such things againe, or els at his comming againe to Virginia, finde himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, beeing but once from them but three daies. Wherefore he concluded, that he would not goe himselfe.

The next day, not onely the Assistants, but diuers others, as well women, as men, beganne to renewe their requests to the Gouernour againe, to take vppon him to returne into England for the supplie, and dispatch of all such thinges, as there were to be done, promising to make him their bonde vnder all their handes, and seales, for the safe preseruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoiled, or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoeuer the same should be misled, and demanded: which bonde with a testimonie vnder their handes, and seales, they foorthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the testimonie, I thought good to set downe.

May it please you, her Maiesties Subiects of England, wee your friendes and Countrey men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you, and euery of you to vnderstande, that for the present and speedie supplie of certaine our knowen, and apparant lackes, and needes, most requisite and necessarie for the good and happie planting of vs, or any other in this lande of Virginia, wee all of one minde, and consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested Iohn White, Gouernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured helpe, and setting forward of the foresayde supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and will labour, and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and hee not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour, and maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernment, and all his goods among vs, and himselfe in all our behalfes to passe into Englande, of whose knowledge, and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, wee doe assure our selues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto. the fiue and twentieth of August.

The Gouernour beeing at the last, though their extreame intreating, constrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a daies respit to prepare him selfe for the same, departed from Roanoake, the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning: and the same daye about midnight, came aboord the Flie boate, who already had waied anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day, both the shippes waied anker, and sette saile for England: at this waying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flieboate, were throwen from the Capestone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about vpon them, that the other two barres thereof stroke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them neuer recouered it: neuertheless they assaied presently againe to waigh their anker, but being so weakened with the first sting, they were not able to weigh it, but were throwen downe, and hurt the seconde time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboord, and most of them by this infortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neuertheless, they kept companie with the Admirall, vntill the seuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and Saiwe Flores.

September.

The eighteenth, perceiuing of all our fifteene men in the Flie boate, there remained but fiue, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stande to their labour: wherfore vnderstanding that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but linger about the Iland of Tercera for purchase, the Flie boate departed for Englande with letters, where we hoped by the helpe of God to arriue shortly: but by that time wee had continued our course homeward, about twentie dayes, hauing had sometimes scarse, and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose such a storme at Northeast, which for

for 6. dayes ceaſed not to blowe ſo exceeding, that we were driuen further in thoſe 6. then wee could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our ſaylers began to fall very ſicke, and two of them dyed, the weather alſo continued ſo cloſe, that our Maſter ſometimes in foure daies together could ſee neither Sunne nor ſtarre, and all the beuerage we could make, with ſtinking water, dregges of beere, and lees of wine which remained, was but 3. gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but by famyne to periſh at Sea.

October.

The 16. of October we made land, but we knew not what land it was, bearing in with the ſame land at that day: about Sunne ſet we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pynneſſe of Hampton ryding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe a ſhoare, vntill the pinneſſe ſent off their boate to vs with 6. or 8. men, of whom we vnderſtood we were in Smewicke in the weſt parts of Ireland: they alſo relecued vs preſently with freſh water, wyne, and other freſh meate.

The 18. the Gouernour, and the Maſter ryd to Dingen Cuſhe, 5. myles diſtant, to take order of the new victualling of our Flye boate for England, and for reliefe of our ſicke and hurt men, but within 4. dayes after the boatſwaine, the ſteward, and the boatſwaines mate dyed aboord the flyeboate, and the 28. the Maſters mate and two of our chiefe Saylers were brought ſicke to Dingen.

Nouember.

The firſt the gouernour ſhipped him ſelfe in a ſhip called the Monkie, which at that time was readie to put to Sea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyeboat and all his company in Ireland, the ſame day we ſet ſayle, and on the third day we fell with the Northſide of the lands end, and were ſhut vp the Seuerne, but the next day we doubled the ſame, for Mores bay.

The 5. the Gouernour landed in England at Partaſew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8. we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderſtood that our conſort the Admirall was come to Portſmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and alſo that Fernando the Maſter with all his company were not onely come home without any purchaſe, but alſo in ſuch weakeneſſe by ſicknes, and death of their cheefeſt men, that they were ſcarſe able to bring their ſhip into the harbour, but were forced to let fall anker woue, which they could not way againe, but might all haue periſhed there, if a ſmall barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that dyed are theſe, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and ſome other ther ſaylers, whoſe names I know not at the writing hereof. An. Do. 1587.

The names of all the men, women and Children, which ſafely arriued in *Virginia*, and remained to inhabite there. 1587.

Anno Regni Reginę Elizabethę. 29.

IOhn White.
Roger Bailie.
Ananias Dare.
Chriſtopher Cooper.
Thomas Steuens.
Iohn Sampſon.
Dyonis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George Howe.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Iohnſon.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
Iohn Iones.
William Willes.
Iohn Brooke.
Cutbert White.
Iohn Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
Iohn Cotſmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
Iohn Gibbes.
Iohn Stilman.
Robert Wilkinſon.

Iohn Tydway.
Ambroſe Viccars.
Edmond Engliſh.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berrye.
Richard Berrye.
Iohn Spendloue.
Iohn Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
Iohn Burden.
James Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Tauerner.
Iohn Earneſt.
Henry Iohnſon.
Iohn Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
Iohn Wright.
William Dutton.
Morris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
Iohn Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Biſhop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Ruſoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Payne.
Thomas Harris.
William Nicholes.
Thomas Pheuens.
Iohn Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
Iohn Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenſon.
Martyn Sutton.
Iohn Farre.
Iohn Bridger.
Griffen Iones.
Richard Shaberdge.
James Laſie.
Iohn Cheuen.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.

VVomen.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Haruie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Ioyce Archard.
Iane Iones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Iane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Ioan Warren.
Iane Mannering.
Roſe Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Iohn Sampſon.
Robert Ellis.
Ambroſe Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Tomas Smart.
George Howe.
Iohn Prat.
William Wythers.
} Boyes and Children.

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
Haruye.

Sauages.

Manteo. } That were in Englande and returned home into Virginia with them.
Towaye. }

The firſt voyage intended for the ſupply of the Colonie planted in *Virginia by Iohn VVhite which being vndertaken in the yeere* 1588 by caſualtie tooke no effect.

AFter the Gouernors returne out of Virginia the 20. of Nouember 1587. he deliuered his letters and other aduertiſments concerning his laſt voyage and ſtate of the planters to Sir Walter Raleigh: whereupon he foorthwith appointed a pinneſſe to be ſent thither with all ſuch neceſſaries as he vnderſtood they ſtood in nede of: and alſo wrote his

his letters vnto them, wherein among other matters he comforted them with promise, that with all conuenient speede he would prepare a good supply of shipping and men with sufficience of all thinges needefull, which he intended, God willing, should be with them the Sommer following. Which pinnesse and fleete were accordingly prepared in the West countrey at Bidiforde vnder the chardge of Sir Richard Greeneuil. This fleete being now in a reddinesse only staying but for a faire wind to put to Sea, at the same time there was spred throughout all England such report of the wonderfull preparation and inuincible fleetes made by the king of Spaine ioyned with the power of the Pope for the inuading of England, that most of the ships of warre then in a readines in any hauen in England were stayed for seruice at home: And sir Richard Greeneuil was personally commanded not to depart out of Cornewall. The voyage for Virginia by these meanes for this yere thus disappointed, the Gouernour notwithstanding labored for the reliefe of the planters so earnestly, that he obtained two small pinnesses the one of them being of 30. tonnes called the Braue, the other of 25. called the Roe, wherein 15. planters and all their prouision, with certaine reliefe for those that wintered in the Countrie was to be transported.

Thus the 22. of Aprill 1588. we put ouer the barre at Biddiford in the edge of the Northside of Cornewal, and the same night we came to an anker vnder the Isle of Lundy, where some of our company went on land: After we had roade there about the space of three howers we wayed anker againe and all that night we bare along the coast of Cornewall.

The next day being S. Georges day and the 23. of Aprill stil bearing along the coast we gaue chase to 4. ships, & borded them & forced them all to come to anker by vs in a smal bay at the lands end, out of these ships we tooke nothing but 3. men, & the same night we weighed & put to Sea.

The 24. day we gaue chase to 2. ships, the one of them being a Scot the other a Breton. These we borded also & tooke from them whatsoeuer we could find worth the taking, & so let them goe.

The 26. of April we escried a ship on sterne of vs, for whom we strooke our toppe sayle, and stayed for it. By that time he came with vs we saw in his flagge a redd crosse: wereupon we helde him for an Englishman, & gaue ouer our preparation to fight with him. But when he was come neere to vs we perceiued his flagge not to be a right S. George: whereupon we were somewhat amased hauing so farre mistaken, for it was a very tall ship, and excellently well appointed & now readie to clap vs aboord. And it was not now neede to bid euery man to bestirre himselfe, for each one prepared with al speed to fight. In the meane time we hayled them whence they were: They answered of Flushing, bound for Barbarie. And they perceiuing vs to be Englishmen of warre bare from vs and gaue vs a piece, and we gaue them two pieces and so departed.

The 27. day in the morning we were come with the heigth of cape Finister, the winde being still at Northeast.

The 28. day the wind shifted: about foure of the clocke in the afternoone the same day we escried a sayle to the weather of vs, whom we kept so neere vnto vs as we could all that night.

The 29. in the morning we gaue chase to the same ship being then to the wind of vs almost as farre as we could ken. Assoone as our pinnes, came vp to them, the pinnes fought with the ship, & it was an Hulke of 200. tonnes & more, but after a few great shot bestowed on both sides, the pinnesse perceiuing her consort not able to come to ayd her left the Hulke & came roome with the Braue againe. At their comming they desired the Captaine & Master of the Braue to lend them some men and other things wherof they had neede. Which things put aboord thē they returned againe to the chase of the Hulke earnestly, and with ful purpose to boord her. But the Hulke bare all night in with the coast of Spaine, and by morning were so neere land, that we fearing eyther change of wind or to be calmed gaue ouer the fight and put off to Sea againe.

May.

The first day of May being Wedensday the wind came large at Northeast.

The 3. being friday we gaue chase to another tal ship, but it was night before we spake wt her: and the night grew darke sodenly in such sort, that we lost sight both of the great ship & of our consort also, hauing thus in the darke lost our pinnesse, & knowing our barke so bad of sayle that we could neither take nor leue, but were rather to be taken or left of euery ship we met, we made our course for the Isle of Madera, hoping there to find our pinnesse abiding for vs.

The same day following being the 5. of May we spake wt a man of warre of Rochel of 60. tons, very wel manned & brauely appointed being bound, as he said for Peru: hauing hailed ech other, we parted frindly in outward shew, giuing ech other a voley of shot & a great piece: but neuertheles we suspected ẏ which followed: for this Rocheller hauing takē perfect view of our ship, men, &

ordinance, towards euening fell on sterne of vs: and alloone as it was darke left vs, and returned to his consort which was a tal ship of 100. tonne lying then on hull to weather of vs out of ken, hauing 84. men in her, whereof 50. were smal shot, and 12. muskets, and in the ship 10. peeces of ordinance. This ship being this night certified by her consort that viewed vs, of what force we were and how bad of saple, this greater ship tooke in 20. of the chiefest men that were in the smalest ship, and presently gaue vs chase.

The next morning being Monday and the 6. of May, we espied them in the weather of vs, so that it was in vaine to seeke by flight, but rather by fight to helpe our selues. The same day about 2. of the clocke in the afternoone they were come with vs. We hayled them, but they would not answere. Then we waued them to leewardes of vs, and they waued vs with a sword amayne, fitting their sailes to clappe vs aboord, which we perceiuing gaue them one whole side: with one of our great shot their Master gonners shoulder was stroken away, and our Master gonner with a smal bullet was shot into the head. Being by this time grappled and aboord each of other the fight continued without ceasing one houre and a halfe. In which fight were hurt & slaine on both sides 23. of the chiefest men, hauing most of them some 6. or 8. woundes, and some 10. or 12. woundes. Being thus hurt and spoiled they robbed vs of all our victuals, powder, weapons and ammunition, sauing a smal quantity of biskuit to serue vs scarce for England. Our Master and his Mate were deadly wounded, so that they were not able to come forth of their beds. I my selfe was wounded twise in the head, once with a sword, and another time with a pike, and hurt also in the side of the buttoke with a shot. Three of our passengers were hurt also, whereof one had 10. or 12. woundes our Master hurt in the face with a pike and thrust quite through the head. Being thus put to our close fights, and also much pestred with cabbens and vnseruiceable folkes we could not stirre to handle our weapons nor charge a piece: againe hauing spent all the powder in our flaskes and charges which we had present for our defence, they cut downe our netting and entred so many of their men as could stand vpon our poope and forecastle, from whence they playd extreemely vpon vs with their shot. As thus we stood resolued to die in fight, the Captaine of the Frenchmen cried to vs to yeld and no force should be offred. But after we had yelded, they knowing so many of their best men to be hurt and in danger of present death, began to grow into a new furie, in which they would haue put vs to the sword had not their Captaine charged them, and perswaded them to the contrary. Being at length pacified they fell on all handes to rifling and carying aboord all the next day until 4. of the clock: at which time by ouer greedy lading both their owne boate and ours, they sunke the one and split the other by the ships side: by meanes whereof they left vs two cables and ankers, all our ordinance and most part of our sailes, which otherwise had ben taken away also. Furthermore they doubting the wind would arise, and night at hand, & a tal ship al that day by meanes of the calme in sight, they came aboord vs with their ship, and tooke in their men that were in vs, who left vs not at their departing any thing worth the carying away. Being thus ransacked and vsed as is aforesaid in all sorts, we determined (as our best shift in so hard a case) to returne for England, and caused all our able and vnhurt men, to fal to newe rigging & mending our sailes, tacklings, and such things as were spilled in our fight. By this occasion, God iustly punishing our former theeuerie of our euil disposed mariners, we were of force constrained to breake of our voyage intended for the reliefe of our Colony left the yere before in Virginia, and the same night to set our course for England, being then about 50. leagues to the Northeast of Madera.

The 7. of May being Wednesday in the forenoone the wind came large at East northeast and we haled off as farre west and by north as we could vntill the 10. of May, fearing to meete with any more men of warre, for that we had no maner of weapons left vs.

The 11. the wind larged more, and thence forth we continued our due course for England.

The 17. of May we thrust our selues west of Vsshant, & sounded, but found no ground at 110 fathoms. The same day at night we sounded againe, and found ground at 80. fathoms.

The 20. being Sonday we fell with the coast of Ireland.

The 21. in the forenoone we saw the Northside of Cornewal at the lands end.

The 22. of May we came to an anker betweene Lundy and Harting point neere vnto Chanell key, where we road vntill the next tyde, and thence we put ouer the barre, and the same day landed at Biddeford.

Our other pinnesse whose company we had lost before the last cruell fight, returned also home into Cornwall within fewe weekes after our arrival, without performing our entended voyage for the reliefe of the planters in Virginia, which thereby were not a litle distressed.

The

The Letters patents of the Queenes Maieſtie, graunted to Maſter *Adrian Gylbert and others, for the ſearch and diſcouerie of the* Northweſt Paſſage to China.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, Fraunce, & Ireland Queene, defender of the fayth, &c. To all, to whome theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting: Foraſmuch as our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiect Adrian Gylbert of Sandridge in the Countie of Deuon, Gentleman, to his great coſtes and charges, hath greatly & earneſtly trauailed and ſought, and yet doth trauel & ſeeke, & by diuers meanes indeuoureth & laboureth, that the Paſſage vnto China & the Iles of Molluccas, by the Northweſtward, Northeaſtwarde, or Northwarde, vnto which part or partes of the worlde, none of our Loyall ſubiects haue hitherto had any traffike or trade, may be diſcouered, knowen, & frequented by the ſubiects of this our Realme: Know ye therefore that for the conſiderations aforeſayd & for diuers other good conſiderations vs thereunto ſpecially mouing, We of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe giue and graunt free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, & to any other perſon by him or his heires to be aſſigned, and to thoſe his Aſſociates and aſſiſtants, whoſe names are written in a ſedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one aſſignee of eche of them, and ech of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of theſe preſents, vnder our Banners and Enſignes freely, without let, interruption, or reſtraint of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, any lawe, ſtatute, proclamation, patent, charter, or proviſo to the contrary notwithſtanding, to ſayle, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to paſſe and to depart out of this our Realme of Englande, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Iles, Countries, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Hauens, and all maner of other places whatſoeuer, that by the ſayd Northweſtward, Northeaſtward, or Northward, is to be by him, his aſſociates or aſſignes diſcouered, and for and in the ſayde ſayling, voyage, and paſſage, to haue and vſe ſo many ſhips, Barks, Pinneſſes, or other veſſels of any quantitie or burthen, with all the furniture of men, victuals, and all maner of neceſſary proviſion, armour, weapons, ordinance, targets, and appurtenances whatſoeuer, as to ſuch a voyage ſhall or may be requiſite, conuenient or commodious, any lawe, ſtatute, ordinance or proviſo to the contrarie thereof notwithſtanding. And alſo we doe giue and graunt to the ſayde Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayd aſſociates, and to ſuch aſſignee of him, & his heires, and to the heires & one aſſignee of euery of his ſayde aſſociates for euer, full power and abſolute authoritie to trade and make their reſiance in any of the ſayd Iles, Countries, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, and all maner of other places whatſoeuer, with all commodities, profites, and emoluments in the ſayd place or any of them, growing and ariſing, with all maner of priuileges, prerogatiues, iuriſdictions and royalties both by ſea and land whatſoeuer, yeelding and paying therefore vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, the tenth part of all ſuch golde and ſiluer oare, pearles, iewels, and precious ſtones, or the value thereof, as the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his ſayd aſſociates, their heires and aſſignes, ſeruants, factors, or workemen, and euery or any of them ſhall finde, the ſayd tenth to be deliuered duely to our Cuſtomer, or other officers by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors thereunto aſſigned, in the Portes of London, Dartmouth, or Plymmouth, at which three places onely the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayd aſſociates, their ſayd heires and aſſignes, ſhall lade, charge, arriue, and diſcharge all maner of wares, goods, and marchandizes whatſoeuer to the ſayd voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And moreouer, we haue giuen, graunted, and authorized, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe giue, graunt, and authorize the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayd aſſociates for euer, their heires, and their ſayde aſſignes and euery of them, that if the aforeſayd Iles, Countries, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, or Hauens, or any other of the premiſſes by the ſayd Adrian Gylbert or his aſſociates, their heires and their ſayd aſſignes, or any of them to be found by them diſcouered and traffiked vnto by any trade as aforeſayde, ſhall be by any other our ſubiects viſited, frequented, haunted, traded vnto or inhabited by the wayes aforeſayd, without the ſpeciall licence in writing of the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his aſſociates, and their heires and aſſignes for euer, or by the moſt part of them, ſo that the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires or aſſignes be one of them, that then alwell their ſhippe, or ſhippes in any ſuch voyage or voyages vſed, as all

and ſingular their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatſoeuer, from or to any of the places aforeſaid tranſported, that ſo ſhal preſume to viſit, frequent, haunt, trade vnto, or inhabite, ſhalbe forfaited and confiſcated, ipſo facto, the one halfe of the ſame goods and marchandizes, or other things whatſoeuer, or the value thereof to be to the vſe of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, and the other moytie thereof to be to the vſe of the ſaid Adrian Gylbert, and his ſaid aſſociates, their heires and aſſignes for euer: and vnto the ſaid Adrian Gylbert and his ſaid aſſociates, their heires and aſſignes wee impoſe, giue, aſſigne, create and confirme this name peculiar to be named by, to ſue and to be ſued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, and them for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours by that name doe incorporate, and do erect and create as one body corporate to haue continuance for euer. Moreouer vnto the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayd aſſociates, and vnto their heires and their ſayd aſſignes for euer, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowſhip, for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, we haue giuen, graunted, & confirmed, and doe by theſe preſentes giue, graunt, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree, and enact, conſtitute and ordeine, and appoint all ſuch ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and acts, as the ſayd newe corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the felowſhip for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, ſhal thinke meete, neceſſary, & conuenient, ſo that they or any of them be not contrary to the lawes of this realme, & of this our preſent graunt.

And wee by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulneſſe of our authoritie of our grace eſpecial, certaine knowledge and meere motion, doe eſtablish, confirme and ratifie all ſuch ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and acts to be in ſo full and great power and authoritie, as we, our heires or ſucceſſours may or can in any ſuch caſe graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our louing ſubiects in this diſcouerie, wee by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulneſſe of authoritie for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, doe giue, graunt, eſtabliſh, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allowe by theſe preſents, to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and to his aſſociates, and to the heires and aſſignes of them and euery of them for euer, and to all other perſon or perſons of our louing ſubiects whatſoeuer that ſhall hereafter trauell, ſayle, diſcouer, or make voyage as aforeſayd to any the Iles, Mainelands, Countries or Territories whatſoeuer, by vertue of this our graunt to be diſcouered, that the heires and aſſignes of them and euery of them being borne within any of the Iles, Mainelands & Countries, or Territories whatſoeuer before mentioned, ſhall haue and inioy all the priuileges of free Denizens, as perſons natiue borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for euer, in ſuch like ample maner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and perſonally reſiant within our ſayde Realme, any lawe, ſtatute, proclamation, cuſtome or vſage to the contrarie hereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Moreouer, for the conſideration aforeſayde by vertue hereof, wee giue and graunt vnto the ſayde Adrian Gylbert, his heires and aſſignes for euer, free libertie, licence and priuilege, that during the ſpace of fiue yeeres next & immediatly enſuing the date hereof, it ſhal not be lawfull for any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, to viſite, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage to any Iles, Mainelands, Countries, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, nor to any other Hauens or places whatſoeuer hitherto not yet diſcouered by any of our ſubiects by vertue of this graunt to be traded vnto, without the ſpeciall conſent and good liking of the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires or aſſignes firſt had in writing. And if any perſon or perſons of the aſſociates of the ſayde Adrian, his heires or aſſignes, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, free of this diſcouerie, ſhall doe any act or acts contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof, during the ſpace of the ſayde fiue yeeres, that then the partie and parties ſo offending, they and their heires for euer ſhall looſe (ipſo facto) the benefite and priuilege of this our graunt, and ſhall ſtand and remaine to all intents and purpoſes as perſons exempted out of this graunt: And further by vertue hereof, we giue & graunt for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours at all times during the ſpace of fiue yeeres next enſuing the date hereof, free libertie and licence, and full authoritie to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and aſſignes, that if it ſhall happen any one or moe in any ſhippe or ſhippes ſayling on their ſayde voyage, to become mutinous, ſeditious, diſorderly, or any way vnruly to the preiudice or hinderance of the hope for ſucceſſe in the attempt or proſecuting of this diſcouerie or trade intended, to vſe or execute vpon him or them ſo offending, ſuch puniſhment, correction, or execution as the cauſe ſhall be found in iuſtice to require by the verdit of twelue of the companie ſworne thereunto, as in ſuch a caſe appertaineth: That expreſſe mention of the certainetie of the premiſes, or of other giftes or graunts by vs to the ſayde Adrian Gylbert and his aſſociates before this time made is not mentioned in theſe preſents, or any other lawe, act, ſtatute, proviſo, graunt, or proclamation

tion heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the fift day of February, in the fiue and twentie yeere of our Reigne.

The first voyage of Master Iohn Dauis, vndertaken in Iune 1585. *for the Discouerie of the North west Passage,*

Written by Iohn Ianes Marchant, seruant to the worthipfull M. William Sanderson.

CErtaine Honourable perſonages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court and Countrey, with diuers worſhipfull Marchants of London and of the Weſt Countrey, mooued with deſire to aduance Gods glory and to ſeeke the good of their native Countrey, conſulting together of the likelihood of the Diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but vnhappily giuen ouer by accidents vnlooked for, which turned the enterpriſers from their principall purpoſe, reſolued after good deliberation, to put downe their aduentures to prouide for neceſſarie ſhipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductour of this ſo hard an enterpriſe. The ſetting forth of this action was committed by the aduenturers, eſpecially to the care of M. William Sanderſon Marchant of London, who was ſo forward therein, that beſides his trauaile which was not ſmall, hee became the greateſt aduenturer with his purſe, and commended vnto the reſt of the company one M. Iohn Dauis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the arte of Nauigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exploye.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readines, wee departed from Dartmouth the ſeuenth of June, towards the diſcouerie of the aforeſayd Northweſt paſſage, with two Barks, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunneſhine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Moone ſhine of Dartmouth. In the Sunneſhine we had 23. perſons, whoſe names are theſe following, M. Iohn Dauis Captaine, William Eſton Maſter, Richard Pope Maſters mate, Iohn Iane Marchant, Henry Dauie gunner, William Croſſe boatſwayne, Iohn Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, Iohn Ellis, Iohn Kelly, Edward Helman, William Dicke Andrew Maddocke, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Ruſſel, Chriſtopher Gorney boy: Iames Cole, Francis Ridley, Iohn Ruſſel, Robert Corniſh, Muſicians.

The Moone ſhine had 19. perſons, William Bruton Captaine, Iohn Ellis Maſter, the reſt Mariners.

The 7. of June the Captaine and the Maſter drewe out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the winde being at Southweſt and Weſt ſouthweſt, wee put in for Falmouth, where we remained vntill the 13.

The 13. the winde blewe at North, and being fayre weather we departed.

The 14. with contrarie winde we were forced to put into Sylley.

The 15. we departed thence, hauing the winde North & by Eaſt moderate and fayre weather.

The 16. we were driuen backe againe, and were conſtrained to arriue at newe Gymſbie at Sylley: there the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that ſpace the Captaine, the Maſter and I went about all the Ilands, and the Captaine did platte out and deſcribe the ſituation of all the Ilands, rockes and harboroughs to the exact vſe of Nauigation, with lynes and ſcale thereunto conuenient.

The 28. in Gods name we departed the winde being Eaſterly, but calme. They depart from Sylley.

The 29. very foggie.

The 30. foggie.

The firſt of July we ſawe great ſtore of Porpoſes, The Maſter called for an harping yron, July. and ſhot twiſe or thriſe: ſometimes he miſſed, and at laſt ſhot one and ſtrooke him in the ſide, and wound him into the ſhippe: when we had him aboorde, the Maſter ſayd it was a Darlie head.

The 2. we had ſome of the fiſh ſodden, and it did eate as ſweete as any mutton.

The 3. we had more in ſight, and the Maſter went to ſhoote at them, but they were ſo great, that they burſt our yrons, and we loſt both fiſh, yrons, paſſime and all: yet neuertheleſſe, the Maſter ſhot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was ſo ſtrong that he burſt off the barres of the pike and went away: then hee tooke the boat hooke, and hit one with that, but all would not preuaile, ſo at length we let them alone.

The

The first we sawe a very great Whale, and euery day after we sawe Whales continually.

The 16, 17, 18. we sawe great store of Whales.

The 19. of July we fell into a great whirling and hustling of a tyde, setting to the Northwards: and sayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the South southwest: Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea as if it had bene the breach of some shoare, the ayre being so foggie and full of thicke mist, that wee could not see the one ship from the other being a very small distance asunder: so the Captaine and the Master being in distrust howe the tyde might set them, caused the Moonshine to hoyse out her boate and to sound, but they could not finde ground in 300. fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Master, and I went towards the breach, to see what it should be, giuing charge to our gunners that at euery glasse they should shoote off a musket shot, to the intent we might keepe our selues from loosing them: Then comming nere to the breach, we met many Ilands of yce floting, which had quickly compassed vs about: then we went vpon some of them, and did perceiue that all the roaring which we heard, was caused onely by the rouling of this yce together: Our company seeing vs not to returne according to our appointment, left off shooting muskets, and began to shoote faukonets, for they feared some mishap had befallen vs, but before night we came aboord againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good fresh water. Then wee bent our course towarde the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

The rolling of the yce together made a great roaring.

Yce turned into water.

The 20. as we sayled along the coast the fogge brake vp, and wee discouered the land, which was the most deformed rocky and mountainous land that euer we sawe: The first sight whereof did shewe as if it had bene in forme of a sugar loafe, standing to our sight aboue the cloudes, for that it did shewe ouer the fogge like a white lisle in the skye, the tops altogether couered with snowe, and the shoare beset with yce a league off into the Sea, making such yrksome noyse as that it seemed to be the true patterne of desolation, and after the same our Captaine named it, The land of Desolation.

The land of Desolation.

The 21. the winde came Northerly and ouerblewe, so that we were constrained to bend our course South againe, for we perceiued that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almost compassed with yce, for we sawe very much toward the North northeast, West and Southwest: and this day and this night we cleared our selues of the yce, running South southwest along the shoare.

Upon Thursday being the 22. of this moneth, about three of the clocke in the morning, wee hoysed out our boate, and the Captaine with fiue saylers went towards the shoare, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceiue the coast to be voide of yce to our iudgement, and the same night we were all perswaded that wee had seene a canoa rowing along the shoare, but afterwards we fell in some doubt of it, but we had no great reason so to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the shoare, willed the Master to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the shore by the space of a league, or about two miles, hee found so much yce, that he could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to see if they could get any fish, because there were so many seales vpon the coast, and the birds did beate vpon the water, but all was in vaine: The water about this coast was very blacke and thicke, like to a filthy standing poole, we sounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. While the Captaine was rowing to the shoare, our men sawe woods vpon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not discerne them, yet it might be so very well: for we had wood floting vpon the coast euery day, and the Moonshine tooke vp a tree at Sea not farre from the coast being fiftie foote of length and fourteene handfuls about, hauing the roote vpon it: After, the Captaine came aboord the weather being very calme and fayre we bent our course toward the South, with intent to double the land.

Very blacke water.

Floting wood

The 23. we coasted the land which did lye East northeast and West southwest.

The 24. the winde being very faire at East, we coasted the land which did lie East & West, not being able to come neere the shoare by reason of the great quantitie of yce. At this place, because the weather was somewhat colde by reason of the yce, & the better to encourage our men, their alowance was increased: The Captaine and the Master tooke order that euery messe being fiue persons, should haue halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere euery morning to breakfast. The weather was not very colde, but the ayre was moderate like to our April weather in England: when the winde came from the land or the yce it was somewhat colde, but when it came off the sea it was very hotte.

Colde by reason of yce.

They sayle Northwestward about foure dayes.

The 25. of this moneth wee departed from sight of this land, at fiue of the clocke in the morning, directing our course to the Northwestwarde, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our desired passage,

paſſage, and ſo continued aboue foure dayes.

The 29. of July, we diſcouered land in 64. degrees 15. mi. of latitude, bearing Northeaſt from vs. The winde being contrary to get to the Northweſtwards, we bare in with this land to take ſome view of it, being vtterly voyde of the peſter of yce, and very temperate. Comming neere the coaſt, we found many fayre ſounds & good roads for ſhipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby wee iudged this land, to be a great number of Iſlands ſtanding together. Here hauing moyed our barke in good order, we went on ſhoare vpon a ſmall Iſlande, to ſeeke for water and wood. Vpon this Iſland we did perceiue that there had bene people: for we found a ſmall ſhoe and peeces of leather ſowed with ſinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Beuer. Then we went vpon another Iſland on the otherſide of our ſhips: And the Captaine the Maſter and I, being got vp to the top of an high rocke, the people of the country hauing eſpied vs, made a lamentable noyſe, as we thought, with great outcryes and ſkreechings: wee hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues. At laſt I hallowed againe, and they likewiſe cryed. Then we perceiuing where they ſtood, ſome on the ſhoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a ſmal Iſland faſt by them, we made a great noyſe partly to allure them to vs, and partly to warne our company of them. Whereupon H. Beaton, and the maſter of his ſhip with others of their company, made great haſte towards vs, and brought our Muſicians with them from our ſhippe, purpoſing either by force to reſcue vs, if neede ſhould ſo require, or with curteſie to allure the people. When they came vnto vs, we cauſed our Muſicians to play, our ſelues dauncing, and making many ſignes of friendſhip. At length there came 10. Canoas from the other Iſlands, and two of them came ſo neere the ſhoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a pretie way off. Their pronounciation was very hollow through the throate, and their ſpeach ſuch as we could not vnderſtand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and ſignes of curteſie. At length one of them pointing vp to the ſunne with his hande, would preſently ſtrike his breſt ſo hard, that we might here the blowe. This he did many times, before he would any way truſt vs. Then Iohn Ellis the maſter of the Mooneſhine, was appointed to vſe his beſt policie to gaine their friendſhippe: who ſtrooke his breaſt and pointed to the ſunne after their order: which when he had diuerſe times done, they began to truſt him, and one of them came on ſhoare, to whome we threwe our caps, ſtockings and gloues, and ſuch other things as then we had about vs, playing with our muſicke, and making ſignes of ioy, and dancing. So the night comming we bade them fareweell, and went aboord our barks.

Land in 64. degrees 15. mi.

The ſounde where our ſhips did ride, was called Elberts ſound.

Muſicians.

The people of the country came and conferre with our men.

The next morning being the 30. of July, there came 37. Canoas rowing by our ſhippes, calling to vs to come on ſhoare: Wee not making any great haſte vnto them, one of them went vp to the top of the rocke, and lept and daunced as they had done the day before, ſhewing vs a ſeales ſkinne, and another thing made like a timbrel, which he did beate vpon with a ſticke, making a noyſe like a ſmall drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all ſtaying in their Canoas: wee came to the waterſide where they were: and after we had ſworne by the ſunne after their faſhion, they did truſt vs. So I ſhooke hands with one of them, and hee kiſſed my hand, and we were very familier with them. We were in ſo great credit with them vpon this ſingle acquaintance, that wee could haue any thing they had. We bought fiue Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of ſeales ſkins and birdes ſkinnes: their buſkins, their hoſe, their gloues, all being commonly ſowed and well dreſſed: ſo that we were fully perſwaded, that they haue diuers artificers among them. Wee had a paire of buſkins of them full of fine wooll like beuer. Their apparell for heate, was made of birds ſkinnes with their feathers on them. We ſawe among them leather dreſſed like glouers leather, and thicke thongs like white leather of a good length. Wee had of their darts and oares, and found in them that they would by no meanes diſpleaſe vs, but would giue vs whatſoeuer we aſked of them, and would be ſatisfied with whatſoeuer we gaue them. They tooke great care one of an other: for when we had bought their boates, then two other would come and carie him away betweene them that had ſouldo vs his. They are a very tractable people, voyde of craft or double dealing, and eaſie to be brought to any ciuilitie or good order: but wee iudge them to bee Idolaters and to worſhip the Sunne.

Their muſick.

Great familiarity with the Sauages.

During the time of our abode among theſe Iſlands, we found reaſonable quantitie of wood, both firre, ſpruſe and iuniper: which whither it came floting any great diſtance to theſe places where we found it, or whither it grew in ſome great Iſlands neere the ſame place by vs not yet diſcouered, we know not. But wee iudge that it groweth there further into the lande then wee were, becauſe the people had great ſtore of darts & oares, which they made none accompt of, but gaue them to vs for ſmall trifles, as poynts and pieces of paper. Wee ſawe about this coaſte

Diuers ſorts of Wood.

marueilous

They may make much trayne, if they had meanes how to vse it. Moscouia glasse.

A fruite like Corinthes.

maruellous great aboundance of seales skulking together like skuls of smal fish. Wee found no fresh water among these Ilands, but only snow water, wherevf we found greate pooles. The cliffes were al of such oare as M. Frobisher brought from meta Incognita. Wee had diuerse shewes of studie or Muskouie glasse shining not altogether vnlike to Christal. Wee founde an herbe growing vpon the rocks, whose fruite was sweete, full of red iuyce, & the ripe ones were like corinths. We found also burch & willow growing like shrubs low to the ground. These people haue great store of furs as we iudge. They made shewes vnto vs þ 30. of this present, which was the second time of our being with them, after they perceiued we would haue skins, & furs, that they would goe into the country & come againe the next day, with such things as they had but this night the wind comming faire the Captaine & the master would by no meanes detract the purpose of our discouery. And so the last of this moneth about 4. of the clocke in the morning, in Gods name wee set saile, and were al that day becalmed vpon the coaste.

August. Land in 66. degre. 40. mi.

The 1. of August we had a faire wind & so proceeded towards the northwest for our discouerie.

The 6. of August we discouered land in 66. de. 40. mi. of latitude altogether voyd from þ perfect of yce: we ankered in a very faire rode, vnder a very hyghe mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as gold. This mount was named mount Raleigh: the rode where our ships lay at anker was called Totnes Rode. The sounde which did compasse the mount was named Exeter sound: the foreland towards the North, was called Dyers Cape. The foreland toward the south was named Cape Walsingham. So soone as we were come to an anker in Totnes Rode vnder mount Raleigh, we espied 4. white beares at the foote of the mount. We supposing them to bee goates or wolues, manned our boats and went towards them: but when wee came neere the shore, wee found them to be white beares of a monstruous bignesse: we being desirous of fresh victual and the sport, began to assault them, & I being on land one of them came down the hil right against me: my piece was charged with hailshot and a bullet, I discharged my piece and shot him in the necke: hee roared a litle and tooke the water straight, making smal account of his hurt. Then we followed him w̄ our boate, & killed him w̄ boare speares, & two more that night. We found nothing in their mawes, but we iudged by their dung, that they fed vpon grasse, because it appeared in al respects like the dung of an horse, wherein we might very plainely see the very strawes.

The 7. we went on shoare to another beare which lay alnight vpon the top of an Iland vnder mount Raleigh, & when we came vp to him he lay fast a sleepe. I leueled at his head, & the stone of my peece gaue no fire, with that he looked vp and laid down his head againe: then I shot being charged with 2. bullets and strooke him in the head: he being but amazed fel backewardes, whervpon we ran al vpon him with borespeares and thrust him in the bodie: yet for all that he gryped away our borespeares and went towards the water, and as he was going downe he came backe againe. Then our master shot his borespeare and strooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and swimme into a coue fast by, where we killed him and brought him aborde. The breadth of his forefoote from one side to the other, was 14. inches ouer. They were very fat so as we were constrayned to cast the fat away. We saw a rauen vpon mount Raleigh. We found withies also growing lowe like shrubs and flowers like primroses in the sayd place. The coast is very mountaynous, altogether without wood, grasse or earth, and is only huge mountaines of stone, but the hyghest stone that euer we sawe. The ayre was very moderate in this country.

The 8. we departed from mount Raleigh coasting along the shoare, which lyeth south southwest, and east northeast.

The 9. our men fel in dislike of their allowance, because it was to small as they thought. Whereupon we made a newe proporcion: euery messe being fiue to a messe should haue 4. pounds of bread a day: 12. wine quarts of bere: 6. newe land fishes: and the flesh dayes a gill of pease more: so we restrayned them from their butter and cheese.

The eleuenth we came to the most southerly cape of this lande, which we named the Cape of Gods mercy: as being the place of our first entrance for the discouery. The weather being very foggie we coasted this Northland: at length when it brake vp, we perceiued that we were shotte into a very fayre entrance or passage, being in some places 20. leagues broade, and in some 30. altogether voyde of any peece of yce, the weather very tollerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and qualitie of the mayne ocean, which gaue vs the greater hope of our passage. Hauing sayled Northwest sixtie leagues in this entrance wee discouered certaine Ilandes standing in the middest thereof, hauing open passage on both sides. Whereupon our shippes deuided themselues, the one sayling on the Northside, the other on the southside, of the sayde Illes, where wee stayed fiue dayes hauing the winde at Southeast very foggie and foule weather.

The

The 14. we went on shoare and found signes of people, for we found stones layde vp together like a wall, and saw the skull of a man or a woman.

The 15. we heard dogs houle on the shoare, which we thought had bene Wolues, and therefore we went on shoare to kil them. When we came on lande, the dogs came presently to our boate very gently, yet we thought they came to pray vpon vs, and therefore we shot at them and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a leatheren coller, wherupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twentie dogs like mastiues with pricke eares and long bush tayles: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. Then wee went farther and founde two sleads made like ours in Englande. The one was made of firre, spruse and oken boards, sawen like inch boards: the other was made all of whale bone, and there hung on the toppes of the sleds three heads of beasts, which they had killed. We saw here, larkes, rauens, and partriges. Timber sawen. Fowle.

The 17. we went on shoare, and in a litle thing made like an ouen with stones, I found many smal trifles, as a small canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads hauing small holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, and other small things. The coast was very barbarous without wood or grasse. The rockes were very faire like marble full of vaynes of diuerse colours. We found a seale which was killed not long before, being sleane and hid vnder stones. An image.

Our Captaine and master searched still for probabilities of the passage, and first found, ‖ that this place was all Islands with great sounds passing betweene them. Probabilities for the passage.

Secondly, the water remained of one coulour with the mayne ocean without altering.

Thirdly we saw to the west of those Iles three or foure Whales in a shul, which they iudged to come from a westerly sea, because to the Eastward, we saw not any whale. We neuer came nere any by before, or after, but the waters colour was altered very blackish.

Also as we were rowing into a very great sound lying southwest, from whence these whales came, vpon the suddayne there came a violent counter checke of a tide from the southwest against the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was maintayned.

Fifthly, in sayling 20. leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had sounding in 90. fathoms, fayre gray ose sand, & the further we ran into the westwards, the deeper was the water, so that hard aboord the shoare among these yles, we could not haue ground in 330. fathoms.

Lastly, it did ebbe and flowe 6. or 7. fathome vp and downe, the flood comming from diuerse parts, so as we could not perceiue the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18. and 19. our Captaine and Master determined what was best to doe, both for the safegarde of their credites and satisfying of the aduenturers, and resolued, if the weather brake vp, to make further search.

The 20. the winde came directly against vs, so they altered their purpose, and reasoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21. the wind being Northwest, we departed from these Islands, and as wee coasted the south shore we sawe many fayre sounds, whereby we were perswaded, that it was no firme land but Islands.

The 23. of this moneth the wind came southeast very stormy and foule weather. So we were constrayned to seeke harborowe vpon the southcoast of this entrance, where wee fell into a very fayre sound, and ankered in 25. fathoms greene osy sand. Here we went on shoare, where we had manifest signes of people, where they had made their fire, and laide stones like a wall. In this place we sawe 4. very faire faulcons, and M. Buton tooke from one of them his pray, which we iudged by the wings and legs to be a tyrce, for the head was eaten off. Faulcons.

The 24. in the afternoone, the wind comming somewhat faire wee departed from this roade, purposing by Gods grace to returne for England. Their returne.

The 26. we departed from sight of the Northlande of this entraunce, directing our course homewards, vntil the tenth of the next moneth.

The 10. of September we fell with The land of desolation, thinking to goe on shoare, but we could get neuer a good harborough. That night we put to sea againe thinking to search it the next day: but this night arose a very great storme, and separated our ships so that we lost the sight of the Moonshine. September.

The 13. about noone (hauing tryed al the night before with a goose wing) we set saile, & within two houres after, we had sight of the moonshine againe: this day we departed from this land. They saile from the land of Desolation to England, in 14. dayes.

The 27. of this moneth wee fell with sight of Englande. This night wee had a marueilous storme and lost the Moonshine.

The 30. of September wee came into Dartmouth where wee found the Moonshine being come in not two houres before.

A true

The second voyage attempted by Master Iohn Dauis *with others, for the discouerie of the Northwest* passage, in Anno 1586.

THe seuenth day of May, I departed from the poyze of Dartmouth for the discouery of the Northwest passage, with a ship of an hundred and twentie tunnes, named the Permayde, a barke of 60. tunnes, named the Sunneshine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the mooneslight, and a Pynace of ten tunnes named the North starre.

And the 15. of June I discouered land in the latitude of 60. degrees, and in longitude from the meridian of London westward 47. degrees, mightily pestered with yce, and snow, so that there was no hope of landing: the yce lay in some places 10. leagues, in some 20. and in some 50. leagues off the shore, so that we were constrayned to beare into 57. degr. to double the same, and to recouer a free sea, which through Goos fauourable mercy we at length obtayned.

The nine and twentieth of June, after many tempestuous stormes, wee againe discouered lande, in longitude from the Peridian of London, 58. degrees 30. minutes, and in latitude, 64. being East from vs: into which course sith it pleased God by contrary windes to force vs, I thought it very necessary to beare in with it, and there to set vp our Pynnace, prouided in the Permayde to be our scout for this discouerie, and so much the rather, because the yeere before I had bene in the same place, and founde it very conuenient for such a purpose, well stored with store woode, and possessed by a people of tractable conuersation: so that the nine and twentieth of this moneth wee arriued within the Iles which lay before this lande, lying North Northwest, and South Southeast, wee knowe not howe farre. This lande is very high, and mountainous, hauing before it on the West side a mightie companie of Iles full of fayre soundes, and harborroughs. This land was very little troubled with snowe, and the sea altogether voyd of yce.

The shippes being within the soundes we sent our boates to searche for shole water, where wee might anker, which in this place is very harde to finde: and as the boate went sounding and searching, the people of the country hauing espyed them, came in their Canoas towardes them with many shoutes and cryes: but after they had espied in the boate, some of our companie that were the yeere before heere with vs, they presently rowed to the boate, and tooke holde in the oare, and hung about the boate with such comfortable toy, as would require a long discourse to be uttered: they came with the boates to our shippes, making signes that they knewe all those, that the yere before had bene with them. After I perceiued their toy, and smal feare of vs, my selfe with the merchaunts, and others of the company went a shoare bearing with me twentie knines: I had no sooner landed, but they lept out of their Canoas, and came running to mee, and the rest, and imbraced vs with many signes of hartie welcome: at this present there were eighteene of them, and to each of them I gaue a knife: they offered skinnes to mee for rewarde, but I made signes that it was not solde but giuen them of curtesie: and so dismissed them for that time, with signes that they should returne againe after certaine houres.

The next day with all possible speede the Pynace was landed, vpon an Ile there to bee finished to serue our purpose for the discouerie, which Ile was so conuenient for that purpose, as that we were very well able to defend our selues against many enemies. During the time that the Pynace was there setting vp, the people came continually vnto vs, sometime an hundred Canoas at a time, sometime fourtie, fiftie, more and lesse, as occasion serued. They brought with them seale skinnes, stagge skinnes, white beares, seale fishe, samon peale, smal codde, dry caplin, with other fish, and bryes, such as the country did yeelde.

My selfe still desirous to haue a farther search of this place, sent one of the shipboates to one part of the land, and my selfe went to another parte to searche for the habitation of this people, with straight commaundement that there should be no iniurie offered to any of the people, neither any gunne shot.

The boates that went from me found the tents of the people made with seale skinnes set vp vpon timber, wherin they founde great store of dried Caplin, being a litle fish no bigger then a pilchard: they found bags of trayne oyle, many little images cut in wood, seale skinnes in tan tubs, with many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

They

They alſo found tenne miles within the ſnowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, with earth and graſſe, ſuch as our mooyy and waſte grounds of England are: they went vp into a riuer (which in the narroweſt place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it ſtill to continue as goodly riuer. they knew not how far: but I with my company tooke another riuer, which although at the firſt it offered a large inlet, yet it prooued but a deepe bay, the end whereof in foure houres I attayned, and there leauing the boat well manned, went with the reſt of my company three or foure miles into the country, but found nothing, nor ſaw any thing, ſaue onely gripes, rauens, and ſmall birds, as larke and linnet.

The third of July I manned my boat, and went with fifty canoas attending vpon me vp into another ſound, where the people by ſignes willed me to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made ſignes that I ſhould go into a warme place to ſleepe, at which place I went on ſhore, and aſcended the toppe of an high hill to ſee into the country, but perceiuing my labor vaine, I returned againe to my boat, the people ſtill following me, and my company very diligent to attend vs, and to helpe vs vp the rocks, and likewiſe downe: at length I was deſirous to haue our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did ouerleape them: from leaping they went to wreſtling, we found them ſtrong and nimble, and to haue ſkill in wreſtling, for they caſt ſome of our men that were good wreſtlers.

The fourth of July we launched our pinneſſe, and had forty of the people to helpe vs, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wreſtled with them, and found them as before, ſtrong and ſkilfull. This fourth of July the maiſter of the Hermaid went to certaine Iſlands to ſtore himſelfe with wood, where he found a graue with diuers buried in it, onely couered with ſeale ſkinnes, hauing a croſſe laid ouer them. The people are of good ſtature, well in body proportioned, with ſmall ſlender hands and feet, with broad viſages, and ſmall eyes, wide mouthes, the moſt part vnbearded, great lips, and cloſe toothed. Their cuſtome is as often as they go from vs, ſtill at their returne to make a new truce, in this ſort, holding his hand vp to the Sunne, with a lowd voice crieth Ylyaoute, and ſtriketh his breſt, with like ſignes being promiſed lakerie, he giueth credit. These people are much giuen to bleed, and therefore ſtoppe their noſes with deere hayre, or the hayre of an elke. They are idolators, and haue images great ſtore, which they were about them, and in their boats, which we ſuppoſe they worſhip. They are witches, and haue many kindes of inchantments, which they often vſed, but to ſmall purpoſe, thanks be to God.

A grane with a croſſe layd ouer. The Tartars and people of Japon are alſo ſmall eyed.

Being among them at ſhore the fourth of July, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire, in his manner: he tooke a piece of a board, wherin was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round ſticke like vnto a bedſtaffe, wretting the end therof in traine, and in faſhion of a turner, with a piece of lether, by his violent motion doth very ſpeedily produce fire: which done, with mirth he made a fire, into which with many words, and ſtrange geſtures, he put diuers things, which we ſuppoſed to be a ſacrifice: my ſelfe and diuers of my company ſtanding by, they were deſirous to haue me go into the ſmoke, I willed them likewiſe to ſtand in the ſmoke, in which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thruſt him into the ſmoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, & to ſpurne it into the ſea, which was done to ſhew them that we did contemne their ſorcery. These people are very ſimple in all their converſation, but meruellous theeuiſh, eſpecially for iron, which they haue in great accoſt. They began though our lenity to ſhew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonlights boat from her sterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to ayre, though we did carefully looke vnto it, they ſtole our oares, a caliuer, a boare ſpeare, a ſword, with diuers other things, wherat the company and maiſters being grieued, for our better ſecurity, deſired me to diſſolue this new friendſhip, and to leaue the company of theſe theeuiſh miſcreants: wherupon there was a caliuer ſhot among them, and immediatly vpon the ſame a faulcon, which ſtrange noice did ſore amaze them, ſo that with ſpeed they departed: notwithſtanding their ſimplicity is ſuch, that within ten houres after they came againe to vs to intreat peace: which being promiſed, we againe fell into a great league. They brought vs ſeale ſkinnes, and ſammon peale, but ſeeing iron, they could in no wiſe forbeare ſtealing: which when I perceiued it did but miniſter vnto me an occaſion of laughter, to ſee their ſimplicity, and willed that in no caſe they ſhould be any more hardly vſed, but that our owne company ſhould be the more vigilant to keepe their things, ſuppoſing it to be very hard in ſo ſhort time to make them know their euils. They eat all their meat raw, they liue moſt vpon fiſh, they drinke ſalt water, and eat graſſe and ice with delight: they are neuer out of the water, but liue in the nature of fiſhes, but onely when dead ſleepe taketh them, and then vnder a warme rocke, laying his boat vpon the land, he lyeth downe to ſleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but ſome of them haue bowe and arrowes, and ſlings. They make nets to take their fiſh, of the ſinne of a whale: they

Their manner of kindling fire like to theirs in America.

Great theeues

Their rude diet.

Their weapons. Strange nets.

do all theyr things very artificially: and it should seeme that these simple theeuish Islanders haue warre with those of the maine, for many of them are sore wounded, which wounds they receiued vpon the maine land, as by signes they gaue vs to vnderstand. We had among them copper oare, blacke copper, and red copper: they pronouce theyr language very hollow, and deepe in the throat: these words following we learned from them.

Copper oare.

Theyr language.

Kesinyoh, Eat some.	Conah, Leape.
Madlycoyte, Musike.	Maatuke, Fish.
Aginyoh, Gofetch.	Sambah, Below.
Yliaoute, I meane no harme.	Maconmeg, Will you haue this
Ponameg, A boat.	Cocah, Go to him.
Paaotyck, An oare.	Aba, Fallen downe.
Asanock, A dart.	Icune, Come hither.
Sawygmeg, A knife.	Awennye, Yonder.
Vderah, A nose.	Nugo, No.
Aoh, Iron.	Tucktodo, A fogge.
Blete, An eye.	Lechiksah, A skinne.
Vnuicke, Giue it.	Maccoah, A dart.
Tuckloak, A stagge or ellan.	Sugnacoon, A coat.
Panygmah, A needle.	Gounah, Come downe.
Aob, The sea.	Sasobneg, A bracelet.
Mysacoah, Wash it.	Vgnake, A tongue.
Lethicksaneg, A seale skinne.	Ataneg, A seale.
Canyglow, Kisse me.	Macuah, A beard.
Vgnera, My sonne.	Pignagogah, A threed.
Acu, Shot.	Quoysah, Giue it to me.

The seuenth of July, being very desirous to search the habitation of this countrey, I went my selfe with our new pinnesse into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, and passing vp a very large riuer, a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby we were constrained to seeke succor for that night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my company, and went to the toppe of a high mountaine, hoping from thence to see into the countrey: but the mountaines were so many and so mighty as that my purpose preuailed not: whereupon I againe returned to my pinnesse, and willing diuers of my company to gather muscles for my supper, whereof in this place there was great store, my selfe hauing espyed a very strange sight, especially to me that neuer before saw the like, which was a mighty whirlewinde taking vp the water in very great quantity, furiously mounting it into the ayre, which whirlewinde was not for a puffe or blast, but continuall, for the space of three houres, with very little intermission, which sith it was in the course that I should passe, we were constrained that night to take vp our lodging vnder the rocks.

Muscles.

A strange whirlewinde.

The next morning the storme being broken vp, we went forward in our attempt, and sailed into a mighty great riuer directly into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no firme land, but huge, waste, and desert Isles with mighty sounds, and inlets passing betweene sea and sea. Whereupon we returned towards our shippes, and landing to stoppe a floud, we found the buriall of these miscreants, we found of theyr fish in bagges, plaices, and caplin dryed, of which we tooke onely one bagge, and departed. The ninth of this moneth we came to our shippes, where we found the people desirous in theyr fashion, of friendshippe and barter: our mariners complained heauily against the people, and said that my lenity and friendly vsing of them gaue them stomacke to mischiefe: for they haue stollen an anker from vs, they haue cut our cable very dangerously, they haue cut our boats from our sterne, and now since your departure, with slings they spare vs not with stones of halfe a pound weight: & will you still indure these iniuries? it is a shame to beare them. I desired them to be content, and said I doubted not but all should be well. The tenth of this moneth I went to the shore, the people following me in theyr canoas: I tolled them on shore, and vsed them with much curtesie, and then departed aboord, they following me, and my company. I gaue some of them bracelets, and caused seuen or eight of them to come aboord, which they did willingly, and some of them went into the toppe of our shippe: and thus curteously vsing them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no sooner downe, but they began to practise theyr deuilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Moonelight, & strake one of her men, the boatswaine that he ouerthrew withall: wherat being moued, I changed my curtesie, & grew to hatred, my selfe in my

Great Islands

Slings.

my owne boat well manned, with shot, and the barks boat likewise pursued them, & gaue them diuers shot but to small purpose, by reason of their swift rowing: so small content we returned.

The 11 of this moneth there came fiue of them to make a new truce: the maister of the Admiral came to me to shew me of their comming, and desired to haue them taken, & kept as prisoners vntill we had his anker againe: but when he saw that the chiefe ringleader, & maister of mischiefe was one of the fiue, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was determined to take him: he came crying Iliaour, & striking his brest offered a payre of gloues to sell, the maister offered him a knife for them: so two of them came to vs, the one was not touched, but the other was soone captiue among vs: then we pointed to him & his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made signes that he should be set at liberty: within one houre that he came aboord, the winde came fayre, whereupon we weyed, and set saile, and so brought the fellow with vs: one of his fellowes still following our ship close aboord, talked with him, & made a kinde of lamentation, we still vsing him well, with Yliaour, which was the common course of curtesie. At length this fellow aboord vs spake foure or fiue words vnto the other, and clapped his two hands vpon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed, as we suppose, with heauy chere. We iudged the couering of his face with his hands, and bowing of his body downe, signified his death. At length he became a pleasant companion among vs. I gaue him a new suite of frize after the English fashion, because I saw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very ioyfull, he trimmed vp his dartes, and all his fishing toles, and would make okam, and set his hand to a ropes end vpon occasion. He liued with the dry captiue that I tooke when I was searching in the pinnesse, and did eat dry Newland fish.

One of the people taken, which after died.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at sea the foureteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth according to the order of the sea, with praise giuen to God by seruice, was cast ouerboord.

The 17 of this moneth, being in the latitude of 63 degrees 8 minuts, we fel vpon a most mighty and strange quantity of ice, in one intire masse, so bigge, as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall so very high, in forme of a land, with bayes and capes, and like high cliffe land, as that we supposed it to be land, and therfore sent our pinnesse off to discouer it: but at her returne we were certainely informed that it was onely ice, which bred great admiration to vs all, considering the huge quantity thereof, incredible to be reported in truth as it was, and therefore I omit to speake any further therof. This onely, I thinke that the like before was neuer seene, and in this place we had very stickle and strong currants.

We coasted this mighty masse of ice vntill the 30 of July, finding it a mighty barre to our purpose: the ayre in this time was so contagious, and the sea so pestered with ice, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the 24 of July all our shrowds, ropes, and sailes were so frosen, and compassed with ice, onely by a grosse fogge, as seemed to me more then strange, sith the last yeere I found this sea free and nauigable, without impediments.

The nature of fogges.

Our men through this extremity began to grow sicke & feeble, and withal hopelesse of good successe: wherupon very orderly, with good discretion they intreated me to regard the state of this businesse, and withall aduised me, that in conscience I ought to regard the safety of mine owne life, with the preseruation of theyrs, & that I should not through my ouerboldnesse leaue their widowes and fatherlesse children to giue me bitter curses. This matter in conscience did greatly moue me to regard their estates: yet considering the excellency of the businesse, if it might be attained, the great hope of certainty by the last yeres discouery, & that there was yet a third way not put in practise, I thought it would grow to my great disgrace, if this action by my negligence should grow into discredit: wherupon seeking helpe from God the fountaine of all mercies, it pleased his diuine Maiesty to moue my heart to prosecute that which I hope shalbe to his glory, and to the contentation of euery Christian minde. Wherupon falling into consideration, that the Mermaid, albeit a very strong and sufficient ship, yet by reason of her burden, not so conuenient and nimble as a smaller barke, especially in such desperate hazzards: further hauing in account her great charge to the aduenturers, being at 100 li. the moneth: & that in doubtfull seruice, all the premises considered, with diuers other things, I determined to furnish the Moonelight with victuall & sufficient men, & to proceed in this action as God should direct me: wherupon I altered our course from the ice, & bare East southeast to recouer the next shore where this thing might be performed: so with fauourable winde it pleased God that the first of August we discouered the land in latitude 66 deg. 33 min. & in longitude from the meridian of London 70 deg. void of trouble without snow or ice.

August 1.

The second of August we harboured our selues in a very excellent good road, where with all speed we graued the Moonelight, and victualled her: we searched this country with our pinnesse while the barke was trimming, which William Elton did: he found all this land to be only Ilands,

with a sea on the East, a sea on the West, and a sea on the North. In this place we found it very hot, and we were very much troubled with a flie which is called Musketa, for they did sting grieuously. The people of this place at our first comming in caught a seale, and with bladders fast tied to him sent him vnto vs with the cloud, so as he came right with our shippes, which we tooke as a friendly present from them.

Great heat.

The first of August I went with the two maisters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William Elton espied three Canoas lying vnder a rocke, and went vnto them: there were in them skinnes, darts, with diuers superstitious toyes, whereof we diminished nothing, but left vpon euery boat a silke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the first of August, the people came vnto vs without feare, and did barter with vs for skinnes, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their canoas nor apparell, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our misterrant aboord vs kept himselfe close, and made shew that he would faine haue another companion. Thus being prouided, I departed from this land the twelft of August, at fiue of the clocke in the morning, where I left the Mermaid at an anker: the foureteenth sailing West about fiftie leagues, we discouered land, being in latitude 66 degrees 19 minuts: this land is 70 leagues from the other from whence we came. This foureteenth day from nine a clocke at night till three a clocke in the morning, we ankered by an Iland of ice, twelue leagues off the shore, being moored to the ice.

The fifteenth day at three a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of August we discouered land Northwest from vs in the morning, being a very fayre promontory, in latitude 65 degrees, hauing no land on the South. Heere we had great hope of a through passage.

Great hope of a passage.

This day at three a clocke in the afternoone we againe discouered land Southwest and by South from vs, where at night we were becalmed. The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by obseruation, we were in 64 degrees 20 minuts. From the eighteenth day at noone vnto the nineteenth at noone, by precise ordinary care, we had sailed 15 leagues South and by West, yet by art and more exact obseruation, we found our course to be Southwest, so that we plainely perceiued a great currant striking to the West.

A great currant to the West.

This land is nothing in sight but Iles, which increaseth our hope. This nineteenth of August at fiue a clocke in the afternoone, it began to snow, and so continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, so that we were constrained to lie at hull all night fiue leagues off the shore: In the morning, being the twentith of August, the fogge and storme breaking vp, we bare in with the land, and at nine a clocke in the morning we ankered in a very fayre and safe road and locket for all weathers. At tenne of the clocke I went on shore, to the toppe of a very high hill, where I perceiued that this land was Ilands. at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we weyed anker, hauing a fayre North northeast winde, with very fayre weather: at six of the clocke we were cleere without the land, and so shaped our course to the South, to discouer the coast, whereby the passage may be through Gods mercy found.

Ilands.

Hope of a passage.

We coasted this land till the eight and twentith of August, finding it still to continue towards the South, from the latitude of 67 to 57 degrees: we found maruellous great store of birds, guls & mewes, incredible to be reported, wherupon being calme weather, we lay one glasse vpon the lee, to proue for fish, in which space we caught 100 of cod, although we were but badly prouided for fishing, not being our purpose. This eight and twentith, hauing great distrust of the weather, we arriued in a very fayre harbor in the latitude of 56 degrees, and sailed ten leagues into the same, being two leagues broad, with very fayre woods on both sides: in this place we continued vntill the first of September, in which time we had two very great stormes. I landed, and went fiue miles by gheslie into the country, and found that the woods were firre, pineapple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here we saw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great store of birds, as fezant, partridge, Barbary hennes, or the like, wilde geese, ducks, blacke birds, ieyes, thrushes, with other kindes of small birds. Of the partridge and fezant, we killed great store with bowe and arrowes: in this place, at the harborough mouth, we found great store of cod.

Faire woods.

Store of cod.

The first of September at tenne a clocke, wee set saile, and coasted the shore with very faire weather. The third day being calme, at noone we strooke saile, and let fall a cadge anker, to proue whether we could take any fish, being in latitude 54 degrees 30 minuts, in which place we found great abundance of cod, so that the hooke was no sooner ouerboord, but presently a fish was taken. It was the largest and best reset fish that euer I saw, and diuers fisher men that were with me sayd that they neuer saw a more suaule or better skull of fish in their liues: yet had they seene great abundance.

The

The fourth of September at fiue a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great store of Iles, the countrey low land, pleasant, and very full of fayre woods. To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the passage, finding a mighty great sea passing betweene two lands West. The South land to our iudgement being nothing but Iles, we greatly desired to go into this sea, but the winde was directly against vs. We ankered in foure fathome fine sand. In this place is foule and fish mighty store. A perfect hope of the passage.

The first of September hauing a fayre North northwest winde, hauing trimed our barke, we purposed to depart, and sent fiue of our sailers young men a shore to an Iland, to fetch certaine fish which we purposed to weather, and therefore left it all night couered vpon the Isle: the brutish people of this countrey lay secretly lurking in the wood, and vpon the sudden assaulted our men: which when we perceiued, we presently let slippe our cables vpon the hasse, and vnder our foresaile bare into the shoare, and with all expedition discharged a double musket vpon them twise, at the noise wherof they fled: notwithstanding to our very great griefe, two of our men were slaine with their arrowes, and two grieuously wounded, of whom at this present we stand in very great doubt, only one escaped by swimming, with an arrow shot thorow his arme. These wicked miscreants neuer offered parly or speech, but presently executed their cursed fury. Two of our men slaine by the Sauages.

This present euening it pleased God further to increase our sorrowes with a mighty tempestuous storme, the winde being North northeast, which lasted vnto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We vnrigged our shippe, and purposed to cut downe our masts, the cable of our shot anker brake, so that we onely expected to be driuen on shoare among these Canibals for they pray. Yet in this deepe distresse the mighty mercy of God, when hope was past, gaue vs succor, and sent vs a fayre lee, so as we recouered our anker againe, and new moyed our shippe: where we saw that God manifestly deliuered vs: for the straines of one of our cables were broken, we only road by an olde sunke. Thus being freshly moyed, a new storme arose, the winde being West northwest, very forcible, which lasted vnto the tenth day at night.

The eleuenth day with a fayre West northwest winde we departed with trust in Gods mercy, shaping our course for England, and arriued in the West countrey in the beginning of October.

Maister Dauis being arriued, wrote his letter to M. William *Sanderson of London, concerning his voyage,* as followeth.

SIr, the Sunneshine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: she hath beene at Iseland, and from thence to Groenland, and so to Estotiland, from thence to Desolation, and to our merchants, where she made trade with the people, staying in the countrey twenty dayes. They haue brought home fiue hundred seale skinnes, and an hundred and forty halfe skinnes, and pieces of skinnes. I stand in great doubt of the pinnesse, God be mercifull vnto the poore men, and preserue them if it be his blessed will.

I haue now full experience of much of the Northwest part of the world, and haue brought the passage to that certainty, as that I am sure it must be in one of foure places, or els not at all. And further, I can assure you vpon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profit to the aduenturers, if I may haue but your fauour in the action. Surely it shall cost me all my hope of welfare, and my portion of Sandridge, but I will by Gods mercy, see an end of these businesses. I hope I shall finde fauour with you to see your card. I pray God it be so true as the card shall be which I will bring to you: and I hope in God, that your skill in nauigation shall be gainefull vnto you, although at the first it hath not proued so. And thus with my most humble commendations I commit you to God, desiring no longer to liue then I shall be yours most faithfully to command. From this 14 of October. 1586.

Yours with my heart, body and life to
command IOHN DAVIS.

The relation of the course which the Sunshine a barke of fiftie tunnes, and the Northstarre a small pinnesse, being two vessels of the fleet of M. Iohn Dauis held after he had lent them from him to discouer the passage betweene Groenland and Island, written by Henry Morgan seruant to M. William Sanderson of London.

5 May. THe seuenth day of May 1586 we departed out of Dartmouth hauen foure sailes, to wit, the Mermaid, the Sunshine, the Moonshine, and the Northstarre. In the Sunshine were sixteene men, whose names were these: Richard Pope maister, Marke Carter maisters mate, Henry Morgan purser, George Dyward, John Pandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Jane, Hugh Hempton, Richard Boyden, John Filpe, Andrew Padocke, William Wolcome, Robert Wagge carpenter, John Brushome, William Ashe, Simon Ellis.

Our course was West northwest the seuenth and eighe dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Tarrose of Syllie. Thus coasting along the South part of Ireland the 11 day, we were on head of the Doyles: and our course was South southwest vntill six of the clocke the 12 day. The 13 day our course was Northwest. We remained in the company of the Mermaid and the Moonshine vntill we came to the latitude of 60 degrees: and there it seemed best to our Generall M. Dauis to diuide his fleet, himselfe sailing to the Northwest & to direct the Sunshine, wherein I was, & the pinnesse called the Northstar, to seeke a passage Northward betweene Groenland and Island to the latitude of 80 degrees, if land did not let vs. So the seuenth day of June we departed from them: and the ninth of the same we came to a firme land of ice, which we coasted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleuenth dayes of June: and the eleuenth day at six of the clocke at night we saw land, which was very high, which afterward we knew to be Island: and the twelft day we harboyed there, and found many people: the land lyeth East and by North in 66 degrees.

M. Dauis diuideth his fleet into 2 parts.

June.

Islands discouered.

Their commodities.

Their dwellings.

Their boats.

Their commodities were greene fish, and Island lings, and stockfish, and a fish which is called catefish: of all which they had great store. They had also kine, sheepe, and horses, and hay for their cattell, and for their horses. We saw also of their dogges. Their dwelling houses were made on both sides with stones, and wood laid crosse ouer them, which was couered ouer with turfs of earth, and they are flat on the toppes, and many of these stood hard by the shoare. Their boats were made with wood, and iron all along the keele like our English boats: and they had nailes for to naile them withall, and fish hookes and other things for to catch fish as we haue heere in England. They had also brasen kettles, and girdles and purses made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets and other small tooles as necessarie as we haue. They dry their fish in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them vp in the toppe of their houses. If we would go thither to fishing more then we do, we should make it a very good voyage: for we got an hundreth greene fish in one morning. We found heere two English men with a shippe, which came out of England about Easter day of this present yeere 1586, and one of them came aboord of vs, and brought vs two lambs. The English mans name was M. John Royden of Ipswich, merchant: he was bound for London with his shippe. And this is the summe of that which I obserued in Island.

M. John Royden of Ipswich.

They departed fro Island Northwest.

We departed from Island the sixteenth day of June in the morning, and our course was Northwest, and saw on the coast two small barkes going to an harboyough: we went not to them, but saw them a farre off. Thus we continued our course vnto the end of this moneth.

July.

The third day of July we were in betweene two firme lands of ise, and sailed in betweene them all that day vntill it was night: and then the maister turned backe againe, and so away we went towards Groenland. And the seuenth day of July we did see Groenland, and it was very high, and it looked very blew: we could not come to harboyough into the land because we were hindered by a firme land, as it were, of ice, which was along the shoares side: but we were within three leagues of the land, coasting the same diuers dayes together. The seuenteenth day of July we saw the place which our captaine M. John Dauis the yeere before had named The land of Desolation, where we could not go on shoare for ice. The eighteenth day we were likewise troubled with ice, and went in amongst it at three of the clocke in the morning. After we had cleered our selues therof, we ranged all along the coast of Desolation vntill the end of the aforesayd moneth.

Groenland discouered.

The land of Desolation.

The

The third day of August we came in sight of Gilberts sound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min. which was the place where we were appointed to meete our generall and the rest of our Fleete. Here we came to an harborow at 6. of the clocke at night. August.

The 4. day in the morning the master went on shore with 10. of his men, and they brought vs foure of the people rowing in their boates aboord of the ship. And in the afternoone I went on shore with six of our men, and there came to vs seuen of them when we were on land. We found on shore three dead people, and two of them had their faces lying by them, and their olde skins wrapped about them, and the other had nothing lying by, wherfore we thought it was a woman. Wee also saw their houses neere the Sea side, which were made with pieces of wood on both sides, and crossed ouer with poles & then couered ouer with earth: we found Foxes running vpon the hils: as for the place, it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Islands.

The 21. of August the master sent the boate on shore for wood, with sixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on shore to them, and they went about to kill them as we thought, for they shot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboord the ship, did see them goe on shore to our men: whereupon the master sent the pinnace after them, and when they saw the pinnace comming towards them, they turned backe, and the master of the pinnace did shoote off a caliuer to them the same time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. Diuers times they did weare vs on shore to play with them at the foote ball, and some of our company went on shore to play with them, and our men did cast them downe as soone as they did come to strike the ball. And thus much of that which we did see and do in that harborow where we arriued first. Our men play at football with the Sauages.

The 23. day we departed from the merchants where we had bene first, and our course from thence was South and by West, and the wind was Northeast, and we ran that day and night about 5. or 6. leagues, vntill we came to another harborow.

The 24. about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, wee entered into the aforesayd new harborow, and as we came in, we did see dogs running vpon the Islands. When wee were come in, there came to vs foure of the people which were with vs before in the other harborow, and where we rode, we had sandie ground. We saw no wood growing, but found small pieces of wood vpon the Islands, & some small pieces of sweete wood among the same. We found great Harts hornes, but could see none of the Beastes where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we receiued of the Sauages, I cannot tell of what beasts they be. Sweete wood found.

The stones that we found in the countrey, were blacke and some white, as I thinke they bee of no value, neuertheleese I haue brought examples of them to you.

The 30. of August we departed from this harborow towards England, & the wind tooke vs contrary, so that we were faine to goe to another harborow the same day at 11. of the clocke. And there came to vs 39. of the people, and brought vs 13. Seale skins, and after we receiued these skinnes of them, the master sent the carpenter to change one of our boates which we had bought of them before, and they would haue taken the boate from him perforce, and when they sawe they could not take it from vs, they shot with their dartes at vs, and stroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and Iohn Filpe shot one of them into the brest with an arrow. And they came to vs againe, and foure of our men went into the shipboate, and they shot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the shipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the brests, and he that was aboord our boat, was shot in with an arrow, and hurt with a sword, and beaten with staues, whom our men cast ouer boorde, but the people caught him and carried him on shore vpon their boats, and the other two also, and so departed from vs. And three of them went on shore hard by vs, where they had their dogs, and those three came away from their dogs, and presently one of their dogs came swimming towards vs hard aboord the ship, whereupon our master caused the Gunner to shoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and so the dog turned backe to land, and within an houre after there came of the people hard aboord the ship, but they would not come to vs as they did come before. A skirmish betweene the Sauages and our men.

The 31. of August we departed from Gilberts sound for England, and when we came out of the harborow, there came after vs 17. of the people looking which way we went.

The 2. of September we lost sight of the land at 12. of the clocke at noone. September.

The third day at night we lost sight of the Northstarre our pinnace in a very great storme, & lay a hull carping for them the 4. day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we shaped our course the 5. day South southeast, and sayling vntill the 27. of the sayd moneth we came in sight of Cape Clere in Ireland. The pinnace neuer returned home.

The

The 30. day we entred into our owne chanell.

The 2. of October we had sight of the Ile of Wight.

The 3. we coasted all along the shore, and the 4. and 5.

The 6. of the sayd moneth of October we came into the riuer of Thames as high as Ratcliffe in safetie God be thanked.

The third voyage Northwestward, made by Iohn Dauis Gentleman, as chiefe Captaine and Pilot generall, for the discouerie of a passage to the Iles of the Molucca, or the coast of China, in the yeere, 1587. Written by Iohn Ianes seruant to the aforesayd M. William Sanderson.

May.

THe 19. of this present moneth about midnight, we weighed our ankers, set saile and departed from Dartmouth with two barkes and a Clincher, the one named the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the other the Sunne shine of London, and the Clincher called the Ellin of London: thus in Gods name we set forwards with the wind at Northeast a good fresh gale. About 3. howers after our departure, the night being somwhat thicke with darknesse, we had lost the pinnace, the captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the master of the Sunne shine, to stand to Seawards, and see if we could descrie them, we bearing in with the shore for Plimmouth. At length we descried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cause was: They answered that the tiller of their helme was burnt. So shaping our course West Southwest, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet some of vs were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that she was a Clincher, neuertheles we put our trust in God.

The 21. we met with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coast of Spaine, which was afraid that we had bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a litle conference, we deliuered the master to carie our letters for London, directed to my vncle Sanderson, who promised vs safe deliuerie. And after we had heaued them a lead and a line, whereunto wee had made fast our letters, before they could get them into the ship, they fell into the sea, and so all our labour and theirs also was lost, notwithstanding they promised to certifie our departure at London, and so we departed, and the same day we had sight of Scilly. The 22. the wind was at Northeast by East, with faire weather, and so the 23. and 24. the like. The 25. we laied our shippes on the Lee for the Sunne shine, who was a rommaging for a leake, they had 500. strokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northwest.

The 26. and 27. we had faire weather, but this 27. the pinnaces foremaste was blowen ouerboord. The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinnace, which was so much bragged of by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea she was like to a cart drawen with oxen. Sometimes we towed her because she could not saile for scant wind.

The 31. day our captaine asked if the pinnace were stanch, Iohnson answered that she was as sound and stanch as a cuppe. This made vs something glad, when we saw she would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

Iune.

THe first 6. dayes we had faire weather: after that for 5. dayes we had fogge and rayne, the wind being South. The 12. we had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunne shine, and the master could not agree: the mariners would goe on their voyage a fishing, because the peere began to waste: the master would not depart till hee had the companie of the Elizabeth, whereupon the master told our captaine that he was afraid his men would shape some contrarie course while he was a sleep, and so he should loose vs. At length after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring vs to the land which we looked for daily.

The 13. we had fogge and raine.

The 14. day we discouered land at fiue of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being couered with snow. Here the wind was variable, sometimes Northeast, East Northeast, and East by North: but wee imagined our selues to be 16. or 17. leagues off from the shore.

The 15. we had reasonable cleare weather.

The 16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke after noone, the people came presently

to

to vs after the old maner, with crying Il y a oute, and shewing vs Seale skinnes. The 17. we began to set vp the pinnace that Peerson framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from London.

The 18. Peerson and the Carpenters of the ships, began to set on the plankes. The 19. as we went about an Iland, were found blacke Pummise stones, and salt kerned on the rockes very white and glittering. This day also the master of the Sunne shine tooke one of the people, a very strong lustie pong fellow.

The 20. about two of the clocke in the morning, the Sauages came to the Iland where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and toze the two vpper strakes, and caried them away onely for the loue of the iron in the boords. While they were about this practise, wee manned the Elizabeths boate to goe a shoze to them: our men being either afrayd or amazed, were so long before they came to shoze, that our captaine willed them to staie, and made the Gunner giue fire to a Saker, and laied the piece leuell with the boate which the Sauages had [illegible]ed on the one side, because we should not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke against the arrowes which wee shot at them. Our Gunner hauing made all things readie, gaue fire to the peece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding the owners profite, thought belike hee would saue a Sakers shot, doubting we should haue occasion to fight with men of warre, and so shot off the Saker without a bullet, we looking still when the Sauages that were hurt should run away without legs, at length wee could perceiue neuer a man hurt, but all hauing their legges could carie away their bodies: we had no sooner shot off the piece, but the master of the Sunneshine manned his boate, and came rowing towards the Iland, the very sight of whom made each of them take that he had gotten, and flie away as fast as they could to another Iland about two miles off, where they tooke the nayles out of the timber, and left the wood on the Ile. When we came on shoze and saw how they had spoiled the boate, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the Elizabeth should haue her to fish withall: whereupon she was presently caried aboord, and so wed.

Now after this trouble, being resolued to depart with the first wind, there fell out another matter worse then all the rest, and that was in this maner. John Churchyard one whom our captaine had appointed as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and master Buton, and told them that the good ship which we must all hazard our liues in, had three hundred strokes at one time as she rode in the harbour: This disquieted vs all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our captaine by whom we were all to be gouerned, determined rather to end his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and disgrace, and so being all agreed, we purposed to liue and die together, & committed our selues to the ship. Now the 21. hauing brought all our things aboord, about 11. or 12. of the clocke at night, we set saile and departed from those Iles, which lie in 64. degrees of latitude, our ships being now all at Sea, and wee shaping our course to goe, coasting the land to the Northwards vpon the Easterne shoze, which we called the shoze of our Merchants, because there we met with people which traffiked with vs, but here we were not without doubt of our ship. The 22. and 23. we had close fogge and raine.

The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, we had great store of Whales, and a kinde of sea birdes which the Mariners call Cotinous. This day about sixe of the clocke at night, we espied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the first they had bene two great Seales, vntill we saw their oares glittering with the Sunne: they came rowing towardes vs, as fast as they could, and when they came within hearing, they held vp their oares, and cried Il y a oute, making many signes: and at last they came to vs, giuing vs birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Unicorns horne, as I did iudge. This dart he made shoze of, but when he saw a knife, he let it go, being more desirous of the knife then of his dart: these people continued rowing after our ship the space of 3. howers.

The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we descried 30. Sauages rowing after vs, being by iudgement 10. leagues off from the shoze: they brought vs Salmon Seales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gaue them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, knines, bels, looking glasses, and other small trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call Ponigmah, they would sell their boat, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the shoze. Wee had but few skinnes of them, about 20. but they made signes to vs that if wee would goe to the shore, wee should haue more store of Chichsanege: they staied with vs til 11. of the clocke, at which time we went to prayer, and they departed from vs.

The 26. was cloudie, the wind being at South.

The 27. faire with the same wind.

The

The 28. and 29. were foggie with clouds, the 30. day we tooke the height and found our ſelues in 72. degrees and 12. min. of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5. degr. about the horizon. At midnight the compaſſe ſet to the variation of 28. degr. to the Weſtward. Now hauing coaſted the land which we called London coaſt, from the 21. of this preſent, til the 30. the ſea open all to the Weſtwards and Northwards, the land on ſtarboord ſide Eaſt from vs, the winde ſhifted to the North, whereupon we left that ſhore, naming the ſame Hope Sanderſon, and ſhaped our courſe Weſt, and ran 40. leagues and better, without the ſight of any land.

72. deg. 12. mi.

London coaſt.

Iuly.

THe ſecond we fell with a mighty banke of Ice Weſt from vs, lying North and South, which banke we would gladly haue doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not ſuffer vs, ſo that we were faine to coaſt it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out that we might haue run ſo farre Weſt till wee had found land, or elſe to haue bene thoroughly reſolued of our pretended purpoſe.

The 3. we fell with the Ice againe, and putting off from it, we ſought to the Northwards, but the wind croſſed vs.

The 4. was foggie: ſo was the 5. alſo with much wind at North.

The 6. being very cleere, we put our barke with oares through a gappe in the Ice, ſeeing the Sea free on the Weſt ſide as we thought, which falling out otherwiſe, cauſed vs to returne after we had ſtaied there betweene the Ice. The 7. and the 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recouered the open ſea, the weather being faire and calme, and ſo was the 9. The 10. we coaſted the Ice. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

The 12. we coaſted againe the Ice, hauing the wind at Weſt northweſt. The 13. bearing off from the Ice, we determined to goe with the ſhore and come to an anker, and to ſtay fiue or 6. daies for the diſſoluing of the Ice, hoping that the ſea continually beating it, and the ſunne, with the extreme heate which it had alwayes ſhining vpon it, would make a quicke diſpatch, that we might haue a further ſearch vpon the Weſterne ſhore. Now when we were come to the Eaſterne coaſt, the water ſomething deepe, and ſome of our company fearefull withall, we durſt not come to an anker, but bare off into ſea againe. The poore people ſeeing vs goe away againe, came rowing after vs into the Sea, the waues being ſomewhat loftie. We truckt with them for a few ſkinnes and darts, and gaue them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles and cardes, they pointing to the ſhore, as though they would ſhew vs great friendſhip: but we little regarding their curteſie, gaue them the gentle farewell, and ſo departed.

The 14. we had the wind at South. The 15. there was ſome fault either in the barke, or the ſet of ſome currant, for we were driue 6. points out of our courſe. The 16. we fell with ꝑ banke of Ice Weſt from vs. The 17. and 18. were foggie. The 19. at one a clocke after noone, we had ſight of the land which we called mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, wee were thwart the ſtreights which we diſcouered the firſt yeere. The 20. wee trauerſed in the mouth of the ſtreight, the winde being at Weſt, with faire and cleare weather. The 21. and 22. we coaſted the Northerne coaſt of the ſtreights. The 23. hauing ſayled 60. leagues Northweſt into the ſtreights, at two a clocke after noone, we ankered among many Iſles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the ſame the erle of Cumberlands Iſles, where riding at anker, a Whale paſſed by our ſhip and went Weſt in among the Iſles. Here the compaſſe ſet at 30. degrees Weſtward variation. The 24. we departed, ſhaping our courſe Southeaſt to recouer the Sea. The 25. we were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the aire being extreme hote. Maſter Buton and ſome of the Mariners went on ſhore to courſe dogs, where they found many Graues and Crane ſpilt on the ground, the dogs being ſo fat that they were ſcant able to runne.

The erle of Cumberlands Iſles.

The 26. wee had a preetie ſtorme, the wind being at Southeaſt. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the ſtreights, hauing coaſted the South ſhore, and this day at noone we were in 64. degrees of latitude. The 30. in the afternoone we coaſted a banke of Ice, which lay on the ſhore, and paſſed by a great banke or inlet, which lay betweene 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumleis Inlet. We had oftentimes as we ſailed alongſt the coaſt, great roores, the water as it were whirling and ouerfalling, as if it were the fall of ſome great water through a bridge. The 31. as we ſayled by a head land, which wee named Warwikes Foreland, we fell into one of thoſe ouerfals with a freſh gale of wind, and bearing all our ſailes, we looking vpon an Iſland of Ice betweene vs and the ſhore, had thought that our barke did make no way, which cauſed vs to take markes on the ſhore: at length we perceiued our ſelues to go very faſt, and

Lumleis Inlet.

Warwikes foreland.

the

the Island of Ice which we saw before was caried very forcibly with the set of the currant faster then our ship went. This day and night we passed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roring, as it were the meetings of tides.

August.

The first hauing coasted a banke of Ice which was driuen out at the mouth of this gulfe, wee fell with the Southermost Cape of the gulfe, which we named Chidleis Cape, which lay in 6. degrees and 10. minutes of latitude. The 2. and 3. were calme and toggie, so were the 4. 5. and 6. The 7. was faire and calme: so was the 8. with a litle gale in the morning. The 9. was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10. wee had a frisking gale at West Northwest. The 11. faire. The 12. we sawe fiue Deere on the top of an Island, called by vs Darcies Island. And wee hoised out our boate, and went a shore to them, thinking to haue killed some of them. But when we came on shore and had coursed them twise about the Island, they took the Sea and swamme towards Islands distant from that 3. leagues. When wee perceiued that they had taken the Sea, we gaue them ouer because our boat was so small that it could not carie vs, and rowe after them, they swamme so fast: but one of them was as big as a good pretie Cowe and very fat, their frete as big as Oxe feete. Here vpon this Island I killed with my peece a grey hare.

Chidleis Cape

The lord Darcies Island.

The 13. in the morning we saw 3. or 4. white Beares, but durst not goe on shore to them for lacke of a good boat. This day we stroke a rocke, seeking for an harborow, and receiued a leake, and this day we were in 54. deg. of latitude.

The 14. we stopt our leake in a storme not very outragious, at noone.

The 15. being almost in 51. degrees of latitude, and not finding our ships, nor (according to their promise) any kind of marke, token or beacon, which we willed to set vp, and they protested to doe so vpon euery head land, Island or Cape, within 20. leagues euery way off from their fishing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54. and 55. degrees: This 15. I say we shaped our course homewards for England, hauing in our ship but litle wood, and halfe a hogshead of fresh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man more foreward then Peerson, for he feared to be put out of his office of Stewardship: he was so vnsatiate, that the allowance of two men was skant sufficient to fill his greedie appetite: but because euery man was so willing to depart, and considering our wane, I doubted the matter very much, fearing that the seething of our mens victuall in sale water, would breed diseases, and being but fewe (yet too many for the roome, if any should be sicke) and likely that all the rest might bee infected therewith, wee consented to returne for our owne countrey, and so we had the 16. faire with the winde at Southwest.

The 17. wee met a shippe at Sea, and as farre as wee could iudge it was a Biskaine: wee thought she went a fishing for Whales, for in 52. degrees or thereabout, we saw very many.

The 18. was faire with a good gale at West.

The 19. faire also, but with much wind at West and by South.

And thus after much variable weather and change of windes, we arriued the 15. of September in Dartmouth, Anno 1587. giuing thanks to God for our safe arriuall.

A letter of the said M. Iohn Dauis, written to M. Sanderson of *London, concerning his forewritten voyage.*

GOod M. Sanderson, with Gods great mercy I haue made my safe returne in health, with all my companie, and haue sailed 60. leagues further then my determination at my departure. I haue bene in 73. degrees finding the Sea all open, and 40. leagues betweene land and land: The passage is most certaine, the execution most easie, as at my comming you shall fullie know. Yesterday the 15. of September, I landed all wearie, therefore I pray you pardon my shortnesse. Sandridge, this 16. of September, Anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which by triall you shall best know,

Iohn Dauis.

An

An extract of M. Lanes letter, to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia: the right place whereof is next before the Account of master Lane. Pagina 737.

IN the meane while you shall vnderstand that since sir Rich. Greenuils departure from vs, as also before, we haue discouered the maine to bee the goodliest soile vnder the cope of heauen, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and most pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnes, yet wild, as France, Spaine nor Italy hath no greater, so many sortes of Apothecarie drugs, such seuerall kindes of flaxe, and one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we haue found here a Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth come for bread, 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect suger, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing territorie of the world (for the soile as of an huge vnknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though sauagelie) and the climate so wholesome, that we haue not had one sicke, since we touched land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but Hogs and Kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this already we find, that what commodities soeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the East parts vp yeeld vnto vs in wines of all sortes, in oiles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankesence, currans, sugers, & such like, these parts do abound with for growth of them all, but being Sauages that possesse the land, they know no vse of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no part of the world, be they West or East Indies, haue, here we finde great abundance of. The people naturally most courteous, & very desirous to haue clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canuas they also like well of, but copper carieth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and master D. I haue ioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as I owe to both, and commending me most hartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the almighty. From the new Fort in Virginia, this 3. Sept. 1585.

Your most assured friend, Ralfe Lane.

The voiage set out by the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586. intended for the South Sea, but performed no further then the latitude of 44. deg. to the South of the Equinoctiall, written by Iohn Sarracoll Marchant in the same voyage.

THe 26. day of June, in the yeere 1586. and in the 28. yeere of the Queens maiesties raigne, we departed from Grauesend in two ships, the Admirall called the Red dragon, and the other the barke Clifford, the one of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 130. men, and the other of the burden of 130. tunnes, with 70. men: the captaine of the Admirall was M. Robert Withyngton, of the Viceadmirall, M. Christopher Lister, both being furnished out at the costes and charges of the right honourable the Erle of Cumberland, hauing for their masters two brethren, the one Iohn Anthonie, and the other William Anthonie.

The 24. of July we came into the sound of Plimmouth, and being there constrained by Westerlie winds, to stay till the 17. of August, we then departed with another ship also for our Rearadmirall called the Roe, whereof M. Hawes was captaine, and a fine pinnace also called the Dorothie, which was sir Walter Raleighs. We 4. being out in the seas, met the 20. of August, with 16. sailes of Hulkes in the fleete, who named themselues to be men of Hamborough, laden and come from Lisbone. Our Admirall hailed their Admirall with courteous wordes, willing him to strike his sailes, and to come aboord to him onely to know some newes of the country, but hee refused to do so, only stroke his flag and tooke it in. The Viceadmirall of the hulkes being a head, would neither strike flag nor saile, but passed on without budging, whereupon our Admirall sent him a piece of ordinance, which they repaied double, so that we grew to some litle quarell, whereupon one of the sternemost hulkes, being as I suppose more afraid then hurt, stroke amaine, our Admirall being neere him, layd him aboord, and entred with certaine of his men, how many I know not, for that we were giuing chase to the Windermost men, thinking our Admirall would haue come vp againe to vs, to haue made them all to haue stroke: but the weather growing to be very thicke and foggie, with small raine, he came not vp but kept with another of the hulkes which captaine Hawes had hooded and kept all night, and tooke out of her some prouision that they best liked. They learned of the men that were in the Hulke, that there were 7. hulkes laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods, and because their lading was very rich, they were determined to go about Ireland, and so they let her goe againe like a goose with a broken wing.

The

The next day after being the 21. day, we eſpied 5. ſailes more, which lay e along to the Eaſtwards, but by reaſon of the night which then was neere at hand, we coulde hardly come to them. Yet at laſt we hailed one of the biggeſt of them, and they told vs that they were all of Hambrough: but another ſaid ſhe was of Denmarke, ſo that in deede they knewe neither what to ſay, nor what to doe. Our Admirall being more deſirous to follow his courſe, then to linger by chaſing the hulkes, called vs from purſuing them with his trumpet, and a piece of Ordinance, or elſe wee would haue ſeene what they had bene, and wherewith they had bene laden.

The 22. day becauſe of contrary winde we put into Dartmouth all 4. of vs, and tarried there 7. dayes.

The 29. we departed thence and put out to ſea, and beganne our voyage, thinking at the firſt to haue runne along the coaſt of Spaine, to ſee if we could haue mette with ſome good prize to haue ſent home to my Lord: but our Captaine thought it not the beſt courſe at the laſt, but rather kept off in the ſea from the coaſt. And vpon Saturday the 17. of September we fell with the coaſt of Barbarie, and the 18. hailed in with the roade of Sancta Cruz. The 21. day wee fell with one of the Ilands of the Canaries, called Forteuentura. In running alongſt this Iſland, we eſpied vpon a hill by the water ſide, one wauing with a white flagge, whereupon wee manned both our boates, and ſent them to wards the ſhoare, to vnderſtand what newes. They found them to be two ragged knaues and one horſeman, and they tolde vs that Lancerote was taken, and ſpoyled in Auguſt by the Turkes: when we ſaw they had nothing elſe to ſay, we left them, and proceeded in our courſe, and ſell againe with the coaſt of Barbarie.

September.

Lancerota ſpoiled by the turn of Algiers.

The 25. day of September about 10. of the clocke we fell with Rio de Oro, ſtanding full vnder our Tropike: we ancred in the mouth of it in 8. fathome, the entrance of it is about 2. leagues ouer. And the next day our Captaine with the boate ſearched the Riuer, and found it to be as broad 14. or 15. leagues vp, as at the entrie of it, but founde no towne nor habitation, ſauing that there came downe 2. poore men, of one of them ſpake good Spaniſh, and told our Captaine, that certaine Frenchmen vſed to come thither, and laded ſome ore hides, and goates hides, but other commoditie there was none. We departed thence the 27. day, and the laſt day of the moneth being calme we went aboorde our General, and there conſented to goe for Sierra Leona, to wood and water. From thence till the 10. of October we were much becalmed with extreeme hotte weather, much lightening, and great ſtore of raine. The 10. day we ſounded, finding a great currant as wee ſuppoſed by the ripling water, which after wee founde to be an ordinarie tide, the flood ſetting to the Northweſt, and the ebb Southeaſt, and here wee had but 18. fathome water, and no lande to be ſeene: it was on the ſouthermoſt part of the ſhowles that lye in about 11. degr. but hailing South off againe, it preſently deeped vnto 50. fathome, and after hailing Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, and Eaſt Southeaſt, we ſounded, but had no ground in 120. fathome.

Rio del Oro, in 23. degr. and a halfe.

October.

The 21. of October we fell with lande vpon the coaſt of Guinea, in the height of 8. degrees, a very high land, but of no great length: it was the high land ouer Sierra Leona. Wee bore into the land, and found neere the ſhoare more water then in the offing: at the Northen ende of the high land we ancred about a mile, and ſomewhat more from the ſhoare in 11. fathome. To goe into the harbour of Sierra Leona we did borrowe vpon the Southſide, hauing no ground in 10. fathome, halfe a mile from the ſhoare. Vpon the Northſide of this harbour is very ſhoale water, but on the Southſide no feare, more then is to be ſeene.

Sierra Leona.

The 27. day being Sunday wee came to an ancre in the Bay of freſh water, and going a ſhoare with our boate, wee ſpake with a Portingall, who tolde vs that not farre off there were Negroes inhabiting, and that in giuing to the king a Buttiſio of wine, and ſome linnen cloth, hee would ſuffer vs to water and wood at our pleaſure. But our Captaines thinking it not good to giue any thing for that which they might take freely, landed, and certaine of our men with them, whereupon the Portingall and the Negroes ranne all away into the woods. Then we returned againe into our boates, and preſently went and landed in another place, thinking to haue fetche a walke, and ſo to come to our boates againe. But wandering though a little wood, wee were ſuddenly and vnawares vpon a towne of the Negroes, whereupon they ſtrooke vp their drumme, giuing withall a great ſhowt, and off went their arrowes as thicke as haile. We were in nomber about 30. caleeuers, and 20. with our weapons, which we alſo let flie into the woods among them, and what hurt wee did, we know not.

A towne of the Negroes.

Then wee returned to our boates, and tooke wood and water at our pleaſure, and reaſonable ſtore of fiſhe, and amongſt the reſt wee hailed vp a great foule monſter, whoſe head and backe were ſo harde, that no ſwoorde coulde enter it: But being thruſt in vnder the belly in diuers places, and much wounded, he bowed a ſwoorde in his mouth, as a man would doe a girdle

girdle of lether about his hande, and likewise the yron of a boare speare: Hee was in length about nine foote, and had nothing in his belly, but a certaine quantitie of small stones, to the value of a pottel.

November. The fourth of Nouember wee went on shoare to a towne of the Negroes, which stoode on the Southeast side of the harbour, about a Sacar shorte from the roade, which wee founde to bee but lately built: it was of about two hundreth houses, and walled about with mightie great trees, and stakes so thicke, that a ratte could hardly get in or out. But as it chaunced, wee came directly upon a port which was not shutte up, where we entred with such fiercenesse, that the people fledde all out of the towne, which wee founde to bee finely built after their fashion, and the streetes of it so intricate, that it was difficult for vs to finde the way out, that we came in at. Wee founde their houses and streetes so finely and cleanely kept, that it was an admiration to vs all, for that neither in the houses nor streetes was so much dust to be founde, as would fill an egge shell. Wee founde little in their houses, except some matts, goards, and some earthen pots. Our men at their departure set the towne on fire, and it was burnt (for the most part of it) in a quarter of an houre, the houses being couered with reede and strawe.

Another great and fine towne of the Negroes.

After this we searched the Countrey about it, where we found in diuers plaines good store of rice in stackes, which our men did beare out, and brought aboord in the bulke, to the quantitie of 14. or 15. tunnes in both our shippes.

The 17. day of Nouember wee departed from Sierra Leona, directing our course for the Streight of Magellane. In this harbour diuers of our men fell sicke of a disease in the belly, which for the time was extreeme, but (God bee thanked) it was but of small continuance. Wee founde also in diuers places of the woods, images set upon pinnes, with diuers thinges before them, as egges, meale, rice, rounde shot of stones, and diuers other thinges, such as the barbarous people had to offer vp.

When we came neere to the Line, wee found it nothing so hot as it is at Sierra Leona, by reason of the great winde and raine.

About the 24. day of Nouember one or two of our men died, and others also were sicke of a Calentura.

Januarie. The 2. day of Januarie wee had a little sight of lande, being about the height of 28. degr. to the Southward of the Line.

The 4. day we fell with the shoare high and bolde, being in 30. degrees, and a terse, little more or lesse. All of it to the Northward was a high land, but to the Southwarde it did presently faile, and was a very lowe land, and all sandie. About fiue leagues from the shoare wee sounded, and had about 15. or 16. fadome water, and blacke sandie ozc. Wee thought to haue gone to the shoare, and to haue watered, but we could not discerne any good harbour, and therefore wee cast off to seaward againe.

The 12. day wee found our selues in 32. degrees and 27. minutes. From the day of the Natiuitie of Christ, till the 13. day of this moneth, although the Sunne was very neere vnto vs, yet wee found no want of windes but variable as in England, and not so hotte but that a mans shoulders might well disgest a frise gowne, and his belly the best Christmas cheere in England, yet we for our parts had no want, but such as might content honest men.

A Portingall ship taken, wherein was for Pilot Abraham Cocke an Englishman, left there before by the Minion of London 1581.

The tenth day being about 8. leagues from the shoare, and a little shot of the Riuer of Plate, it was my good happe to espie a saile, which was a small Portingall bounde for the Riuer to a towne called Sancta Fee: and from thence by horse and cartes, the Marchants, and part of their goods were to be transported into Peru. This ship being about the burthen of 45. or 50. tunnes, we tooke that day about three of the clocke, wherein there was for Master or Pilote an Englishman called Abraham Cocke borne in Lee, We examined him and the rest concerning the state of the Riuer, and they colde vs that there were in the Riuer 5. townes, some of 70. housholds, and some of more. The first towne was about 50. leagues vp the Riuer called Bonos Ayres, the rest some 40. some 50. leagues one from another, so that the vppermost towne is 230. leagues from the entrance of the Riuer, called Tuckaman. In the townes is great store of corne, cattell, wine, and sundry fruites, but no money of golde or siluer: they make a certaine kinde of slight cloth, which they giue in trucke of suger, rice, Marmalade, and Bucket, which were the commodities that this shippe had.

They had aboorde also 45. Negroes, whereof euery one in Peru receiue 400. duckets a piece, and besides these, there were as passengers in her, two Portingall women and a childe.

Another Portingal taken. The 11. day wee espied another saile, which was the consort of this Portingall, and to him also wee gane chase, and tooke him the same day: Her was of the burthen of the other, and had

had in her good ſtore of ſuger, Marmalade, and Succats, with diuers other things, which we noted downe in our booke. In this ſhippe alſo we found about 35. Negro women, and foure or fiue friers, of which one was an Iriſh man, of the age of three or foure and twentie yeeres, and two Portingall women alſo, which were borne in the riuer of Genero. Both theſe ſhippes were bought in Braſile, by a young man which was Factor for the biſhop of Tuccaman, and the friers were ſent for by that biſhoppe to poſſeſſe a newe Monaſterie, which the biſhoppe was then a building. The bookes, beades, and pictures in her, coſt (as one of the Portingals confeſſed) aboue 1000. duckats. An Iriſh friar taken.

Of theſe ſhippes wee learned, that M. Iohn Drake, who went in conſort with M. Fenton, had his barke caſt away a little ſhort of the Riuer of Plate, where they were taken captiues by the Sauages, all ſauing them which were ſlaine in the taking: the Sauages kept them for a time, and vſed them very hardly, yet at the laſt Iohn Drake and Richard Faireweather, and 2. or three more of their company with them got a Canoa, and eſcaped, and came to the firſt towne of the Spaniards. Faireweather is maried in one of the townes, but Iohn Drake was caried to Tuccaman by the Pilot of this ſhippe, and was liuing, and in good health the laſt yeere. Concerning this voyage of the Portingals they told vs that it was the thirde voyage that was made into the riuer of Plate theſe 30. yeeres. The returne of M. Iohn Drake. Richard Faireweather.

The 12. of Ianuarie we came to Seale Iſland, and the 14. day to the Greene Iſland, where going in wee founde hard aboord the maine 8. fathome, 7. and 6. and neuer leſſe then 5. fathome. There lies a ledge of rocks in the faire way, betwixt the Iſland and the maine, ſo that you muſt be ſure to boord hard aboord the maine, and leaue the ledge on the larboord ſide.

One of the Portingals which wee carried along with vs in our ſhippe, ſeemed to be a man of experience, and I entred into ſpeach with him concerning the ſtate of the Riuer: hee tolde mee that the towne of Bonos Ayres, is from the Greene Iſlande about 70. leagues, ſtanding on the Southſide of the Riuer, and from thence to Sancta Fee, is 100. leagues, ſtanding on the ſame ſide alſo. At which towne their ſhippes doe diſcharge all their goods into ſmall barkes, which rowe and towe vp the Riuer to another towne called Aſcenſion, which is from Sancta Fee 150. leagues, where the boates diſcharge on ſhoare, and ſo paſſe all the goods by carres, and horſes to Tuccaman, which is in Peru.

The towne of Aſcenſion ſtandes in a very fertile place, reaping corne twiſe in the yeere, with abundance of wine, cattell, and fruites. In the townes of Aſcenſion, and Tuccaman, a rapier of 20. rials, is worth 30. duckats, a boxe of Marmalade 20. duckats: a looking glaſſe a foote ouer, is worth 30. li. pictures in tables of 14. inches, 30. and 40. li. a piece.

The 16. day wee went from Greene Iſland to the watering place, which is about a league to the Weſtwarde, where wee tooke in about 18. tunnes of water, and the 22. day came againe to Seale Iſland to make prouiſion of Seales, where a ſtorme aroſe, which put vs in ſome danger, by the breaking of our ancres and cables, and the winde blew ſo colde, that we much marueiled at it, conſidering the height of the place. I muſt needes in this place finde fault with our ſelues and the whole company, that riding in this Riuer 16. dayes, the chanell was not ſounded, nor the way made perfect.

The 29. day we tooke into our ſhippe one Miles, which was left in the Weſt Indies by maſter Hawkins.

The 1. of Februarie I tooke the ſunne in 38. degr. And the 3. day I tooke it againe & I found it to be 41. degrees. Februarie.

The 7. day of Februarie our Captaine M. Liſter being in one of the pilles, boyſed ouer boorde his Gundelo, and went aboorde the Admirall, and being there they ſent their Gundelo aboord vs. for our Maſter, M. Collins, and my ſelfe, and at our comming wee were called into the Captaines cabbin, where were ſet in counſell for matters touching the ſtate of our voyage, theſe men whoſe names are vnder written.

- Maſter Robert Withrington Captaine of the Admiral.
- M. Chriſtopher Liſter Captaine of the Barke Clifford.
- Iohn Anthonie, Maſter of the Admirall.
- Thomas Hoode Pilot for the Streights.
- William Anthony, Maſter of the Barke Clifford.
- Dauid Collins. } Triſtram Gennings.
- Maſter William Withrington.
- Maſter Beumond Withrington.
- Maſter Waſnes. } Maſter Norton.

Master Wilkes.
Master Harris.
Thomas Anthonie.
Nicholas Porter.
The Master Gunner.
Alexander Gundie his mate.
John Sarracol.

This companie being all assembled together, the Master of the Admirall vnderstood that the cause of our assemblie was to determine after good aduice, what course or way were best and most likely to all mens iudgements to be taken. First for the good preseruation of my Lordes voyage, then the health of our men, and lastly the safegarding of our ships, and further shewed his minde to vs all in these words, as neere as I could carry them away,

My masters, my Lords determination touching this our voyage is not vnknowen vnto you all, hauing appointed it to be made, and by the grace of God to be performed by vs for the South sea. But for as much as we doe all see the time of the yeere to be farre spent, as also the windes to hang contrary, the weather waxes on colder and colder, the nights longer and longer, our bread so consumed that we haue not left aboue two moneths biskет, our drinke in a manner al spent, so that we haue nothing but water, which in so colde a Countrey as the Streights, if we should get in, and be forced there to winter, would no doubt be a great weakening to our men, and a hazard of the ouerthrowe of the voyage: these things considered, both our Captaine, Master Hood, and I, doe rather thinke it good for the wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and safetie to our shippes, to goe roome with the coast of Brasill, where by Gods grace wee shall well victuall our selues, both with wine which is our greatest want, and other necessaries.

Besides, it is giuen vs here to vnderstande, by the Portingals which we haue taken, that there is no doubt, but that by Gods helpe and our endeuour, wee shall be able to take the towne of Bayea at our pleasure, which if wee doe put in practise, and doe not performe it, being somewhat aduised by them, they offer to loose their liues. And hauing by this meanes victualed our selues, wee may there spende vpon the coast some three or foure moneths, except in the meane time wee may happen vpon some good thing to content my Lorde, and to purchase our owne credits: otherwise, wee may take the Spring of the yeere, and so proceede, according to my Lords directions. And assure your selues (by the assistance of God) wee will not returne without such benefite by this voyage, as may redound to my Lords profite, and the honour of our Countrey. Now if there bee any of you, that can giue better course and aduise, then this which I haue deliuered, let him speake, and wee will not onely heare him, but thanke him for his counsell, and follow it.

To this speach of M. Anthonie, M. Lister our Captaine answered in this sort: M. Withrington, & M. Anthonie both, you know, that the last words that my Lord had with vs in such a chamber was, that in any case we should follow our voyage onely for the South sea, except by the way, we might perchance meete with such a purchase, as that we might returne with 6000. pounds: and therefore I see no safetie, howe wee may dare offer to goe backe againe, being so neere the Streaights as we are: for my part I neither dare nor will consent vnto it, except we be further forced, then yet we are. My accompt is this, that he that dieth for this yeere is excused for the next, and I rather choose death, then to returne in disgrace with my Lord.

Hereunto both the Captaine & M. of the Admirall replied that they were all of that minde: yet notwithstanding, that in going roome the voyage was in better possibilitie to be performed, then in wintring either in the Streights, or at Port S. Iulian, all things considered. And so agreeing, and concluding all in one, they were determined presently to beare vp.

The next day being the 8. of Februarie, there fell out many and diuers speaches on either part concerning the altering of our course, some would continue for the Streaights, and othersome would not. Whereupon a view was taken in both shippes of victuals, and reasonable store was found for both companies: and the winde withall comming to the South, we determined to take out of the prizes the best necessaries that were in them, and so cast them off, and to plie for the Streights.

They returne being in the latitude of 44. degrees.

All this time we helde on our course, and the 15. day wee found our selues in the height of 44. degrees, but then the winde came to the South, with much raine, winde, colde, and other vntemperate weather, continuing in that sort 5. or 6. dayes, in which time we hulled backe againe into the height of 42. degrees.

Sunday being the 20. of Februarie, our Admirall being something to the leeward of vs,

and

and the stormе somewhat ceased, put abroade his flagge in the mizen shrowds, as a token that hee would speake with vs, and thereupon wee bare roome with him, and hauing hailed one another, Captaine Withrington shewed the disposition of all his companie, which was rather to go roome with the coast of Brasil, then to lie after that sort in the sea with foule weather, and contrary winds. Our Captaine on the other side, shewed the contrary disposition of his men, and company, willing notwithstanding to proceede: but in the ende, both the shippes fell asunder, and our Captaine said, Seeing then there is no remedie, I must be content, though against my will.

The 21. day the weather grewe faire, and the winde good at the South for the Streights, yet our Admirall bare roome still, we supposing he would haue taken the benefite of the time: whereupon our whole companie beganne to thinke of the inconueniences that would arise by deuiding our selues, and loosing our Admiral, being very willing to continue their course, and yet not without the company of the Admirall. And then wee beganne to call about after him, and at the last bare with him, and hee told vs, that vpon a second viewe of the victuals, hee founde their store so slender, and their want so great, that there was no remedie for them but to seeke some meanes to be relieued, which was the onely cause that hee bare Northward. This speache made vs of the Barke, to enter into a newe consultation: and wee founde many of our men weake, and all our saileours not serviceable, and the Smiths that should mende them to be in the Admiral. Wee considered also, that by breaking of companie, eche shippe should be the more weakened: we continued in this consultation till the 24. day, and in all that time founde Master Captaine Lister most desirous to accomplish, and to fulfill the voyage, and not willing in any case to turne his shippe, but that the desire which we all had to continue in consort with our Admirall, made vs to thinke well of his companie, and in fine, an agreement and conclusion was thus made on all sides, to follow the Admirall, without any more talke of the Streights till the Spring.

The 10. day of March, it fell out so vnfortunately, that Samuel Teller our Masters mate, fell ouer boord, and so perished, we being not able by any meanes to recouer him. March.

The 28. day being in the height of 21. degr. we espied a saile, which we iudged came out of the Streights, and had rich lading, but the night being at hand, wee lost her very vnluckely, and the next day could haue no sight of her.

The 5. day of April we fell with the lande of Brasilia, in the height as I iudge of 16. degrees and a terse, and our Captaine went then aboorde the Admirall, where they concluded to sende the pinnesse and our boate a shoare for fresh water, because wee stoode in neede of it, which did so with 18. good men, and three or foure tunne of water caske. They were from vs, till the 8. day in the morning, at which time wee espied them againe, and that day wee came all together into the roade of Camanao, where there came a Canoa aboorde vs, and one of the chiefest Portingals that belonged to the place. Here wee tooke in beeues, hogges, water and wood at our pleasure, hauing almost no man able to resist vs, but some of our Portingals stole from vs in the Canoa. April.

The 11. day wee entred into the hauen of Bayea, where wee were receiued at the point comming in with two great pieces of Ordinance, which discharged bullets at vs 5. times a piece, but they lost shotte and powder, and did vs no harme. After we had passed the point, wee hailed in for the roade as close as the winde would permit vs, but could not come so neere as we desired, and therefore we came to an ancre a faire birth off the towne, not without great store of shotte from thence, but yet our harme was none at all for ought they could doe. They come into the riuer of Bayea.

At our comming in, wee founde in the roade eight shippes and one caruell, of the which one was a hulke or double flie boate of the burden of 250. tunnes, hauing in her 24. pieces of good Ordinance: shee with the rest of the shippes, together with the towne, gaue vs shotte, and shotte, but not one touched so much as any of our sailes. And least wee should seeme in the meane time to be idle, wee repayed for euery shot of theirs, two or three sometimes at the shippes and the towne together.

The next day at night wee thought to haue hailed in with the shippes, and to haue fetched out some of them: but the winde blewe then off the shoare, so that we could not possibly doe it. And againe the next day at night we concluded to goe with our owne two boates, and two other boates of the Countrey which we had taken before, which went with caruel sailes into the roade, and accordingly performed the same, notwithstanding the shotte of the enemie. The Moone did shine, and gaue very good light, and in wee went with our caruels and boates, and the shotte came about our eares as thicke as haile: but the Portingals and the rest, perceiuing vs no whitte at all to shrinke or bee dismayed, forsooke their shippes, and beganne to prouide to saue themselues, some with their boates, some by swimming, and so wee entred the shippes with a great

ſhowre, and found few to reſiſt vs: but yet the ſhoare not being a cables length from vs, they did ſo plie both their great and ſmall ordnance at vs, that it much annoyed vs: But yet for all that we made light of their ſhotte, and our men of the Barke Clifforde entred the Admirall and Vice admirall, and our Admirals men entred two other ſhippes of the like burden, and preſently euery one cut the cables in the Hauſe, and ſo by the helpe of God in deſpight of them all, wee brought away foure of them. The leaſt whereof was of the burthen of one hundreth and thirtie Tunnes.

They take 4. ſhips out of the harbor of Bayea, notwithſtanding the ſhot of the enemie.

In this broile the hulke ſhotte at vs many times, but did no hurt at all: but at the laſt wee comming by the hulke towing our newe prizes, wee hailed them and demaunded whence they were. they anſwered vs of Fluſhing, and then we commaunded him to waye ancre, and to come after vs: And not daring to refuſe it, hee did ſo, and brought with him a caruell with fourtie or fiftie butts of wine in her, and another ſmall barke, which had little or nothing in her: and rode by vs as one of our companie, and was a ſhippe of the burthen of 250. tunnes. Our hard happe was to finde no great matter, either of Marchandiſe or victuals in theſe ſhippes, ſauing in one of them we found 4. butts of wine, in another 2. in another one, and ſome fiſh, and all the reſt of their lading was on ſhoare.

All this was done vpon Eaſter eue, and we gaue thankes to God, that wee had ſpedde ſo well: and that very night there came a boate from off the towne, with a Dutch marchant, and one Portingal, to offer ſome ranſome for the ſhips, as they ſaid, but as I iudge rather to eſpie our ſtrength: we kept them that night aboord, and the next day we ſent them to our Admirall.

The next day being Eaſter day aroſe a very great ſtorme, inſomuch that our caruel which we firſt tooke brake from vs, and one of our newe prizes alſo, by meanes of the breaking of her cable, ſlipe away: whereupon, although the winde was great, and the ſea troubleſome, yet we ſent certaine of our men in our boate, to recouer them if they might, but we feare, that the rage of the weather hath cauſed vs to leeſe our men, and prizes to.

In the middeſt of this ſtorme, our two Spaniards which wee tooke in the Riuer of Plate, ſeeing vs all buſie about our prizes, beganne to thinke howe they might eſcape our handes, and ſuddenly ſlipt both out of one of the Cabbins windowes, and by ſwimming gotte a ſhoare, a thing which ſeemed to vs impoſſible, conſidering the outrage of the weather.

This ſtorme continued long, and preuented vs of making our intended attempt againſt the towne, hauing as much to doe as poſſibly we might, in keeping our ſhips and prizes from running a ſhoare, and falling into the hands of thoſe that ſtood gaping greedily for our ruine.

The 19. day the ſtorme being a little ceaſed, wee all wayed and came to an Iſlande that lyeth neere North weſt from the Bay, and the 20. day wee went on ſhoare, and our Carpenters ſet vp our pinneſſe.

The 23. day the people of the Countrey came downe a maine vpon vs, and beſet vs rounde, and ſhot at vs with their bowes, and arrowes, but in ſhort time we cauſed them to retire, and many of them were caried away by the helpe of their fellowes, although wee had ſome of our men hurt with ſome of their arrowes.

The 24. day we receiued out of the caruell 12. butts of wine, and 4. barrels of oyle, and halfe a quarter.

The 26. of Aprill our pinneſſe was launched: and the ſame day came downe vnto vs a great number of Portingals and Indians, with whom we ſkirmiſhed the ſpace of 2. houres to their coſt.

The 2. day of May the Admirals boate went a ſhoare with 14. men to fill water, and preſently being on ſhoare, they were intrapped with two or 300. Indians which aſſaulted them, and ſlew one or two of our men, but the reſt eſcaped notwithſtanding the number of the enemie, and came ſafe againe with water to the ſhippe. We ſuffered this loſſe by meere negligence, and want of circumſpection.

The 5. day the Captaine of the Admiral himſelfe, tooke a ſmal barke, his owne litle caruel, our pinneſſe & the Dutchmans boate, & at night went to ſhoare to get victuals, amongſt the bullockes which were in the fields: and in the morning they were gone ſo farre, that they were out of ſight. Which being perceiued by ꝑ enemie, they preſently made ready their gally for Admirall, with 4. caruels, with as many men in them as poſſibly could thruſt in and ſtand one by another: and they bare ouer with the North ſhoare to meete with our pinneſſe & boats: whereupon our men fell into great danger, although M. Liſter our Captaine diſſwaded M. Withrington from that attempt, by laying before him the danger both of himſelfe & vs alſo, being ſo far one from the other. But being once gone, there was no remedy but they were to abide whatſoeuer might happen: we in the barke Clifford, although we were weakly left, yet perceiuing ꝑ gally to make after our men, we wayed

and

and purſued the Gallie, as neere the ſhoare as we could conueniently come for want of water: the Hulke alſo waied, and came after vs, to followe the enemie, but the enemie with his oares gotte ſighte of our Pinneſſe, and boates before we could, and bare directly with them: which being eſpied of our men, and they ſeeing no way to auoide them, made themſelues readie, (notwithſtanding the great odds) to fighte it out like men, and to liue, and die together. The courſe that they tooke for their beſt aduantage vppon the ſudden, was this: they went all into the Pinneſſe, and made faſt the Dutchmans boate to one ſide, and the ſmall Caruell to the other ſide, and ſo waited the comming of the enemie, giuing them firſt of all a peece of Ordinance for their welcome, which they preſently repaied againe with a peece out of the prowe of the Gallie, and preſently after, with three or foure ſmall haſſe peeces, charged with haile ſhotte, and ſo giuing a mightie ſhoote, came all aboord together, crying, entra, entra, but our men receaued them ſo hotly, with ſmall ſhots and pikes, that they killed them like Dogges. And thus they continued aboord them, almoſt a quarter of an howre, thinking to haue deuoured our men, pinneſſe, and all. And ſurely to mans iudgement, no other thing was likely, in regard of their great number, and the fewnes of our men, if they at the firſt thought that all was their owne: but God, who is the giuer of all victories, ſo bleſſed our ſmal companie, & ſo ſtrengthned their armes, and minds to fighte, that the enemie hauing receaued a mightie foile, was glad to ridde himſelfe from their handes: and whereas at their entrance, we eſteemed them to be no leſſe then betwixt two hundred, and three hundred men in the Gallie, we could ſcarſe perceaue twentie men at their departure ſtande on their legges, but the greater part of them was ſlaine, many deadly wounded, their oares broken, and ſhe departed from our men, hanging vpon one ſide, (as a Sowe that hath loſt her left eare) with the number of dead and wounded men, that lay one vpon another. And whereas their comming aboord was in a great brauado, with drumme, ſhooting, and crying, they departed without either noiſe of drumme, or ſpeech.

A marueilous defeate of the Portingales by a few of our men.

We loſt in this conflict of our men, three onely, which were Alexander the Maſter Gunners mate, Laurence Gambrell a proper yong man of Hampton, and another that was Maſter Benmans man. Some alſo were hurt with the arrowes of the enemie, but the wounds are curable: and thus it pleaſed Almighty God, of his great goodnes, to giue victorie to 50. or 60. Engliſhmen, againſt 6. or 700. Portingals and Indians, for which we ceaſed not to giue ſuch dutifull thankes to his Maieſtie, as ſo miraculous a victorie deſerued.

Now touching the purpoſe of our men, who made that attempt for freſh victuals, their labour was not hing loſt, but in deſpite of the enemie, they brought to our ſhips 16. or 17. yong bullocks, which was to our great comforts, and refreſhing. As for vs that were in our ſhip, we could not come neere them by two mile, or more, to giue them any aide, yet we ſuppoſe that the countenance of our ſhippes was an encouragement to our men, and ſome manner of feare to the enemie.

Now whereas our opinion concerning the number of the Portingals, and Indians, which were ſlaine, as aforeſaid, was grounded at that time vpon our probable coniecture, not being able otherwiſe to come to the knowledge thereof: you ſhall vnderſtande, that the next night after the fight, there came aboord vs, two Indians vpon a Gyngatho, who were runne away from their Maſters: and they told vs for a very good truetb, that the Gallie went out from the Towne with 400. men in her, but there came not backe to the Towne againe aliue, aboue thirtie of them all: and I amongſt the reſt, being deſirous to knowe of one of them, what the newes was at the Towne, he anſwered me with great laughter, Todo eſta ceacadoo en Terra.

The twelfth day, I was ſent for to come aboord the Admirall, about the Hulke: where vpon the complaint of the Dutch men, Maſter Withrington entred into bande to them for the payment of their fraight, but howe my Lorde will like that bande of debt at our returne, I knowe not. I gaue him my aduiſe, and counſell, to get his band againe into his hands.

The thirteenth day, our Captaine ſent out of our ſhippe certaine victuals vnto the Admirall, as one butte of bigbe riſe, two cheſts of cleane riſe, one barrell of oatmeale, one barrell of peaſon, and one barrell of oyle, becauſe they were ſomewhat ſcanted of victuals, and we at this time are to haue out of the Admirall our part of fiue and twentie cheſts of fine ſuger, and more, of eight cheſts, and ſixe cheſts that were taken in the Baye of Todos Santos, at the Engenios, more of one hundred and thirtie hats, and other diuers pillages, which were taken in the priſes, and at the ſhoare.

The 14 day, being Munday, it was concluded amongeſt vs all, not to leaue the Towne of Bayea ſo, but notwithſtanding the time that they had to ſtrengthen themſelues, and the Towne, yet to giue an attempt for the winning of it: and therefore we prouided our Pinneſſes, Caruels, and boates, for the enterpriſe: and as we were departing from our ſhippes, the winde turned directly

rectly contrarie to our course, so that our determination for that time was broken, and we returned againe to our shippes: and to say the trueth, if the weather and wind had serued, our attempt had bene very desperate, considering the number of Portingals and Indians which were then gathered together, to be 7. or 8000. and their artillerie vpon the shoare, playing vpon vs: but neuertheles, we had proceeded, if the windes had fauoured vs.

The 16. day we went to certaine Ingenios of the Portingals, where we found the people fled, and we entred their houses without resistance. We founde in their purging house 1000. pots of suger, some halfe purged, some a quarter, and some newly put into the pots: so that euery man tooke his pot of suger for their prouision, and set all the rest on fire.

The 17. day we all waied to goe to another Ingenio, to see if we could finde there better suger, and in the way, we met with a pyise, which was a Caruell, which we found driuing with the weather, and entred her, and had in her onely three Fawlcons of yron, which our pinnesse brought away, and sette the shippe on fire. Dalamor in the small pyise ranne so farre in, that he brought his shippe on ground, where she laye three or foure howres, till such time as there came from the Towne fiue Caruels full of men, which being perceaued of vs, our Captaine, with our men, went to him to aide him. The Caruels came within Fawlcon shot of vs, but durst come no neerer, least they might haue talled of the like banket, that they receaued the last time. About halfe flood, came the Gally againe, and three Caruels more, but before they came, the barke was a floate, and set saile: and then they all went to gard their Ingenios, which we had purposed to visite: but the night comming on, perswaded vs to the contrary.

The 19. day we set saile to goe into the roade of Bayea againe, with our pinnesses, and a flag of truce, to see if we could recouer our foure men, which remained aliue of those ten, that perished in our boate, of whome we spake before, which foure were vnfortunately fallen into their hands: but they at our approching neere the towne, shot at vs, and we as ready as they, gaue them in all 27. shot, and so ankered a little from the Towne, to see what they would doe.

The 20. day riding still before the Towne, our Admirall sent a Negro a shoare, with letters from the Portingals, that wee had pyisoners a boord: the effect of which letters, was, that if wee might haue our men released, and deliuered vs, they should haue theirs from our ships.

The next day in the morning, in steede of their bloodie flagge, they put vp two white flagges, and sent a Gingatho off to vs with two Indians, with letters of answere from the Gouernour: but they would not consent in any case that we should haue our men, and willed their Portingals to take their captiuitie patiently, for they would not redeeme them: a motion they made in their letters, to buy againe one of their pyises, which wee had taken out of the roade: but our Admirall answered them, no, seeing they detained our men, wee would keepe both their men, and shippes too. The same euening wee wayed, and came out of the Hauen, halfe a league to Seaward.

The 22. we set saile to sea, and the 23. came to an Island 12. leagues to the Southward of Bayea, to wood, and water.

The 24. day being abroad with our pinnesses, we met with a Canoa, wherein was one Portingall, and fiue Indians: we shot at the Canoa, and killed an Indian, and tooke the Portingall, and one of the Indians, and brought them aboord our shippes: we there examined them, and the Portingall confessed that there was a shippe laden with meale, and other victuals, bound for Fernanbucke, but put into a creeke, because she durst not goe along the coast, hearing of our shippes. Whereupon we manned both our pinnesses, and tooke the Portingall with vs, to goe and seeke the same shippe, but that night we could not finde her.

The 26. day we went againe, and found her, being hailed vp into a creeke, where a man would haue thought a shippe boate could not haue entred: we found her in deede laden with meale principally: but she had also in her fourteene chests of suger, of which two were in powder, and twelue in loaues. This shippe was of the burden of one hundred and twentie tunnes, and a new shippe, this being the first voyage that euer she made, and as the Portingall confessed, she was freighted for Fernanbucke, but the men of Bayea hauing great want of bread, bought both the ship and her lading, and so thought to stay her in this creeke, till wee were gone off the coast: but it was our good happe, to disappoint their pretense, and to fetch her from thence, where they thought her as safe as if she had bene at Lisbone.

The 28. day we deuided the meale amongst vs, according to the want of euery shippe.

The 30. day, 16. or 17. Dutchmen went with their boate from the hulke to shoare, to fill water: and vpon a sudden they were assaulted with 50. or 60. Portingals, and so many more Indians armed with shot, and other weapons, and they slew their Master, & Purser, and the rest were hurt,

hurt, but yet escaped with their lives: a good warning for vs, to be circumspect, and carefull in our landing.

The last day of May, we cast off one of our prises, which we called the George, and our Admirall, and the Hulke tooke the men, and other necessaries out of her, into them. The same day the Portingals which had hurt the Dutch men, came to the shoare, and dared vs to come a land: whereupon we went into our pinnesses with 40. shotte: but the cowardly villanes ranne all away to the hils, from the water side: but Walter Litter, with nine men, followed them, and they fled still before them, and durst not stay their approch: so they came backe againe, and wee filled water quietly, and at our pleasure.

The third day of June, our Capeaine Walter Litter, having a great desire for the performance of this voyage according to my Lords direction, went to our Admirall, and requested him to giue him 6. buts of wine, 1. barrell of oile, 3. or 4. barrels of flesh, and to haue Thomas Hood, and 7. or 8. seamen, for some of our landmen, and by Gods helpe, he with the barke Clifford, would alone proceede for the South sea: but the Admirall mightily withstoode his motion, and would grant no iote of his particular requests. Iune.

The 7. of June, hauing no vse at all of our prises, we burnt one, and cast off another, and filled our owne shippes with the necessaries of them.

The 8. day we put off to sea, but yet with much adoe came againe to our ankring place, because of the weather.

The 10. day, the Admirall sent for vs to come aboord him, and being come, he opened a Carde before all the companie, and tolde vs, that my Lordes voyage for the South sea, was ouerthrowen for want of able men, and victuals, and that therefore he thought it best to plye for some of the Islands of the West India, or the Azores, to see if they could meete with some good purchase, that might satisfie my Lorde. These wordes were taken heauily of all the companie, and no man would answer him, but kept silence, for very griefe to see my Lordes hope thus deceaued, and his great expenses and costs cast away. The common sort seeing no other remedie, were contented to returne as well as he.

The 16. day, we espied a saile, whereupon our pinnesse, and Dalamor gaue her chase, and put her a shoare vpon the Island, where the men forsooke her, and ran away with such thinges as they could conueniently carry: our pinnesse boorded her, and found little in her: they tooke out of her 9. chests of sugar, and one hogge, and 35. peeces of pewter, and so left her vpon the sands.

From this time forward, we began to ply northwards, and the first of July fel with the land againe, where we filled, and found reasonable good store. I tooke the latitude that day, and founde our selues in 10. deg. 22. minuts. July.

The 7. day we determined to fall with Fernanbucke, and we came so neere it, that Dalamor (as he told vs) espied some of the ships that were in the harbour: yet notwithstanding we all fel to leeward of the riuer, and could not after that, by any meanes recouer the height of it againe: but we ceased not on all parts, to endeuour the best we could, and oftentimes lost companie for a day or two, one of another, but there was no remedie, but patience, for to Fernanbucke wee could not come, hauing so much ouershot it to the northward, and the wind keeping at the south, & southwest.

The 20. day I tooke the Sunne in 5. deg. 50. minuts, which was 2. deg. to the northward of Fernanbucke, and the further we went, the more vntowardly did the rest of our ships worke, either to come into hauen, or to keepe companie one with another. And truly I suppose, that by reason of the froward course of the Admirall, he meant of purpose to lose vs: for I know not how the neerer we endeuoured to be to him, the further off would he beare from vs, and we seeing that, kept on our owne course, and looke to our selues as well as we could.

The 24. day, our whole companie was called together to consultation, for our best course: some would goe for the West India, some directly north for England, and in conclusion, the greater part was bent to plie for our owne Country, considering our necessaries of victuals, and freshe water, and yet if any place were offered vs in the way, not to omit it, to seeke to fill water.

The 26. day in the morning, we espied a lowe Island, but we lost it againe, and could descry it no more. This day we found our selues in 3. deg. 49. minuts.

The 27. day we searched what water we had left vs, and found but 9. buts onely, so that our Captaine allowed but a pinte of water for a man a day, to preserue it as much as might be, wherewith euery man was content, and we were then in number 50. men and boyes.

The 1. of August, we found our selues 5. degrees to the northward of the line, all which month we continued our course homeward, without touching any where: toward the ende whereof, a sorrowfull accident fell out in our Hulke, which being deuided from vs in a calme, fel a fire by August.

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some great negligence, and perished by that meanes in the seas, we being not able any waies to helpe the shippe, or to saue the men.

The 4. day of September, we had brought our selues into the height of 41. degrees, 20. minutes, somewhat to the northwards of the Ilands of the Azores: and thus building vp and downe with contrarie windes, the 29. of the same moneth, we reached the coast of England, and so made an ende of the voyage.

A very exact and perfect description of the distances from place to place, from the riuer of Plate, till you come to Pette Guaras, northward, and beginning againe at the riuer of Plate, till you come to the ende of the Streights of Magellan, Southwards, with the degrees of latitude, wherein euery place standeth.

The riuer of Plate.

THe Riuer of Plate standeth in 35. degrees, 10. minuts, vpon the North side of the point there lieth an Iland, a league off the shoare.

Lobato.

From Lobato to the Cape Santa Maria, the land lieth northeast, and southwest, and betweene them are 55. leagues.

Santa Maria.

Southeast from the Cape of Santa Maria, there lieth an Iland two leagues off the shoare: and there is a good roade steede betweene it and the maine, and the maine land is lowe land.

The port of S. Pedro.

From the Cape of Santa Maria, to the port of Santo Pedro, you haue 42. leagues, and all low land, and the land lieth Northeast, and Southwest: and on the South side of the port of Santo Pedro, there lieth a point of a land, which lieth a good league off the shoare.

Martin de Souza: Laguna.

From the porte of Santo Pedro, to the port of Martin de Souza, you haue 52. leagues, and the land lieth Northeast, and Southwest, and from the porte of Martin de Souza, to the Laguna, you haue 42. leagues, and the land higher. The course is northeast, and by north, and Southwest, and by South: and there is an Iland 2. leagues off the shoare, where there is a good roade steede for ships.

Dunde Reca.

From the Laguna to the porte of Dunde Reca, you haue 5. leagues, and it is a very good roade for all windes, sauing a northeast wind: and from the porte of Dunde Reca, to the riuer of Patus, you haue 10. or 11. leagues, and the land lieth north, and south, and standes in 29. degrees.

The riuer of Patus.

Santa Catherina.

The mouth of that riuer doth shut with an Iland, called S. Katherins Iland, which is a great Iland of 8. or 9. leagues long, which Iland lieth north, and South: and on the East side, it hath no roade, but one small Iland, which lieth at the south ende, and another at the north ende, called the Iland of Arburetio, which sheweth as a great Bape, going in betweene S. Katherins Iland, and the maine: in which Bape you may come to an anker, and there are many small Ilands: and the northern ende of S. Katherins Iland standes in 28. degrees.

The riuer of S. Francisco.

From S. Katherins Iland, to the riuer of S. Francisco, you haue 26. leagues, and the land lieth north, and south, and the riuer of S. Francisco hath a great mouth, and lieth vp East, and West, and hath three Ilands, where you may come to an anker, and the maine land is high, and ragged.

Cannanea.

From the riuer of S. Francisco to Cannanea, you haue 15. leagues, the lande lieth northeast, and southwest, and in the mouth, there is a small Iland, that riseth like a sayle, and is a good roade, and standes in 26. degrees, and the maine land is high, and ragged.

S. Vincent.

From Cannanea to S. Vincent, you haue 40. leagues, and the land lieth northeast, and by east, and southwest, and by west, S. Vincent standes in 23. degrees, 30. minuts, and hath a small Iland in the mouth, bearing west, northwest off you, and is called the Hennes gillaro.

S. Sebastians Iland.

From S. Vincent to S. Sebastians Iland, you haue 12. leagues, and the course lieth east northeast, and west southwest, and this Iland is a great Iland, and when you come out of the Sea, it sheweth like a Cape land, and southwest from that Iland, there lieth a small Iland, called the Iland of Alcatrarzes, and sheweth a high pinnacle.

The Iland of Alcatrarzes. Angra-deris.

From S. Sebastians Iland, to Angra-deris, you haue 16. leagues, and the land lieth east northeast, and west southwest, and from Angra-deris, to the riuer of Genero, you haue 18. leagues. The riuer of Genero standes in 23. degrees, and riseth with high hils, and one of the hils sheweth like the toppe of a shippe, and hath in the mouth many small Ilands, and a high pinnacle on the West side, and is called the singer loafe.

The riuer of Genero.

Cape Frio.

From the riuer of Genero, to Cape Frio, you haue 18. leagues, and the land lieth East, and west, and this Cape when you come out of the Sea, sheweth like an Iland, and round: and when you come neere, it sheweth like a rocke, with many white flankes in it, and in the highest part of it

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it riſeth broken, which is a good marke, and ſtands in 23. degrees, and to the Northward of the Cape, but two leagues from it is the Baye Formoſa, and hath in the mouth of it 4. or 5. ſmall Iſlands, and betweene the maine and them, is a good roade, and on the north ſide the Baye, there is a ſtone houſe by a ſmall riuer. The Baye Formoſa.

From Cape Frio, to the Baye of Saluador, you haue nine leagues, and on the South ſide of the ſame Baye, there are many Iſlands, and the land lieth north and ſouth, vntill you come to S. Iames Iland, which is 12. leagues to the northward of the Cape. This Iſland of S. Iames, is two leagues off the ſhoare, and hath two Iſlands hard by it, that ſhewe all one thing, and there is a good roade betweene the maine, and the Iſland, a Fawicon ſhot off the Iſland, and there is no danger, but that which you ſee. This Iſlande ſtands in 22. degrees, and 20. minuts, and hath vpon it wood, water, and fowle. The Baye of Saluadore. The Iſlands of S. Iago.

From the Iſland of S. Iames, to the Cape of S. Thome, you haue 8. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 22. degrees. Cape S. Thome.

From the Cape of S. Thome, to Para yua, you haue 8. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 21. degrees. 40. minuts. Para yua.

From Para yua to Mannage, you haue 5. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 21. degrees. Mannage.

From Mannage to Tapemere, you haue 5. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 21. degrees. Tapemere.

From Tapemere to Gleretebe, you haue 4. or 5. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and the ſaid point of Gleretebe hath a ledge of rockes, which lieth a league and a halfe off into the ſea, and the point is lowe land, and ſtands in 20. degrees, 45. minuts. Gleretebe.

From the point of Gleretebe to Guarrapare, you haue 7. leagues, and the courſe lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt: this Guarrapare hath an Iſland lying off it, which is round, and is called Iſland Saluado, or barren, lying a league and a halfe off the ſhoare, and the maine lande is high hils, and ragged, which is a good marke, and ſtands in 20. degrees, 30. minuts, and to the northward of this Guarrapare, you haue 3. Iſlands, which lie about 3. leagues off the maine lande, and betweene the maine and them, halfe a league off the ſhoare is a good roade. Guarrapare.

From Guarrapare to Spiritus Santus, you haue 8. leagues, and the land lieth North and by Eaſt, and South, and by Weſt, and Spiritus Santus hath a ledge of rocks, lying off the northeaſt point: and from this point about two leagues vp into the lande, you ſhall ſee a round high hill, which ſtands alone by himſelfe, which is very ragged, which is called the hill of Maſter Alue, or Maſter Hill, and you ſhall ſee hence a great way off at ſea. This Spiritus Santus is a great Baye, and hath many ſmall Iſlands in the middes, or mouth, and the riuer lieth vp northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 20. degrees large. Spiritus Santus.

From Spiritus Santus to the riuer Mangus, you haue 6. leagues, and the land lieth North, and South, and this riuer Mangus maketh vp in the land 3. hils, like round Iſlands, which is a good marke, and ſtands in 19. degrees, 40. minuts. The riuer Mangus.

From the riuer Mangus to the riuer Doulce, you haue 7. or 8. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and it is very flat, a league and a halfe off the ſhoare, and the land is lowe land, and vp in the land is a high hill, which lieth along, as the coaſt lieth, and this riuer ſtands in 19. degrees, 20. minuts. Rio Doulce.

From riuer Doulce to Crearere, you haue 17. leagues, and the land lieth North, and South, and this Crearere on the ſouth ſide, ſhewth as 4. openings, a league one from another, and two of them high land, and the other two lowe land, and they are all ſo alike, that it ſhewth all one riuer, till you come neere it, and ſtands in 18. degrees, 45. minuts. Crearere.

From Crearere to Maranepe, you haue ten leagues, and the land lieth North, and by Eaſt, and South, and by Weſt, and hath in the mouth of the riuer a white cleefe, which ſhewth like a ſheete, which is a good marke, and ſtands in 18. degrees, 15. minuts. Maranepe.

From Maranepe to Parrewepe, you haue 5. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and off this Parrewepe, lieth a high point of land, with many trees on it, and becauſe it is all ſhoale to ſeaward, from the mouth of the harbour, you ſhall ſee the ſhoales of Aburalus, and when you goe from Parrewepe, you ſhall ſee a league off into the ſea, and then you ſhall goe northeaſt, becauſe of the Baye, which is very dangerous, and when you ſee the ſhoales to ſeaward, you ſhall runne in 6. or 7. fathom, and finde ſoft ſande: then are you in the channell directly, and when you come as high as the point of Parawepe, by the way that you haue made, you ſhall finde your ſelfe a league off: and in finding your ſelfe more then a league off, haue neere in for feare of running on the ſhoales to ſeaward. Parewepe. The ſhoales of Aburalus.

From

The riuer of Caruels. From Parrewepe to the riuer of Caruels, you haue 3. leagues, and the Channell will ſhewe you how you ſhall ſteere away, and you may boldly borrowe on the ſhoales to ſeaward, becauſe the mouth of the riuer of Caruels is very ſhoald, and hath many ſands.

The red cliffe. From the riuer of Caruels, to the ende of the red cliffe, you haue 5. or 6. leagues, and this way

The ſhoales of Gothowe. you haue no danger: but take heede of the breakings that you ſee: but as for the ſhoales of Gothow, they doe not breake, therefore looke well out.

The cliffe of Corebabo. From the ende of the red cliffe to Corebabo, you haue two leagues, and take heede that you go not aboue a league and a halfe off the ſhoare: for in all this way from the red cliffe to Corebabo, there lieth a point of ſand, and alſoone as you be paſt the point of the rockes, you ſhall ſteere right with the ſand northeaſt, till you come within a ſtones caſt of it, and then ſteere hence Eaſt, till you thinke the ſhoales are a sterne of you to ſeaward, and then turne to your way, about the coaſt, and this point of Corebabo, ſtands in 17. degrees.

Porte Segu. ro. From this point of Corebabo to porte Seguro, you haue 28. leagues, and the land lieth north, and ſouth, and take heede when you come as high as porte Seguro, of the ſhoales to Seaward, which are very ill. This porte Seguro, hath great red cliffs which ſtand at the foote of the towne: and if you doe meane to goe into the harborough, bring your ſelfe Eaſt, and Weſt off the cliffs, and then ſteere right with them, till you come within the point of the rockes, and then ſteere hence South: for the North ſide of the Riuer is all ſhoalde, and the Riuer ſtands in 16. degrees, 30. minuts.

Santa Cruz. From the riuer of porte Seguro, to Santa Cruz, you haue 3. leagues, and it is a good harborough for ſmall ſhips: but take heede of the dangers that you ſee.

Rio Grande. From Santa Cruz, to the arme of the grand riuer, you haue 9. or 10. leagues, and take heede that in all this way you come not within 3. leagues of the ſhoare: for there lie many ſhoalds in the way, and the land lieth North northeaſt, and South ſouthweſt, and ouer the arme of this Rio Grande, you ſhall ſee 3. hils of wood, which ſhewe like Iſlands, which is a very good marke, and ſtands in 15. degrees, 30. minuts.

Illeas. From Rio Grande to Illeas, or the Iſlands, you haue 18. leagues, and the land lieth north, and South, and in this way you haue no ſhoalds, but 3. or 4. leagues off: and if you will goe into the Iſlands, keepe alwaies along the ſhoare, in ſight of the ſande, for otherwiſe you can not ſee the Iſlands, becauſe they are litle, and alſoone as you ſee them, ſteere right with the greateſt of them, and betweene the ſhoare, and there is very good roding, and if you will goe into the riuer, the Channell lieth from the greateſt Iſland to the mouth of the riuer, north, and ſouth, and ſtands in 14. degrees 45. minuts.

The riuer of Contas. From the riuer Illeas, to the riuer of Contas, you haue 8. leagues, and the land lieth north, and ſouth: this riuer hath many rockes lying in the mouth of it, and to ſeaward there lieth a ſmall Iſland, like a rocke: if you will goe into the riuer of Contas, borrow neere that rocke, for on the other ſide it is all flat.

Camamo. From the riuer of Contas to Camamo, you haue 6. leagues, and this Camamo hath a wide

The Iſland of Cayepe. mouth, and off the point of the North ſhoare, you ſhall ſee an Iſland, which is called the Iſland of Cayepe: take heede you come not too neere it, for it hath many ſhoalds offit: but borrowe on the ſouth ſide, for there goeth in the Channell, where you ſhall finde 5. or 6. fathome water: and from thence to Guepena, you haue 3. leagues.

Guepena. From Guepena to Tenyere, you haue 4. leagues, and Tenyere on the ſouth ſide ſheweth a high hill, which bearing northweſt of you, will riſe like a Gallie, with his keele vpward, and if you will goe in, be bold to borrow on the ſouth ſide, and you ſhall goe in 5. or 6. fathome, and ſtands in 13. degrees: this high hill is called the Moope of S. Pablo.

The Moope of S. Pablo. Bayea. From the Moope of S. Pablo to Bayea, you haue 12. leagues, and the courſe is northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and if you ſee white ſand, you are to the northward of Bayea, in the point of Lappeane, which point ſheweth white peeces in the land, like cloth a drying, and Bayea ſtands in 12. degrees 30. minuts.

Riuer Royall. From Bayea to the riuer Royall, you haue 26. leagues, and the lande lieth Northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and the point of Tapeane ſtands in 13. degrees. If you goe out of Bayea, for the northward, you muſt hall off eaſt, and by north, till you be 30. or 40. leagues off from the currant.

The riuer of S. Francisco. From riuer Royall to the riuer of S. Franciſco, you haue 17. leagues, and the lande lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 11. degrees large.

Gurra point. From the riuer of S. Franciſco, to the point of Gurra, you haue 15. leagues, and the lande lieth north northeaſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 10. degrees, 20. minuts.

Camare Guba From the point of Gurra, to the cliffs of Camare Guba, you haue 6. leagues, & theſe are great high

high cleeffs, which is a good marke, and it is a good road ſteede for all weſterly winds and from theſe cleeffes to the riuer of Stones you haue 5. leagues, and the land lyeth north northeaſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt.

From the riuer of Stones to the Cape Saint Auguſtine you haue 12. leagues, and the land lyeth north northeaſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt, and this cape when you come out of the ſea, ſeemeth a hill like a ſaddle, which ſtandeth alone, lying next hand eaſt and by north, and weſt and by ſouth from the cape vp into the land, and comming along the coaſt the cape lyeth out, and ſheweth as litle woods vpon it, and buſhes in parts, and 5. leagues to the ſouthward you ſhall ſee the Iland of Saint Alexo, which is a ſmal lowe Iland, which is a good marke, and the Cape of S. Auguſtin ſtands in 8. degrees, 30. minuts. Cape Saint Auguſtine. The Iland of Xerro. The Cape of S. Auguſtine.

From the Cape Saint Auguſtin to Fernambucke, you haue 8. leagues, & the land lyeth north and by eaſt, and ſouth and by weſt, and the marke of Fernambucke is the Towne it ſelfe, ſtanding vpon a high hil by the water ſide, which ſheweth like to ꝑ cape it ſelfe, & ſtands in 8. degrees large. Phernambucke.

From Fernambucke to the Iland of Tamereca you haue 4. leagues, and it hath on the ſouth point of the riuer redde cleeffes, and if you will goe into the riuer, bring your ſelfe northeaſt, and ſouthweſt by the red cleeffs, and ſo beare into the bay, whereas you ſhal haue 9. or 10. foote water. The Iland of Tamereca.

From the riuer of Tamereca to Parryba you haue 15. leagues, and the land lyeth north and by eaſt, and ſouth and by weſt, and ſtands in 6. degrees, 45. minuts. Parryba.

From Parryba to Tappoam you haue 10. leagues, & the land lyeth north northeaſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt, and from Tappoam to the harborough of Munks you haue 7. leagues, and the land lyeth northweſt and ſoutheaſt, and the poſt of Munks ſtands in 5. degrees, 30. minuts. Tappoam. The harborow of munks

Here followeth the like deſcription of the coaſt from the riuer of *Plate to the Streights of Magelan.*

CApe Saint Marie on the northſide of the riuer of Plate ſtands iuſt in 35. degrees: from the ſame Cape Saint Marie, to Cape Saint Anthony which is the South Cape of the riuer of Plate, you haue 28. leagues, and the ſaid Cape ſtands in 56. degrees, 20. minuts: the courſe betweene them is ſouth ſouthweſt, and north northeaſt. Cape S. Marie.

Note that Eaſt of the mouth of the riuer of Plate 25. leagues off, there lyeth a ſhoald, which they call Baxos de Caſtiliana: he that will ſhape his courſe from Cape Saint Marie to goe to the ſouthward muſt hale off ſoutheaſt, till he bee in 36. degrees, then ſouth ſoutheaſt hal a degree, for that you ſhall giue a birth to the ſaid ſhoald, as alſo to the ſhoalds of Saint Anthony, and ſounding in 40. or 41. fadom, you ſhall find ruſſet ſand, then hale away ſouthweſt, and by ſouth till you come to 40. degrees, where you ſhall find great ſtore of weeds, and you ſhall be 20. leagues off the ſhoare. Baxos de Caſtiliana.

From Cape Saint Anthony, to the cape of great ſandy hilles is 48. leagues, they lye ſouthweſt and by ſouth, and northeaſt and by north: 18. leagues off Saint Anthony lyeth a riuer called the riuer of Saint Anne, which hath in the mouth many flats and ſhoals, therefore you muſt come no nerer the ſhoare, then 40. fadom, to goe cleere of them.

From the Cape of the ſand hilles to Cape Saint Andrewe, you haue 31. leagues, and halfe way betweene them both you haue bayes and riuers, which are ful of ſhoales: the both Capes lie ſouthweſt and by weſt, and northeaſt and by north. Cape Saint Andrewe.

From Cape S. Andrewe to the Sunken bay you haue 30. leagues, the ſaid bay ſtandeth in 39. degrees, 50. minuts, it lyes weſt ſouth weſt, and eaſt northeaſt. The Sunken bay.

From the ſaid Sunken bay to the plaine point you haue 25. leagues, the point ſtands in 41. degrees, 30. minuts: they lye ſouth ſouthweſt, and north northeaſt, and from this point to the deep water bay you haue 35. leagues: they lye weſt ſouthweſt and eaſt northeaſt: the Deepe water bay ſtands in 42. degrees, 20. minuts. The plaine Point. The deepe water bay.

From the Deepe water bay to the harborough of Lyons you haue 37. leagues: the cape ouer the ſandy bay lyeth ſouth ſoutheaſt, and north northweſt: out of the ſaid Deepe, you may ſaple hard abooard the ſhoare being bolde. From the riuer of Plate to the ſaid bay you haue no harborough for any great ſhip. The harborough of Lyons

From that bay to the harborough of Lyons a bould coaſt, with lowe land and white cleeffs: the ſaid harborough ſtands in 44. degrees, when you come to 43. ſomwhat more, looke out for a ledge of rockes that lyeth on the north ſide of the harborough hard abooard the ſhoare.

From the ſaid harborough of Lyons to ꝑ cape with woods you haue 30. leagues: they lie ſouth Cape of Woods.

and by weſt, and Noꝛth and by eaſt, and halfe way betweene them both, there is a bay.

The round cape. 18. leagues to the Noꝛthward of the round Cape you haue a riuer which lyeth in weſt, and is called the riuer of Crauiſes: you ſhall knowe when you are thwart of the riuer, by certaine redde ſtreames that you ſhal find like tydegates, which are going ſtreames. The coaſt lyeth from this harboꝛough to the round Cape of woods, ſoutheaſt and by ſouth, and noꝛthweſt, and by Noꝛth: the ſaid Cape of woods ſtands in 45. degrees, 30. minuts.

Cape Blanke. From the ſayd cape of Woods, to cape Blanke, oꝛ the white Cape, you haue 32. leagues, the coaſt lyeth ſouth and by weſt, and noꝛth and by eaſt: the ſaid white Cape ſtands in 45. degrees, and about 3. leagues to the noꝛthward of the Cape, the land lyeth noꝛth noꝛthweſt: all vp right white cleeffes, which be in number 6. and the laſt of them is the biggeſt, and broadeſt, and ſhewes like a ſaple: and in the head of the ſaid Cape is a round hill, which ſheweth like a cloud: about this cape lye certaine rockes, hard aboord the ſhoare, and 3. cables length off the ſhoare you ſhall haue 25. fadom, and ouer the white cleeffs, the lande is plaine, and among the cleeffs which the Sea hath made, the ſea ſpoutes vp, like the ſpouting of Whales, and vpon the Cape there are ſome little woods, and here you haue people inhabiting, of whom take heede: the vpper part of the cape lyeth ſouth and noꝛth a league in breedth, and hath in the middle a ledge of rockes aboue water, and on the ſouth ſide of this Cape, you haue a harboꝛough where is good ankering, but in the middeſt there is a rocke of which take heede.

Poꝛt S. Iulia. From thence to Poꝛt Saint Iulian is 37. leagues: the courſe is ſouth and by weſt, and noꝛth and by eaſt: of this poꝛt Saint Iulian on the ſouthſide of the entering of the harboꝛough lye rocks like Towres, he that goeth in there muſt boꝛrowe on the noꝛthſide of the harboꝛough, and within the harboꝛough you ſhal find two Iſlands where you may anker hard by them: this harboꝛough ſtands in 49. degrees.

The Iſlands of Sampſon. Betweene the harboꝛough of poꝛt Saint Iulian and cape Blanke lye the Ilands of Sampſon which are 8. in number.

The hill of S. Anne. From the poꝛt of Saint Iulian to the hill of Saint Anne, is 35. leagues: the coaſt lyeth ſouthweſt and noꝛtheaſt a very plaine land, but onely one hill, and to the Southwards, are ſmal Hammockes, which hammocks ſtand in 50. degrees 30. minuts.

The riuer of S. Anne. The riuer de Cruz. From the riuer of Saint Anne, to the riuer de Cruz, you haue 8. leagues. The Cruz is noꝛtheaſt, and ſouthweſt. To the noꝛthward of the riuer de Cruz, is a high land of two leagues long, and playne on the toppe which lyeth ſouth and noꝛth, and falleth on either ſide like a ſaddle: This coaſt is ſhoald foure leagues off: but you may boꝛrowe on the ſhoare in 20. fadom.

The riuer of Galgos. From the riuer de Cruz, to the riuer of Galgos, you haue 25. leagues: the courſe lieth noꝛtheaſt, and ſouthweſt, and it ſtands in 52. degrees, and 10. minuts, and foꝛ a marke of it, there is a hill, and on the higheſt of this hill it is plaine, and the noꝛtheaſt end is ſteepe vp and downe, and hath white and bꝛowne cleeffs, the vpper edge of them blacke: and vnder the hill on the eaſt ſide it ſheweth like a paire of ſtaires, with a blacke point into the ſea: halfe a league to the ſouthward of this point is a bay, which is at the entring of the riuer Galgos, where it doth ebbe and flowe, 12. fadom water in the riuer, take heede you go not to farre in becauſe it is dangerous, therefoꝛe goe no further in, then 18. fadom.

The ſtreights of Magelan. Cape Virgin Maria. From the riuer Galgos to the entrie of the ſtreights of Magelan, called the Cape of the Virgin Marie is 8. leagues, the courſe is, ſouth ſoutheaſt, and noꝛth noꝛthweſt, end 4. leagues beſoꝛe you come to this Cape, you ſhall ſee high ſteepe cleeffs, and gray full of black ſcarres, the ſea beating againſt them like the ſpowting of whales, but a very wholeſome ſhoare, where you may anker foꝛ a Southweſt wind: the higheſt of this cape is like to Cape Saint Vincent in Spaine: at the eaſt ſide of this cape is a ledge of rockes, which hath a ſand about it, which is full of pittes, where you ſhal haue deepe water and by and by ground: this ſand ſheweth it ſelfe at low water, therefoꝛe you muſt be ſure to ſtemme the ſhoare halfe a mile till you haue bꝛought the ſayd Cape weſt noꝛthweſt off you: then goe away ſouthweſt till you come to the loweſt, where you ſhall haue 10. oꝛ 12. fadome water. This place is called the Purifications and halfe a league within this land, is a Towne called the name of Ieſus: From this ſaid Cape you ſhall haue a cleeffe come from the cape, at the end of this cleeffe the Towne ſtands, and is in altitude, 52. degrees, 30. minutes, and from the ſaid Cape entring the ſtreights, on the noꝛthweſt ſide within 14. leagues, it beginnes to be narrower, and narrower, till you come to the higheſt place of the narroweſt entrie, which lyeth weſt noꝛthweſt, and eaſt ſoutheaſt: and in the ſayd ſtreightes, goe a third part of the chanell to the noꝛth ſhoare, becauſe there is a ledge of rockes on the ſouth ſide, and alſo you ſhall ſee land there: therefoꝛe you muſt giue them a good birth: and hauing paſt this firſt ſtreight, go away weſt ſouthweſt 8. leagues till you come to a cape called S. Gregorie, with a high cleeffe, and

The purifications. Nombre de Ieſus which S. Candiſh found deſtroyed.

and a good road, from the northweſt to the ſouthweſt: truſt not the people of this Cape, for they are trecherous.

At this Cape begins the 2. ſtreight, and is called our Ladie of Grace: it lyeth weſt ſouthweſt, and eaſt northeaſt 3. leagues, and in comming off this ſtreight, you ſhall ſee 3. Ilands weſt off you, and you may ſayle in among them, hauing reſpect that you come not into the Bayes, for they are dangerous. From the 3. Ilandes ſeeke the Chanel of the ſtreights weſt ſouthweſt, 2. leagues, and from thence you ſhal hale to the ſouthwards, till you come to the 53. degrees, 30. minutes: where you ſhall finde a point called the point of Saint Anne, and north northweſt from thence, you ſhal ſee two or three plaines, in one of which ſtands a towne called the Towne of King Philip, & in paſſing the Bulwarke and a great tree, you may come to anker, where you may moore your ſhip in 4. fadoms.

A letter of Maſter Thomas Candiſh to the right honorable the *Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Maieſties moſt honorable priuie Counſell* touching the ſucceſſe of his voyage about the world.

RIght honorable, as your fauour heretofore hath ben moſt greatly extended towards me, ſo I humbly deſire a continuance thereof: And though there be no meanes in me to deſerue the ſame, yet the vttermoſt of my ſeruices ſhal not be wanting, whenſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe your honour to diſpoſe thereof. I am humbly to deſire your honour to make knowne vnto her Maieſtie the deſire I haue had to do her Maieſtie ſeruice in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath pleaſed God to giue her the victorie ouer part of her enemies, ſo I truſt ere long to ſee her ouerthrowe them all. For the places of their welth, whereby they haue maintained and made their warres, are nowe perfectly diſcouered: And if it pleaſe her Maieſtie, with a very ſmal power ſhe may take the ſpoyle of them all. It hath pleaſed the Almighty to ſuffer me to circumpaſſe the whole Globe of the world, entring in at the ſtreight of Magelan, and returning by the cape Bona Sperança. In which voyage I haue either diſcouered or brought certaine intelligence of al the rich places of the world that euer were knowne or diſcouered by any Chriſtian. I nauigated alongſt the coaſt of Chili, Peru, and Noua Spagna, where I made great ſpoyles: I burnt and ſunke 19. ſayles of ſhippes ſmall and great. All the villages and townes that euer I landed at, I burnt and ſpoyled: And had I not ben diſcouered vpon the coaſt, I had taken great quantitie of treaſure. The matter of moſt profit vnto me was a great ſhip of the Kings which I tooke at California, which ſhip came from the Philippinas, being one of the richeſt of Marchandiſe, that euer paſſed thoſe Seas, as the kings Regiſter and Marchants accompts did ſhew, for it did amount in value to * in Mexico to be ſold: which goods, for that my ſhippes were not able to contayne the leaſt part of them, I was inforced to ſet on fire. From the cape of California, being the vttermoſt part of all Noua Hiſpania, I nauigated to the Ilandes of Philippinas hard vpon the coaſt of China, of which Countrie I haue brought ſuch intelligence as hath not bene heard of in theſe parts. The ſtatelines and riches of which coſterie I feare to make report of, leaſt I ſhould not be credited. For if I had not knowne ſufficiently the incomparable welth of that countrey, I ſhould haue ben as incredulous thereof, as others will be that haue not had the like experience. I ſayled along the Ilands of Maluccas, where among ſome of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our country men may haue trade as freely as the Portingals, if they will themſelues. From thence I paſſed by the cape of Bona Sperança, and found out by the way homeward the Iland of Saint Helena, where the Portingals vſe to releeue themſelues: And from that Iland God hath ſuffred me to returne into England. All which ſeruices with my ſelfe I humbly proſtrate at her Maieſties feete, deſiring the Almighty long to continue her raigne amongſt vs. For at this day ſhee is the moſt famous and victorious prince that liueth in the world. Thus humbly deſiring pardon of your honour for my tedioufnes, I leaue your Lordſhip to the tuition of the Almighty. Plimmouth this 19. of September 1588.

Your honours moſt humble to command,
Thomas Candiſh.

The worthy and famous voyage of Maſter Thomas Candiſhe

made round about the globe of the earth, in the ſpace of two yeeres

and leſſe then two monethes, begun in the yeere. 1586.

THe worſhipful and worthy gentleman Maſter Thomas Candiſh of Suffolke hauing in the yeere 1585. furniſhed out a ſhip wherein he went as Captaine with ſir Richard Greeneuill to Virginia, in which courſe he paſſed by the Canaries, and ſo to the Iſles of Dominica, Hiſpaniola, Saint Iohn de Porto ricco, the Lucaios, and Florida in the weſt Indies, thus fleſhed and ſomewhat hardened vnto the Sea, immediatly after his comming home began to take in hand a voyage into the South ſea, and conſequently round about the globe of the world, which he alſo perfoꝛmed with inuincible courage, with great good gouernement, and incredible celeritie, to the great admiration of all men of iudgement. Hauing therefoꝛe at his owne pꝛoper coſt new built from the keele and furnyſhed with all thinges neceſſarie foꝛ two yeeres pꝛouiſion a hyaue ſhippe called the Deſire of a hundꝛed and foꝛtie, and a leſſer of threeſcoꝛe tunnes whoſe name was the Content, ioyning thereunto a Barke of 40. tunnes named the Hugh gallant, in which ſmall fleete were ſixe ſcoꝛe and fiue men, The 1. day of June 1586. he departed from London and came to Harewich, and ſayled from thence the 29. of the ſame moneth. He arriued at Plimmouth the 8. day of July, from whence he ſet ſayle the 21. thereof. Thus he proceeded on his voyage vntill the 25. day, at which time one Maſter Hope dyed which had bene grieuouſly wounded a litle befoꝛe he went to Sea. The 26. day wee met with foure great Biſkaine ſhippes on which we beſtowed eighteene great ſhot and ſhꝛewdly toꝛe that ſixt ſhip which we in the Admiral aſſayled: but we left her and the others, leſt we ſhould looſe the reſt of our conſoꝛts, being nine of the clocke at night.

June the 10. 1586.

He departed from Plimmouth the 21. of July.

Auguſt. The 5. day of Auguſt we fell with the Iſlands of Forteuentura, & ſayled thence to cape Blank, and ſo to the coaſt of Guinea vnto a harboꝛough called Sierra Leona, where hauing conference with the Negroes we fell at variance, ſo that threeſcoꝛe of our men went on ſhoare, and dꝛaue them from their towne, and ſacked their houſes, and burnt their dwellings. And the 29. of the ſame moneth we departed from them, where going fiue leagues from the place we came to an Iland called Inſula Verde, where we found plantans, and other fruites, and freſh water, being an Iſland of the Negroes but bandyte.

September. The firſt of September we burned here ſome 150. houſes becauſe of their bad dealing with vs and al Chriſtians: in this place we redeemed a Poꝛtingal whom by treaſon they had caught and held in very miſerable captiuitie. The 13. day we went from thence: the 30. we paſſed the Equinoctiall lyne.

October. Nouember. Thus we ſayled foꝛth vntill the 25. of October, at which time we came to the continent of Braſil, and coſting along vntill the end of that moneth, the firſt of Nouember we ankered vnder an Iſland called Saint Sebaſtians, where we road three and twenty daies betweene the mayne and it. There we ſtoꝛed our ſelues with freſh water and fuell, and built a newe pinneſſe of tenne tunnes. On the nynth day dyed one Robert Smith of the diſeaſe called Scurbuto, which is an infection of the blood and the liuer.

December. The 23. of Nouember we left this Iſland. On the firſt of December dyed one Robert Tates of the diſeaſe afoꝛeſayd: and ſo coſting along vntill the 16. of this moneth wee diſcouered an harboꝛough which we named the Poꝛt of Deſire, according to our ſhips name, being almoſt as bigge as the haboꝛough of Plimmouth: In this place we had gulles, puets, pengupns, and ſeales in aboundance to all our comfoꝛts and great refreſhing: this Poꝛt is ſomewhat on this ſide of Poꝛt Saint Iulian. And ſayling from this harboꝛough toward the Streights, befoꝛe wee came to the entrance thereof, we eſpied certaine pooꝛe ſtarued Spanyards trauayling ouer land toward the riuer of Plate: whereof we tooke one into our ſhip of whom we vnderſtood that of both the two Colonies planted in the ſtraight of Magelan by Pedro Sarmiento there were but 22. men onely left aliue, all the reſt being vtterly periſhed foꝛ hunger, to the number of ſome thꝛee hundꝛed perſons.

The poꝛt of Deſire.

January 1587. On the firſt day of January we put into the Streight of Magelan, and on the 8. we came vnto two Iſlands named by Sir Fraunces Drake the one Bartholomewe Iſland, becauſe he came thither on that Saints day, and the other Penguin Iſland, on which we powdꝛed thꝛee tunnes of Penguins foꝛ the victualing of our ſhippes: and on the 9. day we came vnto a towne of the Spanyardes erecting in March 1584. called by them the Citie of King Philippe, but by vs the

the Towne of famine, because we euidently sawe the inhabitants, all sauing the aforesayde 22. had bene most miserably starued: we tooke away with vs sixe pieces of their ordinance, whereof three were brasse, and three were yron, and were glad to hasten from this place for the most noysome stench and vile sauour wherewith it was infected through the contagon of the Spaniards pined and dead carkeises.

The towne of king Philip in 5 straights ruined and abandoned.

Thus sayling through the Straights, the 20. day of Januarie in the midway we espied Sauages of a reasonable stature, and went to them, and conferred with them: but such was their brutishnes and their trecherie, that they would haue betrayed vs vnder the shewe of amitie: but we espying their treason gaue the first onset, and euery shot of vs chose his man, and by that meanes slewe some, and hurt more, the rest escaped. So hauing many slawes of Southerly and Southwesterly winde, we were kept within the Straights vntill the 23. of Februarie.

Trecherous Sauages in 5 Straights of Magelan.

Februarie.

The same day we passed out of the Straights into the Sea called by Magelan, Mare pacificum, the peaceable or the calme Sea: Thus we plyed vp along the coast of Chili by the Iland of La mocha, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of 38. degrees vntill the 14. of March, where we rid vnder an Iland called Sancta Maria, on which Iland we landed 80. men armed in the morning betimes, and there came vnto vs the Countrey people which intreated our Generall very well, and presented him with many sortes of meates: for there we had at our commandement Spanish wheate, potatos, hogs, hens, dryed dogfish, and diuers other good things, to our contentment.

Chili.

March.

The 20. day we departed thence, running along vntill the 28. which day being at the Sea, we felt an earthquake in the latitude of 33. we were put into a Bay called the Bay of Quintera on the 30. of this moneth, where the first of April we had ten of our men slaine, and two taken captiues by the Spaniards: which great misfortune light vpon our men through their great reachlesnesse and want of circumspection, being suddenly surprised by the enemie when they little thought of him. But on the third day of the same moneth the Hugh went foorth to Seaward, and found an Iland hauing great store of Pellicanes & Penguyns vpon it, whereof they brought good store vnto vs: and so furnishing our selues here with fresh water, which we tooke in despite of them all, we left them and their cruell Harborough, and put out of the Bay the fifth of April.

The Bay of Quintera.

April.

Thus ranging along, we haled in with a Porte called Mormorano, where we found a canoa and an Indian in it which was fishing, and had caught a very large Tony wherewith he presented vs, and in our conference with him, he shewed vs their Towne which was base and rude, but their gouernment and behauiour very strange: for when any of them dyeth they bury all his goods and stuffe with him, as hookes, nets, canoa, and other trifles. So sayling along that shore, one of our shippes called the Content, entred into a Bay, where a great deale of wine of Castilia was buried in Botisios in the sand, to the quantitie of some three hundreth tunnes, wherewith she laded her selfe hauing lost our companie, but they found vs againe at a Towne called Arica, where they gaue vs of their wine. In this Harborough we found a great ship, and foure Barks, which we tooke and kept vntill such time as wee had taken out of them the best things for our owne prouision: then we burned them all sauing one Barke which wee kept, and named it the George, because we tooke her on Saint George his day.

The Porte of Mormorano.

Arica.

A great ship and 4. Barks taken & burnt.

The 25. day of April we went from Arica, sayling to the Seawards all night, and in the morning we espied a small Barke, and manning our Pinnesse, wee tooke her, wherein were three Spaniards, one Greeke, and one Dutch man: being examined, they confessed that they came from the Bay of Quintera, where we lost our foresayd twelue men, and that their intent was to goe for Lima to giue aduise to the Viceroy for to prouide force to cut vs off: but their pretence through Gods mercifull prouidence was preuented: one of these Spaniards was a reasonable Pilot for those Seas. Thus we continued our course alongst the coast of Peru vntill the fourth day of May, vpon which day our Spanish Pilote led vs into a Bay called Pisca, where wee would haue gone on shoare, but the Sea was so growen that we could not: yet on the Southermost side of the Bay there was a Village called Paraca, where seuen of our men went on land and found figs, pomegranates, and pomegranate wine.

The Barke of aduise taken.

May.

Pisca Bay.

Paraca a village.

And on the sixt of May we went from Paraca, and in our course we descried to Seaward two sayles, and gaue them chase, and tooke them: the one was laden with meale and marmalade, the other with marchants goods, as sayes of diuers sortes and colours, castle or white sope, a kinde of nease called garuansaes, cordouan skins, montego de porco, which is hogs grease clarified or refined, and molassos or sirroyt of sugar, beanes, and one or two thousand hens aliue: Hereupon we gate vs into a Bay called Cheripa, where we laded our ships with part of these commodities,

Two shippes taken.

The Bay of Cheripa.

ties, and burnt the rest ships and all, hauing put the men that were in them on land, and departed from thence the tenth of May. Thus sayling forwarde wee haled into a Bay called Payto, where we tooke a Barke vnrigged & landed three score men, and tooke the Towne, out of which we draue about three hundreth persons which fled with bag and baggage, whome we pursued so fast, that they were forced to leaue their lodings behinde them: In the ende we set their Towne on fire, because they sought not to redeeme the same. And because wee found small store of treasure here, we came away the same night. On the second of May we went to the Iland of Puna, where we trimmed our ships and refreshed our men, though somewhat to our costes: for on the second day of June our men thinking themselues to be sure and safe ynough, foure score of an hundreth Spaniards, with two hundreth Indians (for there was a Towne of Indians in the Iland bigger then Graueseend) set vpon fifteene or sixteene of our men being halfe a sleepe and halfe awake, & slew fiue or sixe, and tooke two or three of them before any supply could come vnto them: at the comming whereof they all ran away like greyhounds, our men for reuenge burnt their Towne, and spoyled their fieldes and gardens, but first wee tooke the fruites of the Iland, as goats, hogs, hennes, figs, oranges, limons, besides other wholsome herbes in great quantitie. So after we had trimmed our Fleete wee came away: but for a farewell wee first set foure of their shippes on fire, whereof one was two hundreth tunnes, the rest an hundreth a piece, being all vpon the stocks in building: we also fired another of foure hundreth tunnes called the great Saint Luce riding before the Towne to be mended, because they haue neuer another so good a place to bring their shippes on ground as that is, on all the coast of Peru.

The Bay of Payto.

The towne of Payto burnt.

The Iland of Puna.

June.

The towne in the Ile of Puna burnt.

Fiue great ships burned.

After we had taken in fresh water we went from thence the 11. day of June, and the 12. day we passed the Equinoctiall line, continuing our course Northward all that moneth: About the beginning of July as we ranged along the backside of Noua Hispania neere vnto Guatimala (where there is an hill that burneth continually) we espied a newe shippe of 200. tunnes, wherein were two Spaniards, two Passillians, two Venetians, and one Fleming: in which shippe was little or nothing but her balast, we tooke her sayles, and ropes, and fire wood to serue our turns, set her on fire and kept the men, of which number we brought one called Michael Sancius a Pilot into England. On the next day we tooke another shippe, the men being escaped with their boate on land, which after wee had taken certaine victuals out of her, wee also set on fire: This was the shippe of Aduiso to giue warning of vs, sent from Lima to the coast of Noua Hispania.

They double the Equinoctiall line.

Another ship taken & burnt.

The second ship of Aduiso taken & burnt.

The 28. of July we came to the Porte of Aguatulco, in which we found a shippe laden with cacaos, a fruite like almonds much esteemed in those parts, and taking the spoyle thereof, we set the shippe and Towne on fire for company: the people ranne away at the sight of our little Pinnesse, our shippes lying three leagues off at that time: There were some foure score houses in this Towne being an Hauen that belongeth to Mexico. In this place we had great store of pitch, which stood vs in great stead for our shippes, and some quantitie of wine of Castilia as they call it.

The Towne of Aguatulco burnt.

August.

The fourth day of August we departed from this place, and comming foorth wee tooke a shee tortoyse, which had aboue foure hundreth and odde egs in her, which egs we eate and found them to be good meate. The 13. of August we fell with an Hauen of Noua Hispania called Puerto de Natiuidad, about the latitude of 19. degrees, where we had conference with foure Indians, and there we tooke the Poste of Aduiso that ranne by land on foote, whose boyse wee slewe and tooke him prisoner. Wee burnt two shippes of two hundreth tunnes the piece, which were in building in the harborough: And sixe leagues from thence there was a litle Iland or rocke replenished with abundance of birds, whereof we gate good store to our great refreshing: there were also innumerable sort of parrots as big as hens: and in another Hauen hard by, called Puerto de Saint Iago, we dragged for pearles, and tooke some store. The third day of September we came away hauing newe trimmed our Pinnesse, which was wonderfull leake with wormes. The eight day of the same we came into a Bay called the Bay of Compostella, where our men went two leagues vp into the Countrey early in the morning, and tooke a Spaniarde and his wife, a Raguslean and his wife, with an Indian and his wife, and brought them away vnto our Generall, who set the women at libertie, and they redeemed their husbands with fruites, as plantans, mameias, pineapples, oranges, and limons, of all which is great abundance, as the Spaniarde sayd, tanto como tierra as great plentie as there is of earth. On the 12. of September wee came to an Iland two leagues from thence called S. Andrew, where we had foules, and seales, and guanos, of which we made very good victuall: howbeit they would scarcely take salt but for one night and a day only. The 16. of the same moneth wee came vnto a Bay called Massalan, where

Port de Natiuidad.

The third port of Aduiso by land taken.

Two shippes more burnt.

Port de Saint Iago.

September.

The Bay of Compostella.

Fifty prisoners taken on the land.

The Ile of S. Andrew.

The Bay of Massalan.

where we had fruite and fiſh, but were in great danger of our enemies: Wee trauerſed from thence vnto the Southermoſt cape of California, where bearing vp and downe we diſcouered a Port called by the Spaniards Agua Segura, and found good ſtore of freſh water: we lay off & on of this cape vntill the fourth of Nouember, on which day in the morning wee eſpied the goodly ſhippe comming from the Philippinas called Saint Anna the great, being of ſeuen hundreth tunnes: we chaſed her vntill noone, ſo fetching her vp, we gaue them fight to the loſſe of twelue or fourteene of their men, and the ſpoyle and hurt of many more of them, whereupon at laſt they yeelded vnto vs: In this conflict we loſt onely two of our men. So on the ſixt of the ſame Nouember we went into the Port of Agua Segura, where wee ankered and put nine ſcore priſoners on land: and ranſacking the great ſhippe, wee laded our owne two ſhippes with fourtie tunnes of the chiefeſt marchandiſe, and burnt all the reſt aſwell ſhippe as goods, to the quantitie of ſixe hundreth tunnes of rich marchandiſe, becauſe we were not able to bring it away: This was one of the richeſt veſſels that euer ſayled on the Seas, and was able to haue made many hundreths wealthie, if we had had meanes to haue brought it home.

Puerto de Agua Segura.

Nouember.

The great S. Anna taken, rifled & burnt.

Nine ſcore Spaniſh priſoners put on land.

At length hauing furniſhed our ſelues with water & wood, and made vs ready for the Sea, we ſet ſayle the twentie of Nouember & came away. From Cape California, we ſhaped our courſe toward the Ilands of the Ladrones, and by the prouidence of God wee came vnto them in two and fourtie dayes, the diſtance being three and twentie hundreth leagues: The firſt Iland of the Ladrones where we touched is called Guana, the inhabitants are theeuiſh and trecherous: they met vs at Sea three leagues off in ſmall canoas, admirable for behoulde for their ſwiftneſſe in ſayling, with which people wee had ſome traffike vntill the euening, and ſo wee left them directing our courſe vnto the Ilands of the Philippinas vntill the fourteenth of Januarie, on which day we fell with an Iland called Tadaia: and from thence we paſſed by the Iland of Luçon or Manilla, vntill we came to an Iland called Capul, where wee had hens, hogs, potatos, cocos, and other fruites for traffike with the Indians, making our abode there vntill the 24. of the ſame Januarie. Then proceeding on our voyage through the infinite nombers of Ilands towards thoſe rich Ilands of Maluco, we paſſed by Mindanao, which is the laſt Iland that the Spaniards inhabite that way: So we ranne betweene Cebele or Batachina and Borneo vntill the twelfth day of Februarie.

The Ilandes of Ladrones 2300. leagues from Cape California.

Ianuary 1588

Capul an Iland.

Februarie.

And on the 28. and laſt of the ſame we put through betweene the Straights of Iaua maior, and Iaua minor, and ankered vnder the Southweſt part of Iaua maior, where the inhabitants being Geneiles brought vnto vs hennes, geeſe, hens egges, ducke egges, becues, buffes, melons, plantans, and an hundreth ſortes of fruites moſt ſtrange and wonderfull for greatneſſe and goodneſſe, euen whole tuncks full being a kinde of barks made like vnto our barges: Theſe people did intreate vs wonderfull well, and came as duely to traffike with vs in our ſhip as wee doe in our markets and ſhoppes, and brought from their King diuers preſents to our Generall, and caried diuers rich gifts from our Generall to their King: The King ſent many of his kinſmen and chiefe Courtiers a ſhipboyde to entertaine him, being men of very good behauiour: they ſit croſſe legged, they would faine haue had our General come to their Kings chiefe towne, becauſe he was not well able to come downe vnto our ſhippe being a man of great age, and as they reported, very neere an hundreth and fiftie yeeres olde, but our Generall excuſed himſelfe and that with reaſon: For hee would haue ſent his ſonne in his owne ſteade, but that hee was at warre againſt another King in the Iland their enemie: This olde Kings name was Raia Bolamboam.

Iaua maior.

Our verie good entertainement at Iaua maior.

Raia Bolamboam King of Iaua.

The 16. of March we ſet ſayle from Iaua maior toward the Cape of Bona Speranza: and on the 11. day of May we fell with the land of Aethiopia, neere vnto a place called Capo falſo, being thirtie and odde leagues from the Cape of Bona Speranza. And on the 19. of May wee had ſight of the Cape of Bona Speranza, which is the promontorie that all trauailers deſire to double.

March.

May.

The ſeuenth of June wee fell with the Iſlande of Saint Helena, and on the eight day wee ankered vnder it, where wee continued twelue dayes, finding it a place to our great contentment: for there we had goats, hogs, figs, oranges, limons, pomegranates, and many wholſome herbes for the gathering: But he that will haue of the cattell muſt trauaile a mile and an halfe vp into the ſteepie mountaine to kill them: we found a Church and thirtie or fourtie houſes builded to lodge the Portingales, in their comming from the Eaſt Indies: There was one only baniſhed man there which liued as an Hermite, but hee was dead before our arriuall. The twenty of June we departed from the Iland of Saint Helena ſhaping our courſe from thence for England.

June.

Our men ſtaye 12. dayes in the Iland of S. Helena.

The

July. The fourth of July 1588. we passed the equinoctiall line, which was the fourth time that we had trauersed the same in this our iourney. The 24. day of August wee had sight of two Ilands of ꝑ Asores the one called Flores, the other Coruo, and directed our way from them for the Lisard vntill the third of September, at which time we espied a Flemish Hulke that came from Portingale, which tolde vs the ioyful newes of our Fleets good successe against the huge armie of the Spaniards. And on the fift day we met with a ship of Southhampton, which had taken a Brasilian prise, whose Captaine informed vs at large of the trueth of that which had passed: We tooke some refreshing of them, which was recompensed with treble curtesie, and so entred into the narrow Seas where we had as terrible a night as euer men endured: for all our sayles were blowen quite away: but making as good shift as we could with certaine olde sayles wee had within borde, on the next morning being the ninth of September 1588. like wearied men through the fauour of the Almightie, we gate vnto Plymmouth: where the Townes men receiued vs with all humanitie. In this voyage we burnt twentie sayles of Spanish shippes, besides diuers of their Townes and Villages.

August.

September.

Their arriuall at Plymmouth the 9. of September

Written by N. H.

The names of the Kings or Princes of Iaua at the time of our *English mens being there.*

Raia	Donaw.	Raia	Tymbanton.
Raia	Rabacapala.	Raia	Mawgbange.
Raia	Bacabatra.	Raia	Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of Iaua, learned *and obserued by our men there.*

Sabuck, silke.	Gula, blacke sugar.
Sagu, bread of the Countrey.	Tadon, a woman.
Larnike, drinke.	Bebeck, a ducke.
Paree, ryce in the huske.	Aniange, a deere.
Braas, sodden ryce.	Popran, oyntment.
Calapa, coquos.	Coar, the head.
Cricke, a dagger.	Endam, raine.
Catcha, a looking glasse.	Ionge, a shippe.
Arbo, an oxe.	Chay, the sea.
Vados, a goate.	Sapelo, ten in number.
Cabo, golde.	Dopolo, twentie.
Gardange, a plantine.	Treda, no.
Hiam, a henne.	Lau, vnderstand you.
Seuit, linnen cloth.	Bayer, goe.
Doduck, blewe cloth.	Adadizano, I will fetch it.
Totopps, one of their caps.	Suda, ynough.

Certaine notes or references taken out of the large Mappe of *China, brought home by Master Thomas* Candish. 1588.

The great kingdome of the Mogores, is vpon the Northwest and fals vpon Tanassacin beyond Mallaca, and ioynes vpon Bengala: they are men of warre, and vse no sight but on horsebacke, they goe in their apparel like Portingales.

2 A City wherein is Captaine a Chinian, a man very deformed, hauing vnder him many men of warre: he maketh warre both against the Tartarians, and the Mogores lying betweene them, and lyeth without the circuite of the wall.

3 Certaine hils beyond which the Tartarians do inhabite, who heretofore were great friends with the Chinians, and now mainteine continual warres against them, so great that sometimes there

there are ſlayne in a battaile, 100000. of men adioyning vpon Moſcouie: and they haue in their warres all kinde of armour.

4 The prouince of Canſas hath 4. great cities, and twentie ſmall cities, and 77. townes and Caſtles: it containeth in length, 55. leagues: it hath 362000. houſes of great men that pay tribute, and 13900. men of warre: and hath 47000. horſes which are the kings, kept for his defence.

5 The great citie of Paquyn where the king doth lye, hath belonging to it 8. great cities, and 18. ſmall cities with 118. townes and Caſtles, it hath 418789. houſes of great men which pay tribute: it hath horſemen for the warre, 258100. This citie is in the latitude of 50. degrees to the Northwards, being there as colde as it is vſually in Flanders.

6 The great citie of Canton, wherein are many men of warre, to keepe that paſſage from the Tartars.

7 The prouince of Soychin, hath 7. great cities, and 16. ſmall: with 12. townes, and Caſtles, and one great citie, to which many doe repayre to fight againſt the Tartars. It hath ſeuenteene leagues in length: and hath 164118. great houſes which pay tribute, and 96000. men of warre.

8 The prouince of Santo, hath 6. great cities, and 14. ſmall, with 90. Townes, and Caſtles: It is 82. leagues long, and hath 77555. great houſes which pay tribute 63808. horſemen, and 31000. footemen of warre.

9 The prouince of Oyman hath 7. great cities, and 13. ſmall, and 90. Townes, and Caſtles being 470. leagues long, and 132958. great houſes that pay tribute: 82800. men of warre. out of this citie commeth Copper, quickſiluer, and blacke leade.

10 The prouince Cutchew hath 8. great Cities, and 12. ſmall, and 83. Townes, which make armour to fight in the lawes, which do inhabite beyond Cauchin china: It is 100. leagues broade, and hath 32920. horſemen, and footemen, with 405670. great houſes which pay tribute, whereof the men of warre are payde.

11 The prouince of Languyn, hath 14. great cities and ſeuenteene ſmall, and 95. Townes, and Caſtles, it is 120. leagues ouer, and hath 962818. great houſes which pay tribute: it hath 208900. men of warre, whereof there are 52500. Tartar horſemen that take wages.

12 The prouince of Vquam hath fourteene great Cities, and 19. ſmall, 150. Townes and Caſtles, and is 210. leagues broade, and 53161. houſes that pay tribute, and 71600. men of warre.

13 The prouince of Som hath 7. great cities, and 11. ſmall, and 105. townes and caſtles, and is 200. leagues broade, and houſes that pay tribute 139567. and men of warre. 345632.

14 The prouince of Eſtiran hath 11. great cities and 75. ſmall, and 80. townes, and caſtels, and is 440. leagues broade, and great houſes that doe pay tribute 1242135. and 339000. men of warre.

15 This lake lieth behinde Siam, and before Champa, and doeth ioyne with the Lappians, and from thence comes all the water that ſerues the kingdome of China, and the Indians of the Chinians doe report this lake to bee the whole worlde, and ſo they paynt the ſea, the moone, and the ſtarres within it.

16 The prouince of Canſay hath 13. cities, and a chiefe citie, and 73. Townes and Caſtles, and is 260. leagues broade, and hath great houſes that pay tribute, 1393629. and 12700. men of warre.

17 The prouince of Cuauſa hath 12. great cities, and 53. ſmall, and 51. townes and Caſtles: it is 260. leagues broad, and hath great houſes that pay tribute, 1306390. and men of warre both footemen, and horſemen, 100100.

18 The prouince of Vanam hath fourteene great cities, and 36. ſmall and 34. townes and caſtles, and is 88. leagues broade, 589296. great houſes that pay tribute, and 15100. men of warre.

19 The prouince of Suckin hath eight great cities, and one principall citie, and 54. townes, and Caſtles, and two great Cities of Garrizon, to keepe watch vpon the Iapons, and is 200. leagues broade, and hath, 5009532. great houſes that pay tribute, and 4003225. men of the kings garde.

20 The prouince of Canton hath fourtie great cities, and ſeuen ſmall, and 77. townes and Caſtles, and a Citie that putteth foorth hundreds of ſhippes for the keeping of Cachew: China is 380. leagues in breadth and hath, 483383. great houſes which pay tribute, and 39400 men of warre.

21 The

21 The Citie Champa standeth in fouretenne degrees to the Northwarde of the Equinoctiall.

22 The port of Cochin China, standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees and a halfe to the Northward.

23 The prouince of Enam, hath 7. great Cities, and 13. small, and 90 townes and Castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great houses that pay tribute, & 15100. souldiers.

Horsemen	Footemen
454728.	7459057.

The totall summe.
7923785.

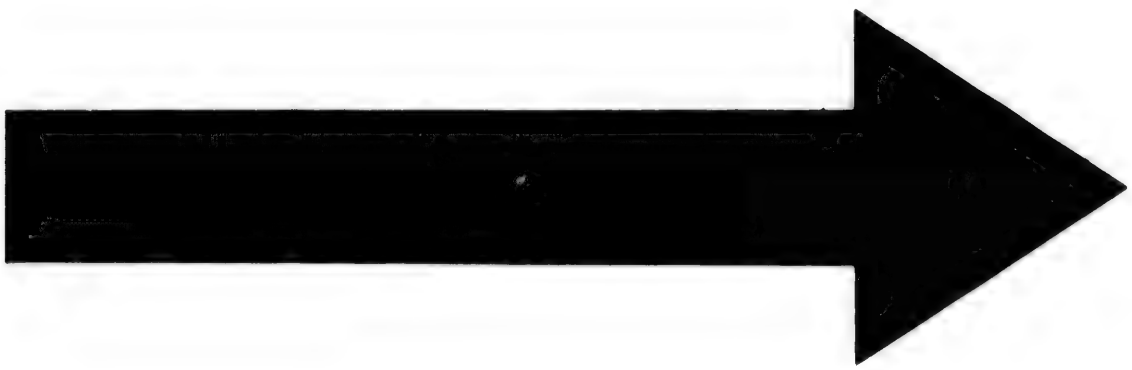
An assignement from Sir Walter Raleigh, to diuers Gentlemen, *and Merchants of London, for the inhabiting, and planting* of our people in Virginia.

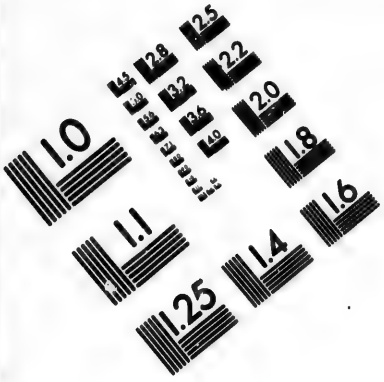
THis Indenture made the 7. of March, in the 31. yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of of the fayth &c. betweene the right worshipfull Sir Water Raleigh, of Colaton Raleigh, in the county of Deuon knight, Lord warden of the Stanarie, and chiefe gouernour of Assamacomock alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia on the one partie, and Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklyn, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, merchants of London, and aduenturers to Virginia aforesayd, John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Samson, Thomas Steeuens, Roger Prat, Dionise Haruie, John Nichols, Humfrey Dimmocke, late of London gentlemen, of the other partie, witnesseth, that where Sir Water Raleigh knight by vertue of the Queenes Maiesties letters patents dated at Westminster, the 25. day of Marche, in the 26. yeere of her highnes raigne, vnto him the sayd Sir Water Raleigh, by the name of her Maiesties trustie, and welbeloued seruant, Water Raleigh Esquire, granted for the discouering, finding out, and planting of vnknowen and remote landes and countries, as by the sayd letters pattents at large doeth, and may more plainely appeare: hath by this indenture of graunt bearing date after the computation of England the 7. day of Januarie in the yere of our Lorde God 1587. and in the 29. yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, made betwixt him the said Sir Water Raleigh knight of the one partie, and John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thoman Steeuens, William Fulwood, Roger Prat, Dionise Haruie, John Nichols, George Howe, James Plat, and Simon Ferdinando of London Gentlemen of the other partie, graunted vnto the said John White, Roger Baylye, and the rest, free libertie to carrie with them into the late discouered barbarous lande, and countrie called Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia, there to inhabite with them, such, and so many of her Maiesties subiects, as shall willingly accompany them, together with sufficient shipping and furniture for the same, and also diuers, and sundrie other prerogatiues, iurisdictions, royalties, and preheminences, as in, and by the said indenture of graunt, it doeth, and may more at large also appeare: Nowe the sayde Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Baylye, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerarrd, Robert Macklin, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others, aduenturers as aforesayde purposing, and intending to be made free of the corporation, companie, and societie lately made by the sayd Sir Walter Ralegh, in the citie of Ralegh, intended to be erected & builded in Asamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesaid, as by his said indenture made to the said John White, Roger Bayly, & the rest more at large it doth appeare, do vpon ẏ sealing, effecting, & confirmation of these patents aduenture diuers & sundry sums of money, marchandises, shiping, munition, victual, and other commodities, into the said forraine and remote country

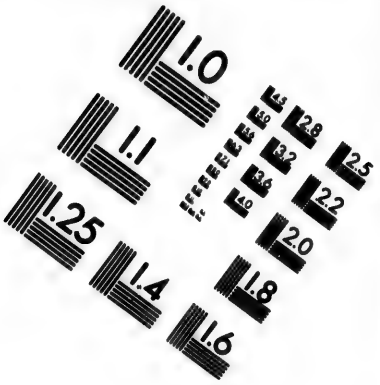
of

of Assamacomock alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesayde: in consideratio whereof which aduenture, as also for diuers, and sundry other good causes, and considerations him the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh thereunto especially moving, The sayd Sir Walter Raleigh hath giuen, graunted, couenanted and promised, and by these presents for himselfe, his heyres, and assignes and euery of them, doth giue, graunt, couenant, and promise, to & with the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuil, Thomas Harding, Walter Parler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Packlyn, Richard Haklupt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others aduenturers aforesayde, and vnto, and with the sayd John White, Roger Bayly, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Sanson, Thomas Steeuens, Roger Pyat, Dionise Harue, John Nichols, Humfrey Dimmocke, and euery of them, their heyres, and assignes, and the heyres, and assignes of euery of them, and their, and euery of their Deputies, Factors, or Apprentises, who shall serue them, or any of them by the space of seuen yeeres, that they, and euery, or any of them, shall from time to time and at all times for euer haue free trade, and traffique for all manner of Marchandise, or commodities whatsoeuer, vnto, in, and from all that part of America, called Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesayde, or vnto, or from any other part, or countrie, of, or in America aforesayde, where hee the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh his heyres or Assignes, or any other person or persons claiming or pretending any manner of right, title, or interest, or which hereafter shall or may claime, or pretend any right, title, or interest, by, from, or vnder him the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh, hath, chalengeth, claymeth, or may or shall hereafter, haue, chaleng, or clayme any interest, iurisdiction, title, rule, or priuiledge, by any conueiance, or discouerie heretofore made, or hereafter to be made, or by any other way or meanes whatsoeuer. And further the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh, as well for, and in especiall regard, and zeale of planting the christian religion, in, and amongst the sayde barbarous and heathen countries, and for the aduancement and preferment of the same, and the common vtilitie and profite of the inhabitants therein, as also for the incouragement of the sayde Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Parler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Packlin, Richard Haklupt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, John White, John Nichols, and the other Assistants nowe lying in Virginia, and others aduenturers aforesayde, their heirs, and assignes, doth by these presents, freely, and liberally dispose, and giue vnto them, the sayd Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, and the rest aforesayde, the summe of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, to bee by them aduentured and disposed, in, and amongst other their aduentures vnto the places, and countries before mentioned, To haue, holde, occupie, vse, employ, possesse, enioy, and dispose, as well the sayde summe of 100. pound, giuen as aforesayd, as also all such gayne, profite, commoditie, aduantage and increase, as they by Gods assistance, shall thereof make to their onely vses and behooles, and to the vses and behooles of the seuerall heyres, executors, and Assignes of them and euery of them, without rendring any account for the same, or any parcel thereof, to the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh, his heires, executors or assignes, or any of them. And the said Sir Walter Raleigh, for himselfe his heyrs, and assignes, and euery of them, doth further couenant, and graunt, to, and with the sayde Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Parler, and the rest aforesayde, and to, and with the sayde John White, Roger Bayly, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thoman Steeuens, Roger Pyat, Dionise Harue, John Nichols, and Hmfrie Dymmock, and the heyres, and assignes of them, and euery of them by these presents, to discharge, saue and keepe harmeless, from time to time, and at all times for euer, them, and euery of them, their seuerall heyres, and assignes, and euery of them, and the deputies, factors and seruants of them, and euery of them, and apprentises of them, and euery or any of them, who shall serue them or any of them the space of seuen yeeres, of, and from all rents, subsidies, customs, toles, taxes, tallages, and all other charges, seruices, duetties, and demaunds, whatsoeuer required or demaunded, or to be required or demanded, at any time or times hereafter, or for the trading, or transporting any commoditie or profite, into or from the sayde countrie of Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesayde, or any other countrey in America aforesayde, whereunto, or wherein, the sayde Sir Walter Raleigh, his heyres, or assignes, hath or may or shall haue any interest, right or title, by vertue of the sayde letters patents, or by any discouerie, or other meanes whatsoeuer, or for any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoeuer: the first part

of







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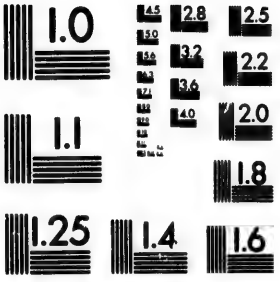

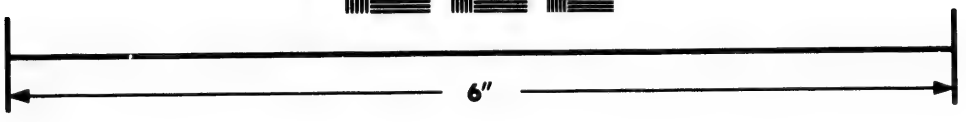

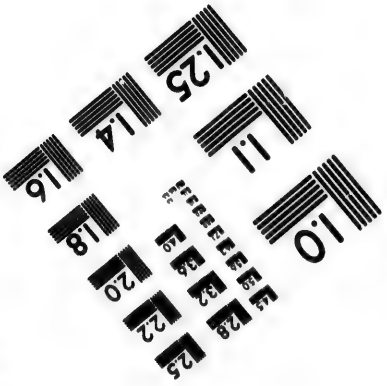

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of all the oare of golde, and ſiluer that from time to time, and at all times after ſuch diſcouerie, ſubduing and poſſeſſing as aforeſaide, ſhalbe there gotten, and obtained (alwaies reſerued to the vſe of the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh his heyres, and aſſignes) onely excepted, and foreprized. And the ſayd Sir Walter Raleigh doeth further couenant, and graunt by theſe preſents for him, his heyres, and aſſignes, to and with the ſayd Thomas Smith, William Sanderſon, and the reſt aforeſayd their heiresse aſſignes, that he the ſaid ſir Walter Raleigh, his heyres, or aſſignes, vpon ſufficient & reaſonable requeſt made to him by the perſons aforeſayd, or any of them, their heires, or aſſignes, ſhal and wil at any time, or times hereafter, ratifie, affirme, and approue by his deede, or deedes, or by any other conueiance, or conueiances in lawe, the corporation heretofore made by him the ſayde Sir Walter Raleigh, conſiſting of one Gouernour, and twelue aſſiſtants, as by his ſayd Indenture made to John White and others, more plainely both appeare, for the more perfect, and better aſſurance, and ſure making of the ſaide corporation, if any imperfection, and want in law thereof bee. And further, that hee the ſayde Sir Walter Raleigh, his heyres, and aſſignes, ſhall, and will, as much as in him or them lieth, procure, and indeuour to obtaine, the Queenes maieſties letters patents, for ratification, approbation, and more ſure confirmation, of the ſayde corporation, and ſocietie with al prerogatiues, commodities, iuriſdictions, royalties, priuiledges, and preheminences, whatſoeuer graunted, and cõueied by her Maieſtie, to the ſaide Sir Walter Raleigh, his heires or aſſignes, or by him the ſayd Sir Walter Raleigh, to the ſaid John white, and others, as by his ſaid indenture of graunt made to the ſayde John White, and others more plainely appeareth. In witneſſe whereof, the parties to theſe preſents, haue hereunto interchangeably put their hands, and ſeales, the day and yeere firſt aboue written.

A briefe remembrance, for want of further aduertiſements as *yet, of a voyage made this preſent yeere,* 1589. *by* William Michelſon Captaine, and William Mace of Ratliffe, Maſter of a ſhippe called the Dogge, to the bay of Mexico in the Weſt India.

THe foreſaide ſhippe called the Dogge, of the burden of threeſcore and ten tunnes was furniſhed, and armed forth with the number of 40. men: it departed from the coaſt of England in the moneth of May, directly for the weſt India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with diuers Spaniſh ſhips at ſundry times, whereof three fell into her lappes, and were forced to yeelde to the mercy of the Engliſhe the laſt that they met with in the Bay, was a Spaniſh man of warre, whome the Engliſh chaſed, and after three ſeuerall fightes, vpon three diuers dayes, preſſed him ſo farre, that he intreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was graunted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboorde the Engliſh. Where after conference about thoſe matters that had paſſed in fight betwixt them, they receiued reaſonable intertaynment and a quiet farewel. The Spaniſh, as if they had meant to requite the Engliſh curteſie, inuited our men to their ſhip, who perſwading themſelues of good meaning in the Spaniſh, went aboord: but honeſt and friendly dealing, was not their purpoſe, ſuddenly they aſſaulted our men, and one with a dagger ſtabbe the Engliſh pilot to the hart and ſlewe him, and others were ſerued with the like ſauce, only william Mace the Maſter, and two others, notwithſtanding all the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept ouer boorde into the ſea, and ſo came ſafe to their owne ſhippe: and directing his courſe for England, arriued at Plimmouth the 10. day of September laſt, laden with wines, yron, Roans which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the ariuall of the reſt of his conſorts, whereof one, and the principal, hath not long ſince obtayned his port. Thus much in generall termes onely, I haue as yet learned, and receiued touching this voyage, extracted out of letters ſent from the foreſayd William Mace, to Maſter Edward Wilkinſon of Toure Hill in London. My principall intention by this example, is to admoniſh our nation of circumſpection in dealing with that ſubtill enemie, and neuer to truſt the Spaniſh further, then that their owne ſtrength ſhalbe able to maſter them: for otherwiſe whoſoeuer ſhall through ſimplicitie truſt their curteſie, ſhall by trial taſte of their aſſured cruelitie.

The

The voyage ſet foorth by Maſter Iohn Newton, and Maſter Iohn *Bird Marchants of London to the kingdome and Citie of Benin in Affrica,* with a ſhip called the Richard of Arundell, and a pinneſſe in the yeere, 1588. briefely ſet downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foreſaid Marchants at the time of the ſhips firſt arriual at Plymmouth.

WOrſhipfull Sirs, the diſcourſe of our whole proceeding in this voyage, will aſke more time and a perſon in better health then I am at this preſent, ſo that I truſt you will pardon me, till my comming vp to you: in the meane time let this ſuffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coaſt of England with your good ſhip the Richard of Arundell and the pinneſſe, we held on our direct courſe towards our appointed port, and the 14. day of Februarie following we arriued in the hauen of Benin, where we found not water ynough to carrie the ſhip ouer the barre, ſo that we left her without in the road, and with the pinneſſe, and ſhip boate into which we had put the chiefeſt of our marchandiſe, we went vp the riuer to a place called Goto, where we arriued the 20. of Februarie, the foreſaid Goto being ꝑ neereſt place that we could come to by water, to goe for Benin. From thence we preſently ſent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arriuall, and of the cauſe of our comming thither: who returned to vs againe the 22. day with a noble man in their company to bring vs vp to the Citie, and with 200. Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23. day we deliuered our Marchandiſe to the Kinges Factor, and the fiue and twentith day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The ſixe and twentith day wee went to the Court to haue ſpoken with the King, which (by reaſon of a ſolemne feaſt then kept amongeſt them) we could not doe: but yet wee ſpake with his Viadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Chriſtians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who anſwered vs, that we ſhoulde haue all thinges to our deſire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

The firſt of March, we were admitted to the kings preſence, and he made vs the like curteous anſwere for our traffique: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foreſaid Viadore ſhewed vs one baſket of greene pepper, and another of dyie in the ſtalkes: we deſired to haue it plucked from the ſtalkes, and made cleane, who anſwered, that it would aſke time, but yet it ſhould be done: and that againſt another yeere it ſhould be in better readines, and the reaſon why we found it ſo vnprepared was, becauſe in this kinges time no Chriſtians had euer reſorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were ſent vs 12. baſkets, and ſo a little euery day vntil the 9. of March at which time we had made vpon 94. ſerons of pepper, and 28. Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin, our natures at this firſt time were ſo well acquainted with that climate, we fell all of vs into the diſeaſe of the feuer, whereupon the Captaine ſent me downe with thoſe goods which we already had received, to the reſt of our men at Goto, where being arriued, I found all the men of our pinneſſe ſicke alſo, and by reaſon of their weakenes not able to conuey the pinneſſe and goods downe to the place where our ſhip roade: but by good happe within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came vp from the ſhip, to ſee how all things ſtood with vs, ſo that I put the goods into the boate, and went downe towards the ſhip: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men dyed: namely, Maſter Benſon, the Cowper, the Carpenter, and 3. or 4. more, and my ſelfe was alſo in ſuch a weake ſtate that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I ſent vp Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men that were aboue to let them blood, if it were thought needefull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your ſonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempſteede very weake, who alſo dyed within two dayes after their comming thither. This ſorowful accident cauſed them with ſuch pepper and teeth, as they could then finde, ſpeedely to returne to the ſhippe, as by the Cargaſon will appeare: at their comming away the Viadore told them, that if they could or would ſtay any longer time, he would vſe all poſſible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common ſickneſs ſo increaſed, and continued amongſt vs all, that by the time our men which remayned were come aboorde, wee had ſo many ſicke, and dead of our company, that wee looked all for the ſame happe, and ſo thought to looſe both our Shippe, life, Countrie and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get vp our ankers, but yet at the laſt by the mercie of God hauing gotten them vp, but leauing our pinnace behind vs, we got to ſea, and ſet ſayle, which

was vpon the 13. of Aprill. After which by little and little our men began to gather vp their crums and to recouer some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Ilands of Cape Verde, and the mayne, we came to the Ilandes of the Açores vpon the 25. of July, where our men began a fresh to growe ill, and diuers dyed, among whom Samuell Dunne was one, and as many as remained liuing, were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so well out, by Gods good prouidence, that we mete with your shippe the Barke burre, on this side the Northcape, which did not onely keepe vs good company, but also lent vs 6. fresh men aboord, without whose helpe, we should surely haue tasted of many inconueniences. But by this good meanes, we are now at the last arriued in Plymmouth, this 9. day of September: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to command
Anthonie Ingram.

The most solemne, and magnificent coronation of Pheodore Iuanowiche, *Emperor of Russia &c. the* 10. *of Iune, in the yeere* 1584. *Seene*

Or Theodore.

and obserued by Master Ierom Horsey gentleman, and seruant to her Maiestie, a man of great trauell, and long experience in those partes: wherewith is also ioyned the course of his iourney ouer land from Mosco to Emden, the right place of which discourse, is immediatly after the Embassage of Sir Ierom Bowes, in the second part of this historie: which being fully printed, before this matter came to my hands, I am forced here to annexe it, least so rare a thing should be suppressed, and the diligent seruice of the foresaid gentleman not knowne as well as others of the same nature.

When the old Emperor Iuan Vasilewich dyed, (being about the 18. of Aprill, 1584. after our computation) in the Citie of Musko, hauing raigned 54. yeeres, there was some tumult, and vproare among some of the nobilitie, and comminaltie, which notwithstanding was quickly pacified. Immediatly the same night, the Prince Boris Fedorowich Godonoua, Knæz Iuan Fedorowich, Mesthis Slafsky, Knæz Iuan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich and Bodan Iaculewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefest in the Emperors Will, especially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third sonne, and was brother to the Empresse, who was a man very well liked of all estates, as no lesse worthy for his valure and wisedome, all these were appointed to dispose, and settle his sonne, Feodore Iuanowich, hauing one sworne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers whosoeuer. In the morning the dead Emperor was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangell, into a hewen sepulcre, very richly decked with vestures fit for such a purpose: and present Proclamation was made, (Emperor Feodore Iuanowich of all Russia &c.) Throughout all the Citie of Mosco, was great watch and ward, with souldyers, and gunners, good orders established, and officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and maintaine quietnes: to see what speede and pollicie was in this case vsed was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Mosko, great men of birth and accompt, were also presently sent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kasan, Nouogorode &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent vp. As vpon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were assembled, the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobilitie whatsoeuer: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation in the gouernement: but especially the terme, and time was agreed vpon for the solemnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time the Empresse, wife to the old Emperor, was with her child the Emperors sonne, Charewich Demetrie Iuanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, sent with her father Feodor Feodorowich Nagay, and that [illegible]med, being 6. Brothers, to a Towne called Owglets, which was giuen vnto her, and the young Prince her sonne, with all the landes belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sortes appointed, hauing allowance of apparel, iewels, dyet, horse &c. in ample maner belonging to the estate of a princesse. The time of mourning after their vse being expired, called Sorachyn, or sortie orderlie daies, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being vpon the 10 day of Iune, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeeres: at which time, Master Ierom Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperor comming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitan,

tan, Archbishops, Bishops, and cheefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Priestes garmentes vpon them, carying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperors Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperor with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaueshina, or Blessednes, where prayers, and seruice were vsed, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michaell the Archangell, and there also vsed the like prayers, and seruice: and from thence to our Ladie Church, Prechista, beeing their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chayre of maiestie placed, wherein his Auncestors vsed to sit at such extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and most riche and vnualuable garmentes put on him: beeing placed in this Princely seate, his nobilitie standing round about him in their degrees, his imperiall Crowne was set vpon his head by the Metropolitan, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Iustice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes also, by which he holdeth his kingdoms were set before him, & the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperor to minister true Iustice, to inioy with tranquillitie the Crowne of his auncestors, which God had giuen him, and vsed these words following.

Through the will of the almightie & without begining God which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of al things, by which wil, & working, he both liueth, & giueth life to man: that our only God which enspireth euery one of vs his only children with his word to discerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish vs to keepe the right Scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and the maintenance of vertue: and so the Metropolitan blessed and layd his crosse vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maiestie, hauing vpon him an vpper robe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwaies augmented in riches: it was in waight 200. pounds, the traine, and parts therof borne vp by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an vnicornes horne of 3. foot and a halfe in length beset with riche stones, bought of Marchants of Ausburge by the old Emperor in An. 1581. and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Iewel M. Horsey kept sometimes, before the Emperor had it. His scepter globe was caried before him by þ prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beset with rich stones & pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes also were caried by Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua, the Emperors vncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors vncle, Steuan Vasiliwich, Gregory Vasiliwich, Iuan Vasiliwich brothers, of the blood roiall. Thus at last the Emperor came to the great Church doore, & the people cried, God saue our Emperor Pheodore Iuanowich of all Russia. His horse was there readie most richly adorned, with a couering of imbroidered pearle & precious stones, saddle, & all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, 3. manner of waies, 3. foote aboue ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperor returned out of the Churches, they were spred vnder foote with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red veluet, the bridges with scarlet, & stammell cloth from one church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, veluet & scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, euery man desirous to haue a piece, to reserue it for a monument: siluer, and gold coyne, then mynted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantity. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously, & richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with all sorts of precious stones. In like rich manner were apparelled al the family of the Godonouaes in their degrees, with the rest of the princes, & nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynskie, whose robe, horse, & furniture, was in register found worth C. thousand markes sterling, beeing of great antiquity. The Empresse being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Maiestie also before a great open window most precious, & rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, & orient pearle beset, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, & Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserue our noble Empresse Irenia. After al this the Emperor came into the Parliament house which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royal seate adorned as before: his 6. crownes were set before him vpon a table: the basin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knighte of garde with his men standing two on each side in white apparel of cloth of siluer, called Kindy, with

sceptors, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their riche roabs.

The Emperor after a short oration, permitted euery man in order to kisse his hande: which being done, he remoued to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was serued by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beset with plate of golde, and siluer round, from the ground vp to the vaults one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of siluer and golde: this solemnitie, and triumphe lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and vsed: after which the chiefest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, and dignitie, as the Prince Borris Fedorowich, was made chiefe Counsaylor to the Emperor, Master of the horse, had the charge of his person, Liuetenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Gouernour or Liuetenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperor giuen him many reuenues, and rich landes, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a prouince called Vaga, of 300. English myles in length, and 250 in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and welthy, his peerely reuenue out of that prouince, is 35. thousand markes sterling, being not the 5. part of his peerely reuenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the field 100. thousand Souldiers wel furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two myles without the Citie, being 170. great pieces of brasse of all sortes, as faire as any can be made, these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: 20. thousand hargubusers standing in 8. rankes two myles in length, appareled all in veluet, coloured silke and stammels, discharged their shot also twise ouer in good order: and so the Emperor accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the least 50. thousand horse departed through the Citie to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaues of paper to bee described particularlie as it was performed: it shall suffice, to vnderstand that the like magnificence was neuer seene in Russia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, all the nobilitie, officers, and marchants according to an accustomed order euery one in his place, and degree brought rich presentes vnto the Emperor, wishing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Ierom Horsey aforesaid, remayning as seruant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, was called for to the Emperor, as he sate in his imperiall seate, and then also a famous Marchant of Netherland being newely come to Mosco, (who gaue him selfe out to bee the king of Spaines subiect) called Iohn de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the nobilitie would haue preferred this subiect of the Spaniard before Master Horsey seruant to the Queene of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying, he would haue his legges cutt off by the knees, before he would yeeld to such an indignitie offred to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maiestie of England, to bring the Emperor a present, in course after the King of Spaines subiect, or any other whatsoeuer. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Fedorowiche perceiuing the controuersie, sent the L. Treasorer Peter Iuanowiche Galauyn, and Vasilie Shalcan, both of the Counsell, to them, who deliuered the Emperor backe, Master Horseys speech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperor in the behalfe of the English Marchants trading thither, a present wishing him ioy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and so killed the Emperours hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and auowching, that for his sisters sake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Marchants, in as ample manner as euer his father had ben: and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him 70. dishes of sundry kinds of meats with 3. carts laden with all sorts of drinkes very bountifully. After him, was the foresaid subiect of the Spanish king admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faythfull and serviceable vnto him, then the Queene of Englands subiects were and had ben, and then the king of Spaines subiects should receiue fauor accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperor, & Empresse very deuoutly resorted one foote, to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke them selues to a progresse, in order of procession, to a famous monasterie called Sergius, and the Trinitie, 60. myles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of noble men, gentlemen and others, mounted vpon goodly horse, with furniture accordingly.

The Empresse of deuotion tooke this iourney on foote all the way, accompanied with her Prin-

Princesses, and ladyes, no smal number: her garde, and gunners were in number 20000. her chiefe Counseller or attendant was a noble man of the blood Royal her vnckle of great authoritie, called Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoua.

All this progresse ended, both the Emperour, and Empresse returned to Mosco: shortly after the Emperour by the direction of the prince Boris Fedorowich, sent a power into the lande of Siberia, where all the rich Sables, and Furres, are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1500. myles. In the perfourmance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperour of the countrie called Chare Siberskie, and with him many other Dukes, and noble men, which were brought to Mosco, with a garde of souldiers, and gunners, who were receiued into the citie in very honourable maner, and do there remayne to this day.

Chare Siberskie prince of Siberia taken prisoner and brought to Mosco.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, Judges, Justices, Captaines, and Lieutenants through the whole kingdome were remoued, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commaundement, vnder seuere punishment to surcease their old bribing, and extortion which they had vsed in the old Emperours time, and now to execute true iustice without respect of persons: and to the ende that this might bee the better done, their lands, and yeerly stipends were augmented: the great tasks, customs, and duetties, which were before layd vpon the people in the old Emperours time, were now abated, and some wholy remitted, and no punishments commanded to be vsed, without sufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capital, deseruing death: many Dukes and noble men of great houses, that were vnder displeasure, and imprisoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperour, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie, and their trespasses forgiuen. In summe, a great alteration vniuersally in the gouernment followed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subiect: and this bredde great assurance, and honour to the kingdome: and all was accomplished by the wisdome especially of Irenia the Empresse.

These things being reported & caryed to the eares of the kings, & princes that were borderers vpon Russia, they grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Chan himselfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne country to the Emperour of Russia, accompanyed with a great number of his nobilitie well horsed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperour, and their intertaynement was honourable, the Tartar prince hauing brought with him his wiues also, receiued of the Russe Emperour, intertainement, and princely welcome according to their estates.

Sophet Keri Alli king of the Crimmes, arriuall at Mosco.

Not long after, 1200. Polish gentlemen, valiant Souldiers, and proper men came to Mosco offering their seruice to the Emperour, who were all intertayned: and in like sorte many Chirkasses, and people of other nations came and offered seruice. And, assoone as the report of this newe created Emperour was spred ouer other kingdomes of Europe, there were sent to him sundry Ambassadours to wish him ioy, and prosperitie in his kingdome: thither came Ambassadours from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came also Ambassadours from the Emperour of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And since his coronation no enemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperour was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England, for which seruice he thought no man fitter then M. Jerom. Horsie, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subiects would be the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, that the Emperour desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his father, and the Queenes Maiestie and her subiects, with other priuate affayres besides, which are not to bee made common. M. Horsey hauing receiued the letters, and requests of the Emperour, prouided for his iourney ouer land, and departed from Mosko the 5. day of September, thence to Otuer, thence to Torshook, to great Nouogorode, to Vobskye, and thence to Nyhouse in Liuonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga: (where he was beset, & brought forth with before a Cardinal, called Rageuill, but yet suffered to passe in the ende:) From thence to Myto, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia, to Meluin, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Rostok, to Lubek, to Hamborough, to Breame, to Emden, and by sea to London. Being arriued at her Maiesties royall court, and hauing deliuered the Emperours letters, with good fauour, and gratious acceptance, he was forthwith againe commanded to repasse into Russia, with other letters from her Maiestie to the Emperour, and Prince Boris Fedorowich, answering the Emperours letters, and withall requesting the fauour and friendship, which his father had yeelded to the English Merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the Merchants of London themselues of that company, to deale

The new Emperour Phesdore Juanowich his letters and requests to the Queene.

M. Horseys voyage from Mosco to England ouerlande.

in their behalfe: being thus dispatched from London by sea, he arriued in Mosco the 20. of April 1586. and was very honorably welcommed. And for the merchants behoofe, obtayned all his requests, being therein specially fauoured by the noble prince Boris Fedorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horsey with speciall liking. And hauing obtayned priuileges for the merchants, hee was recommended from the Emperour againe, to the Queene of Englands his mistresse, by whome the prince Boris, in token of his honorable, and good opinion of the Queenes Maiestie, sent her bigbnesse a royall present of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of golde, and other riche things. So that the company of English marchants, next to their thankfulnes to her Maiestie, are to accoune M. Horsey patines their special benefite, who obtained for them those priuiledges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M. Horseys last dispatch from the Emperour because it was very honourable, I thought be good to record. He was freely allowed post horses for him, and his seruants, victuails, and all other necessaries for his long iourney: at euery towne that he came vnto from Mosco to Vologda, which is by lande 500. miles, hee receiued the like free, and bountifull allowances, at the Emperours charge. New victuall, & prouision were giuen him vpon the riuer Dwina at euery towne by the kings officers being 1000. of their miles in length. When he came to the new castle called Archangel he was receiued of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Iseuogorodski by the Emperours commission into the Castle, gunners being set in ranks, after their vse, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence he was dispatched with bountifull prouision, and allowance in the Dukes boate with 100. men to rowe him, 100. gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the roade, where the English, Dutch, and French shippes ridde, the gunners discharged, and the ships shot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, and so he was brought to his lodging at the English house vpon Rose Island.

And that which was the ful and complee conclusion of the fauour of the Emperour and Boris Fedorowich toward M. Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further prouision vpon the sea by a Gentilman and a Captaine the things following.

- 16. line oxen.
- 70. sheepe.
- 600. hennes.
- 25. fleeches of Veale.
- 80. bushels of meale.
- 600. loaues of bread.
- 2000. egges.
- 1 [illegible]
- 2. cranes.
- 2. swannes.
- 65. gallons of meade.
- 40. gallons of Aquauitæ
- 60. gallons of beare.
- 3. yong beares.
- 4. hawks.
- Store of onions, and garlike.
- 10. fresh salmons.
- A wilde boare.

All these things were brought him to towne by a gentleman of the Emperours, and another of prince Boris Fedorowich, and were receiued in order by Iohn Frese seruant to M. Horsey, together with an honorable present and reward from the Prince Boris, sent him by Francis Cherry an Englishman: which present was a whole very rich peece of cloth of gold, and a fayre payre of Sables. This Gentleman hath obserued many other rare things concerning those parts, which hereafter (God willing) at more conuenient time, and leasure shall come to light.

Pheodor Iuanowich the newe Emperours gratious Letter of priuiledge to the English Marchants word for word: obtayned by M. Ierom Horsey. 1586.

THough the wil of the almightie and without beginning God, which was before this world, whome we glorifie in the trinitie, one only God, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, maker of all thinges, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working, he both loueth, and giueth life to man, That our only God, which inspyreth euery one of vs his only Children with his woorde, to discerne God though our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perilous times, Establish vs to keepe the right Septer, and suffer vs of our selues to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

WE Pheodor, the of syning of Iohn, the great Lord, Emperour, King and great Prince of all Russia, of Volademeria, Moscouia, and Nouogorode, king of Kasan, king of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, & great prince of Smolenskay, of Twer, Yougoria, Perme, Vatkay, of Bolghaire and others, Lord and great Prince of the land of the lower Nouogorod, Chernegay, Rezan, Pollotskay, Rostow, Yeroslaue, the white lake, Leisland, Owdor, Condence, and Rulet of all Seberia, and all the Northside, and Lord of many other Countries.

I haue gratified the marchants of England, to wit, S. Rowland Hayward, & Richard Martin Aldermen,

Aldermen, S. George Barnes, Thomas Smith Esquire, Ierom Horsey, Richard Saltonstall, with their fellowes.

I haue licensed them to saile with their ships into our dominion, the lande of Dwina with all kind of commodities to trade freely and vnto our kingdome and the citie of Mosco and to all the cities of our Empire of Moscouia.

And the english merchants, S. Rowland Hayward, & his societie desired vs, that we would graciously them to trade into our kingdome of Moscouia, & into our heritage of great Nouogorod, and Plesko, and into al parts of our kingdome, to bye, and sell, with their wares, without custome.

Therfore we for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, & also because that they alledge, that they had great losse & hinderance by the venture of the sea, & other wise, haue gratified the said english merchants, S. Rouland Hayward & his societie, freely to come into our kingdome of Moscouia, & into all our dominions with al kind of commodities, to trade, trafficke freely, & at their pleasure with all kinde of their commodities: also I haue commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs what soeuer, That is to say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for launching, neither for passing through any place by land, neither for the vessels or boates, nor for their heads, nor for passing ouer bridges, nor for ferying ouer at any place, neither for acknowledgement as any place where they shall come, nor any manner of custome or duety, by what name soeuer.

Only they shal not bring to them into our dominions, neither recarry out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods, but their owne, neither sell them, nor barter them away for them.

Also our naturall people shall not buy and sell for them, or from them, neither shall they recaptue or keepe any of our naturall subiects goods, or pawnes by them to coulour them.

Also they shall not send any of their Russe seruants about into any citie to ingrosse, or buy by commodities, but into what citie they themselues shal come, they shall bye and sell, and shall sell their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shall come into our inheritance of great Nouogorod, and Plesko and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen and captaines, & euery one of our officers, shall suffer them to depart according to this our letter, & shall take no custome at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage ouer any bridges, nor shall take of them any other duetie what soeuer name they haue.

Also into what places of our dominion or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to bye or sell, and whereseuer they shall passe through with goods not buying of any commodities, or either will sell their owne, then in those cities and townes they shall take no maner of custome or duetie of them, accordingly as before.

And I haue gratified them and giuen them free leaue to trafficke through out all the dominions of our kingdome, in all cities with their goods to buy and sell al manner of commodities, without any duety or custome, whatsoeuer.

And the English merchants, where they are desirous to buy, or sell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shal sell their commodities whole, and not by retaile, That is to say, neither by small weighe, nor by the yard, to sell or barter in their own houses, & they shal sell and barter their wares wholy, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole cloth, and Dammaske and veluet by the peece, and not by the yard, and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by weighe, not to sel by the smal weights, as by the pound, and ounce, but by whole sale: also they shal sell wines by the pype, and by the gallon, quart, or scoope they shall not sell.

And they shal bupe, sell, and exchange their owne commodities themselues, and the Russe merchants shall not make sales, or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither shall they themselues conuay or carie through any other mans goods at no place in stead of their owne: and which of the english merchants will at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or Vologda, or Yeroslaue they may, and of their commodities throughout al our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captaines, and euery of our officers shal take no manner of custome, according as it is written in this our gratious letter; and throughout all our dominions and cities they shall hire carriers, and vessels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to transporte their goods.

So likewise, whensoeuer the english merchants, are disposed to depart out of our kingdome into any other countrie or into their owne land, if our pleasure be, they shall take our goods with them from our Treasurie, and shal sell them, and exchange them for such commoditie as is commodious for our kingdome, and shall deliuer it into our Treasurie, & with those our commodities, our Noblemen and captaines, and euery of our officers shal let them passe through all our cities also without custome according to these our letters.

Also

Also when so euer the English merchants shal haue sold their own goods, & bought themselues commodities, and will depart out of Mosco, then they shall manifest themselues to our chiefe Secretary, Andrew Shalkaloue, in the office where the Ambassadours are alwaies dispatched.

And if the English merchants comming, haue hap any mischance by the sea, insomuch that the ship be broken, or if that ship do come to any part of our countries: then we will cause the goods to be sought out in true Iustice, and to be giuen to the English people, which at that time shalbe here resident in our countries: and if so be that it so fall out that at that time there be no English men within our realme; then will we cause these goods to be layd vp in a place together, and when the people of England shall come into our realme, then we will commaund all those goods to be deliuered to the said English people.

Also wee haue graunted all the English merchants, with the house of one Vrie, here in the Mosco right ouer against S. Maximes church behind the market, and they shal dwell in the same house according as before time, and they shall keepe one alwaies in the house to keepe it, either a Russe, or one of their owne people.

Also the English merchants shal possesse their houses, to wit, at Yeroslaue, Vologday, Colmogro, and the house at the hauen of the sea; and they shall dwell in those houses, according as our goodnesse hath bene to them heretofore: and we haue commaunded, that there shal not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of custome, taxe, rent or any other duetie whatsoeuer for those houses, neither shall pay any duetie, or take with any of the townes men of those places, and in euery one of those houses, to wit, at Yeroslaue, Vologday, and Colmogro, they shall haue men to keepe their houses, two or three of their owne countrie people, straungers, or else Russes, men of the meanest sort, which shalbe no marchants, that they may lay their goodes in those houses, and they may sell the commodities out of those their houses to whome they please, according to this our gracious letter: and those that keepe their houses shall not sell or buye no part of their commodities, except they be there or giue order, whereby they be not deceiued by them.

Likewise I haue graunted them with their house at the sea hauen, at the mouth of Pawdazemskay, and we haue commaunded, that they shall not carrie their goods from thence to the new rode of S. Michael the archangel, but shall arriue, and do as they haue done heretofore with their wares at their house, and shall vnlade their commodities out of their ships and shall lade them againe with Russe cõmodities, euen there at their house without interruption: only they shall permit our officers of Colmogro & two men to write vp those commodities both the commodities of England, & those of Russeland, what the marchants shal declare themselues, and no other wise, but they shal not ouerlooke their commodities, neither shall they vnbinde any of their packs.

And when the English merchants are disposed to sende into their owne countrie, to wit, any of their owne people ouer lande through any other kingdome whatsoeuer, they shall not sende their people without our kingly knowledge and commaundement, and which of their people so euer they do meane to send out of our kingdome, into their own country, then they shall send those their people, not without our kingly Maiesties knowledge, to wit, those that go of pleasure without carrying any commodities with them, and they shal haue a letter of passe giuen vnto them, out of the office where the Ambassadours haue alwayes their dispatch.

And who so euer hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controuersie, either concerning marchandize or iniuries, then they are to be iudged by our treasurers and Secretarie of the Ambassadours office to doe iustice betweene both parties, and to seeke out the trueth of matters in all things, and whatsoeuer cannot be found out by the Lawe, shalbe tryed by othe and lots: whose lot so euer is taken forth, him to haue right.

Also in what place of all our kingdome, in what citie so euer, they or their people shalbe, and that there happen any matter of controuersie, either concerning marchandise, iniuries, or otherwise, that they haue occasion to set vpon any man by lawe, or that any seeke vpon them, concerning what matter so euer in all our kingdome and cities, then our lieutenants, captaines, and our officers shall giue them Iustice, and shall minister all true iustice betweene them, seeking out the trueth: and what cannot be truly sought by law, shalbe sought out by othe and lot: whose lot so euer is taken out, him to haue right accordingly as before, and the Iudges or Iustices shall take of them no kinde of duetie, for matters of law no where throughout all our Realmes. This letter is giuen in our pryntely Pallace within the citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, seuen thousand fourescore and fifteene, in the moneth of February.

FINIS.

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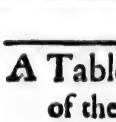

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